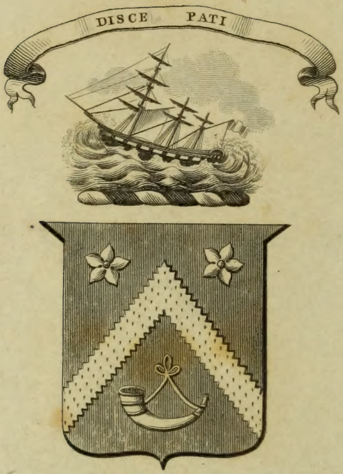
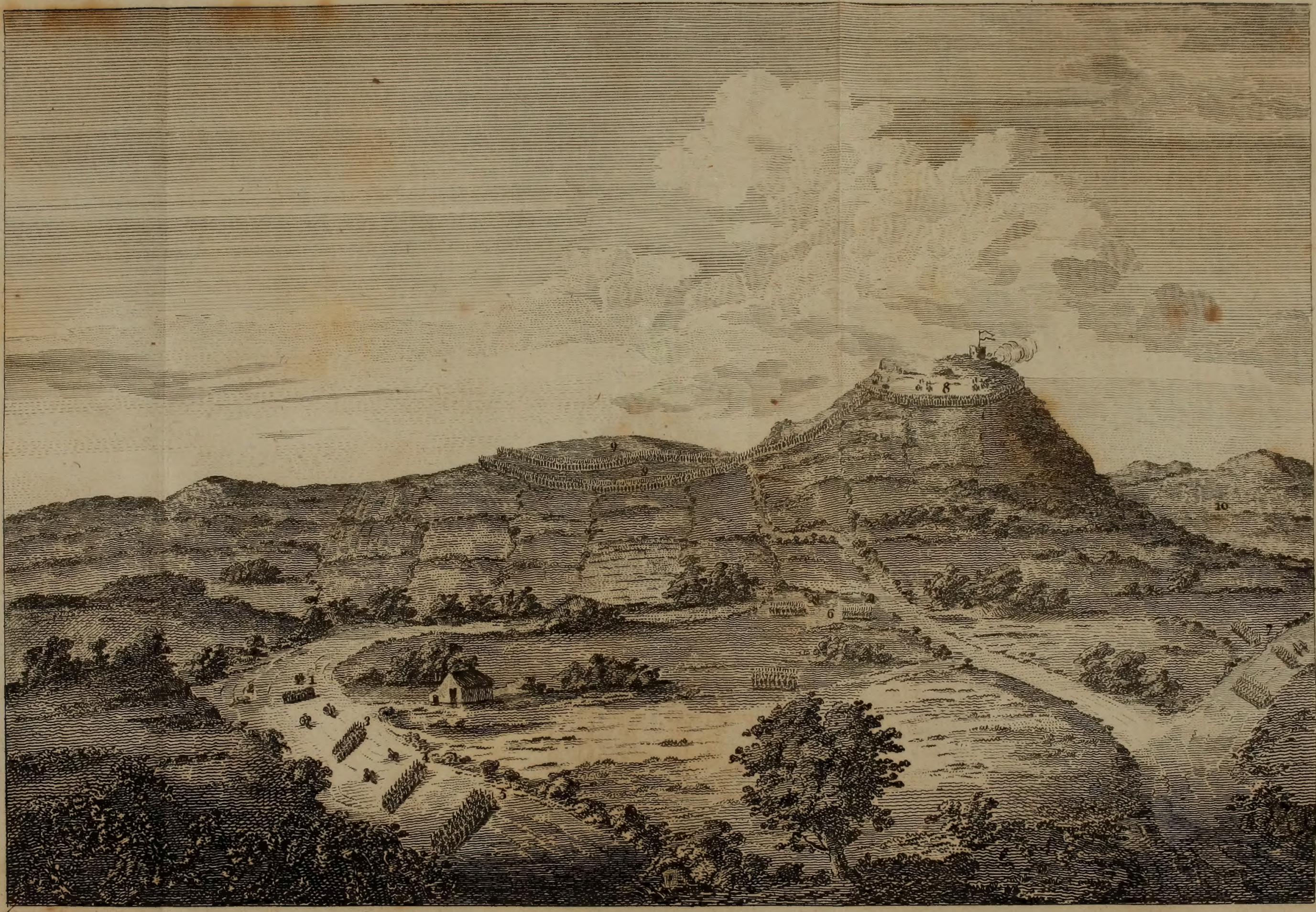
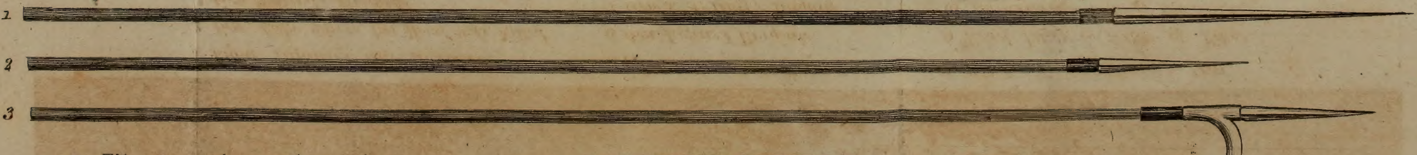


Duncan.

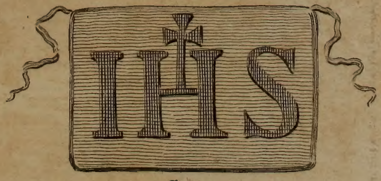
View of VINEGAR HILL on the North east side.



1 *Light Infantry with Howitzer.*
2 *Gen. Lake where his Horse was Killed.*
3 *Gen. Wilfords Brigade.*
4 & 5 *Gen. Dundas's Brigade.*
6 *Gen. Loftus's Brigade.*
7 *Gen. Sr. Js. Duff's Brigade.*
8 *Rebels Fort of Vinegar Hill.*
9 *Rebel Lines & forest of Pikes.*
10 *Enniscorthy side of the Slaney.*



1 *Pike for cutting and stabbing.*
2 *Do. for stabbing only.*
3 *Do. for grappling and stabbing.*



A Scapular.

MEMOIRS

OF THE DIFFERENT

REBELLIONS IN IRELAND,

FROM THE

ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH:

ALSO,

A PARTICULAR DETAIL OF THAT WHICH BROKE OUT THE XXIIID OF MAY, MDCCXCVIII;

WITH THE

HISTORY OF THE CONSPIRACY WHICH PRECEDED IT.

BY SIR **RICHARD MUSGRAVE**, BART.

MEMBER OF THE LATE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

The danger of the day's but newly gone,
Whoſe memory is written on the earth,
With yet-appearing blood! SHAKSPEARE.

Hoc illud eſt precipue in cognitione rerum ſalubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illuſtri poſita monumento, intueri, inde tibi, tuæque republicæ, quod imitere capias: inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.———LIVY.

THE THIRD EDITION.

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1802.

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ERRATA.

ERRATA.

Page 2, line 12, read thus, *when at three*
87, —— 7, —— *track* for *tract*
95, —— 7, —— *Dunſeverick* for *Dunſcoverick*
109, —— 11, —— *Bovagh* for *Bevagh*
149, —— 10, —— *therefore* for *fore*
156, ——19, —— *Vivant* for *Vive*
171, —— 38, omit *that*
202, —— 28, put *only* before *orally*
220, —— 10, read 1784 for 1774
238, —— 35, for *Worte* read *Worral*
265, —— 14, omit *who was a Roman catholick*
271, —— 17, read *W.* for *T. Myers*
339, —— 41, —— 1799 for 1798
478, —— 37, omit *eight*
483, —— 26, read *its ſolid* for *the*
484, —— 9, add *Elizabeth* after *Edward VI.*

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF THE DIFFERENT

REBELLIONS IN IRELAND, &c.

THE ATTACK AND RE-TAKING OF VINEGAR-HILL BY THE KING'S TROOPS.

THE movements of the different columns which were to attack Vinegar-hill, will be beſt explained by the inſtructions iſſued by general Lake, the 16th of June, 1798, to the general officers who commanded them.

General Dundas, will be directed to move on the ſeventeenth to Hacketſtown, and to iſſue his orders to general Loftus at Tullow,[*] to unite his force with him on the eighteenth at Carnew.[†]

General Needham, to move at three o'clock, A. M. on the nineteenth to Gorey; general Dundas having ſent a ſtrong patrole under general Loftus from Carnew, at ſix o'clock on the ſame morning to Grove's-bridge,[‡] four or five miles on the road to Gorey,[||] to ſupport general Needham, in caſe he ſhould meet with reſiſtance at Limerick-hill or at Gorey, and to communicate to general Dundas general Needham's ſituation.

General Johnſon, on the nineteenth, at four o'clock, A. M. to move to Old Roſs,[§] and unite with general Moore in driving the rebels from Car-

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[*] Plate II. 1, 2. [†] Ibid. 4. [‡] Ibid. [||] Ibid. [§] Plate III. 5.

rickbyrne-hill.* He will take up his poſition that day near Old Roſs, and ſend a ſtrong patrole to ſcour the country towards the Black-ſtair mountains,‡ in junction with ſir James Duff. This movement will require a very particularly concerted arrangement between general Johnſon and ſir James Duff. The patroles to return to their reſpective corps on the ſame day.

Sir Charles Aſgill, on the eighteenth, will occupy Grove's-bridge, Borris ‖ and Graigenamana, § and will remain in thoſe poſitions until the twentieth, three P. M. when he will return, unleſs he ſhall receive orders to the contrary.

Lieutenant-general Dundas, on the twentieth, will march to Ballycarney-bridge,** keeping the eaſt-ſide of the Slaney to Scarawalſh-bridge, ‡‡ to arrive there at twelve at noon.

Sir James Duff will alſo move on the twentieth, by the road on the weſt-ſide of the Slaney to Scarawalſh-bridge, where he will arrive at twelve o'clock.

General Needham, on the twentieth, will move from Gorey to Oulart, ‖‖ to be there at twelve o'clock.

General Loftus. The corps from Grove's-bridge, will move on the twentieth, through Camolin and Ferns, §§ and unite with general Dundas at Scarawalſh-bridge, at twelve o'clock.

General Moore, to land on the eighteenth at Ballyhack-ferry, and on the nineteenth, he will move at three o'clock, A. M. to Foulkes's-mill,*** and unite with general Johnſon in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne-hill. He will take up his poſition that night at Foulkes's-mill, ſecuring the eſcape of the rebels between that and Clomines. †

General Johnſon, on the twentieth, will move with his column to Ballymacus-bridge, †† either to unite in the attack on Enniſcorthy, if neceſſary, or prevent their eſcape in that direction.

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* Plate III. 5. ‡ Ibid. 2. ‖ Plate II. 6. 7. § Ibid. 8.
** Plate II. 7. ‡‡ Ibid. ‖‖ Plate III. 2. §§ Plate II. 6, 7.
*** Plate III. 7. † Ibid. 8. †† Ibid. 3.

Should the rebels have evacuated Enniſcorthy and Vinegar-hill, the columns under general Dundas and ſir James Duff will take up their poſition that day in front of Enniſcorthy; and general Johnſon will at the ſame time receive orders to take a poſition on the great road from Enniſcorthy to Taghmon.

General Moore, in this caſe, on the twentieth, will move from Foulkes's-mill, and take poſt at Taghmon, ſtill ſecuring the country between Taghmon * and Clomines.

But ſhould the enemy maintain their poſition at Enniſcorthy, † the attack will be made on the twenty-firſt at day-light, by the columns under general Dundas and ſir James Duff, and general Needham moving from Oulart.

The general forward movement and inveſtment of Wexford will take place on the twenty-firſt, when the ſeveral columns will be ſo united as to receive directions as circumſtances may point out.

Gun-boats. Orders are to be ſent to the naval commanders to ſtation their gun-boats and armed veſſels in Wexford harbour early on the morning of the twenty-firſt, to co-operate in ſuch manner as may be neceſſary for the attack of the town, with the gun-boats from Waterford, which will be directed to ſupport general Moore and the corps at Clomines on the nineteenth.

Such was the judicious arrangement made by general Lake, for ſurrounding the rebels on Vinegar-hill, for retaking Enniſcorthy and Wexford; and in ſhort, for putting down the rebellion in that county: But before I proceed to deſcribe the grand attack, it will be neceſſary to relate ſome events which took place previous to it in the north of that county.

After the defeat at Arklow, the enemy took their ſtation on Limerick-hill, ‡ to the north of Gorey, in great force, and continued to ſpread devaſtation over the adjacent country, murdering ſuch proteſtants as fell into their hands, and burning the houſes

of

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* Plate III. 6. † Ibid. 2. ‡ Plate II. 2, 3.

of thoſe who were ſo fortunate as to make their eſcape, till the eighteenth of June, when generals Dundas and Loftus marched againſt them, according to a preconcerted plan.

As Kilcavin-hill,* from its declivity, afforded a much ſtronger poſt than Limerick-hill, the rebels took poſt on it about eight o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth of June, as ſoon as our two columns made their appearance. General Dundas's column moved from Baltinglaſs, by Hacketſtown and Tinnahely.† General Loftus marched by Shilela.‡ A general action ſeemed unavoidable. General Dundas having reſolved to move round Kilcavin-hill, ſent orders to general Loftus to march on the Carnew‖ road, and to begin the attack by that town; but the following circumſtance fruſtrated their deſign: When general Dundas had advanced a conſiderable way towards the point where he was to begin his attack, he ſuddenly found himſelf in a deep hollow road, with ſtrong fences on each ſide. He perceived alſo, that he muſt have proceeded ſome time in it, before he could have extricated himſelf, and recollecting the fate of colonel Walpole, he very prudently ordered the column to countermarch; and at the ſame time ſent orders to general Loftus to take ſuch a poſition as to cover this retrogade movement. By this unexpected event, the two columns became united, and the rebels had a clear country to the north, the eaſt, and the ſouth-eaſt, and were ſo ſtrongly poſted, that the main object of the generals was to protect themſelves on the weſt ſide, where the poſition of the enemy was ſo well ſecured by a ravine in front, by large banks and high hedge-rows, that general Lake, who arrived at this time with his whole ſtaff, thought it prudent to defer the attack till the reinforcements joined them. A briſk cannonade was maintained for ſome time, but without any material effect. At length, general Lake ordered the troops to march to Carnew, where they remained that night. Two rebel ſpies who entered that town were ſhot. Green ſaſhes and cockades were found in their pockets.

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* Plate II. 3, 4. † Ibid. 1. Ibid. 2. ‖ Ibid. 4.

On the nineteenth of June, major-general ſir James Duff joined the army with his brigade from Newtown-barry,* and general Needham was moving on the road from Arklow to Gorey.† The troops at Carnew were under arms. A general attack was inſtantly to have taken place, and from the number of our troops, and the excellent diſpoſition made by general Lake, there could not be a doubt of its ſucceſsful iſſue; but at day-break it was diſcovered that the enemy had fled. Fearing to be cut off from their favourite poſition at Vinegar-hill, they retreated through Moneyſeed and by Gorey. Inſtead of taking this ſtep, had they puſhed forward with that celerity with which their movements were uſually made, in conſequence of having but little baggage or equipment to tranſport, they might have ſeized on the important poſt of Rathdrum, the key to the city of Dublin, from which they would have derived infinitely more advantage than from their retreat to cover Wexford and Enniſcorthy, becauſe our army muſt have purſued them; and then the excellent and well-digeſted plan, formed by general Lake for ſurrounding them, would probably have been defeated.

I have already deſcribed this in the orders iſſued by him; and they were exactly fulfilled by the reſpective general officers to whom they were directed, except by generals Needham and Moore, who were prevented by unforeſeen and fortuitous circumſtances, which I ſhall hereafter explain.

General Johnſon took a poſition near Enniſcorthy,‡ for the purpoſe of driving the rebels from that town, in which they were ſtrongly poſted. Lieutenant-general Lake and the entire ſtaff remained with general Dundas, who, as I before obſerved, marched to Scarawalſh-bridge.‖

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* Plate II. 5. † Ibid. 4, 5. ‡ Ibid. III. 2. ‖ Ibid. II. 7, 8.

Lieutenant-generals Lake and Dundas, and major-general Wilford, with their ſtaff, and the firſt brigade of light infantry under the command of colonel Campbell, remained all the night of the twentieth of June upon their arms, at Solſborough,* with a large body of cavalry, within two miles of Vinegar-hill. About one o'clock in the morning, general Johnſon reported his arrival on the other ſide of the Slaney, near Enniſcorthy. General Needham's column lay about half a mile off, on the left of general Lake's army, whither he had marched from Oulart by general Lake's orders. General Duff, with his guns, advanced on the Ferns road, on the eaſt ſide of the Slaney,† having that river on his right flank, and firing on the rebel lines on the hills, and throwing howitzers into them as he advanced. In this movement he was ſupported on each flank by the light infantry, under the command of general Loftus.

When they had arrived at the beginning of the aſcent of Vinegar-hill, general Loftus was detached by general Duff to occupy a green hill in a park encloſed with ſtone walls, which was on the ſide, and compoſed a part of Vinegar-hill.‡ General Loftus ſurpriſed the rebels by the celerity of this movement, becauſe the hill was ſteep; and the ground which he occupied there was divided by ſtone walls; but by breaking open gaps, he had two guns carried over at firſt, and ſoon after four more, by having untackled them from the horſes. From this poſition he was able to fire into the lower line of the enemy, rather on his left, with ſuch effect, that eighty-five of them were afterwards found in their trenches killed with grape-ſhot. General Loftus made his movement by a narrow road on the left, diverging from the main one, and then rapidly aſcended the hill. At the ſame time, generals Lake, Dundas and Wilford, with colonel Campbell's light infantry, were advancing up the hill‖ on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, and were firmly oppoſed by the rebels, who maintained a very briſk fire on them, retreating at the ſame time from one hedge to another, till they were driven over the hill. On that occaſion general Lake had a horſe ſhot under him. The movements of the two columns were ſo well timed, that they met at the ſame moment on the top of the hill. *

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* Plate III. 1. † Plate IV. 8. ‡ Ibid. 6, 7. ‖ Ibid. 10, 11.

At that time, and not before, general Lake perceived how actively general Johnſon had been employed, and how ably he had ſupported him on the ſide of Enniſcorthy. From the numbers of the enemy, the height and the ſteepneſs of the hill, and its being interſected in many parts with encloſures, formed by high clay banks, with foſſes behind them, the rebels were completely protected from our fire. It is aſtoniſhing that our troops did not ſuffer more, and that the rebel army were ſo quickly diſlodged, and driven from ſo ſtrong a poſition. They had no leſs than thirteen pieces of ordnance, and their infantry muſt have been well ſupplied with ammunition, as they maintained a very heavy fire. I ſhall refer the reader to general Lake's letter to lord Caſtlereagh, for an account of the action. †

Father Clinch, an Enniſcorthy prieſt, fell in this engagement. Being of a huge ſtature, with a ſcymitar and broad croſs belts, and mounted on a large white horſe, with long piſtols, he made ſo conſpicuous a figure on the hill, during the action, and the day preceding it, as to attract the notice of our troops, particularly as he ſeemed to be conſtantly employed in reconnoitring them. The earl of Roden having ſingled him out among the fugitives, overtook him after a mile's purſuit, and received his fire, which his lordſhip returned, and wounded him in the neck. He then diſcharged his ſecond piſtol at lord Roden, on which an officer of his regiment rode up and ſhot him. He wore his veſtments under his clothes; he had near forty pounds in his pocket, a gold watch,

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* In plate V. the reader will ſee an elevation of Vinegar-hill, with the movement of the troops.

† See Appendix, No. XXI. 1.

watch, and a remarkable ſnuff-box; all which, it is preſumed, he acquired by plunder. He had been as active in the cabinet as the field, having conſtantly ſat at the committee at Enniſcorthy; and mounted on his charger, and fully accoutred, he daily viſited the camp.

As general Needham's column did not occupy the poſt allotted to it in the firſt arrangement for ſurrounding Vinegar-hill, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of it leading to Wexford, I think it right to explain the circumſtances which prevented it. He advanced on the twentieth inſtant to Oulart, an inconſiderable village to the eaſt of Vinegar-hill, and within ſix miles of that part of it where he was to take poſt. On that evening, when the troops had taken up their ground, and driven back ſome advanced piquets of the enemy, and made a proper diſpoſition for protecting four hundred carriages laden with proviſions and ammunition, for the army which attended them, general Needham received an order from general Lake, about half an hour after eight o'clock, ſigned by the adjutant-general, deſiring him to march immediately with the troops under his command, to join general Lake at Solſborough, the ſeat of Mr. Richards, where he had taken up his head-quarters. The harneſſing and arranging in the proper order of march ſuch a number of carriages, occupied a good deal of time. Thus incumbered, the movement of the column was ſlow; particularly as it paſſed through deep and narrow roads, with high and thick fences on each ſide, and in a country ſo much encloſed as to render it impoſſible to ſend out flanking parties; though, from their proximity to the enemy, there was every reaſon to expect an attack, which, had it been made, might have proved fatal. However the column proceeded unmoleſted, and arrived at Solſborough, about half paſt three o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-firſt of July.

Major-general Needham, on reporting his arrival to general Lake, was informed, that he muſt immediately occupy the poſition firſt allotted to him, in the general orders. Thus, after a moſt fatiguing march, without having had any refreſhment for his troops from the time he left Gorey, he was obliged to repair to the poſt he was to occupy by a circuitous route of eight miles.

In obedience to the orders which he received, major-general Needham proceeded, as he imagined, to the head of his column, it being ſcarce light; but after marching about a mile he was informed, that he had but the grenadier company of the Antrim militia with him, the remainder, overcome with fatigue, having lain down. Lieutenant Camack conveyed a meſſage from lieutenant-general Lake to major-general Needham, while on his march, requeſting to know if his column would arrive at his deſtination in an hour; and his anſwer was, that it was impoſſible for the infantry to be there in one or even two hours, but that he himſelf would proceed immediately with the cavalry, which he accordingly did, and took his poſt, having ordered the infantry to follow as ſpeedily as poſſible; but, though they did not arrive until the action was over, it did not ariſe from the fault of any officer or ſoldier in that column.

General Johnſon was engaged with a numerous body of rebels who defended Enniſcorthy; and they would probably have been aſſiſted by their main body on Vinegar-hill, if general Lake had not immediately made a diverſion.

An immenſe column of the rebels which retreated from Vinegar-hill, by the poſition which general Needham was to have occupied, marched by the eaſt ſide of the Slaney, firſt to Carrick-bridge,† but commonly called Carrick-ferry, within three miles of Wexford, headed by the following generals: Father John Murphy, father Kearns the prieſt, Anthony Perry, Edward Fitzgerald, and John Hay. After paſſing Carrick-bridge, one column entered Wexford, under Murphy, Kearns and Perry, where they remained about two hours, threatening the deſtruction of the town, and a general maſſacre of the remaining proteſtants, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition; but they were partly prevented by the combination and the determined reſiſtance of the inhabitants of the town, who feared the loſs of their property, and they dreaded the approach of general Moore's army.

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† Plate III. 5, 6.

Having left the town, they retreated over the bridge, headed by Eſmond Kyan, Edward Fitzgerald, Perry and Kearns, and took the high and direct road to the county of Wicklow; which, and the north part of the county of Wexford, they continued for ſome time to deſolate.

The proteſtants who had fled from Gorey and its vicinity to Wicklow, on the defeat of colonel Walpole, on the fourth of June, thinking that the victory at Vinegar-hill had reſtored peace and good order, were attempting to return to their reſpective homes, but were met by a large party of the rebels who were retreating after their defeat, and who killed thirty-ſix of them. For a ſpecimen of their barbarity on that occaſion, I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XX. 20, 21. It happened on Friday the twenty-ſecond of June, which is now called in that country bloody Friday.

The other column, headed by prieſt Roche, John Hay and Murphy, proceeded from Carrick-bridge to the mountain of Forth, where they remained for about three hours, holding a council of war, in which, as Roche and John Hay differed in opinion, they left them, and were taken in a day or two after, and hanged at Wexford. Father John Murphy, and another prieſt of the ſame name, then led the column by a circuitous route through the barony of Forth, by Maglas,* the moor of Mulrankin, and the Scar paſs of Barretſtown,† over the Scallogh-gap,‡ into the county of Kilkenny, ſpreading deſolation in their progreſs, having plundered and burnt the town of Caſtlecomer,

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* Plate III. 8. † Ibid. ‡ Plate II. 7.

comer, and the ſuperb manſion of lady Ormond; and maſſacred ſuch proteſtants as they could lay their hands on.

As the part which general Johnſon took in the attack on Vinegar-hill was by far the moſt perilous and brilliant, I ſhall give the reader a more circumſtantial relation of it. In his march from New Roſs, he met a rebel armed with a pike, who, on being informed that he deſerved to be hanged for having appeared in arms againſt the king, replied, "You may hurt my body, but you cannot injure my ſoul, as father Roche has taken care of it."

The evening before the attack on Enniſcorthy, he marched to Ballymacus,† about four miles from it; but wiſhing to have his men freſh for the onſet next morning, he moved forward to Daphne, within a mile and a half of it. Soon after his arrival there, a large body of rebels, marching in columns and intermediate lines, advanced within half a mile of his army, and ſeemed determined to attack it, on which the general prepared to receive them; but they ſent forward their ſharp ſhooters, who maintained a very ſmart fire on his line, till he brought up his cannon and diſlodged them with it.

The main body which marched from the town to attack him, occupied an eminence, on which three or four ſhots from twelve-pounders were fired; and when the balls lodged on the hill, numbers of the rebels emulouſly vied with each other to lay hold of them. After that ſome ſhells having been thrown on it, and a great body of them having ſurrounded them for the ſame purpoſe, they exploded and blew them to atoms.

Next morning, after having driven the rebels from the high ground into the town, which could not be effected without much danger and difficulty, as the rebels diſputed every inch of ground, firing from behind the hedges, each of which afforded a ſtrong poſt; he kept that poſition for about an hour, during which he and the rebel army continued to cannonade each other; and he had the greater part of the Vinegar-hill army to contend with, as general Lake did not begin to attack them for ſome time.

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† Plate III. 3.

In driving the rebels into the town, they made a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, by their pikemen in the ſtreets, and their muſketeers, who were excellent markſmen, from the windows.

Having advanced with one gun to an open ſpace, where the court-houſe * lies, a numerous body of pikemen ruſhed from that building, with enthuſiaſtick vehemence, and ſeized and kept it for a few minutes, having overpowered the party which attended it; but it was ſoon retaken by a freſh column of troops, who killed moſt of the rebels concerned in that furious onſet. The general then ordered the light infantry to charge over the bridge, and up the hill, which were occupied by a numerous body of rebels; but they having ſhewn an unwillingneſs to do ſo, he called on the county of Dublin regiment to perform that ſervice, on which they gave three cheers, and led on by colonel Veſey and lord Blaney, in conjunction with the light infantry, forced the bridge and marched up the ſteepeſt part of the hill, driving the rebels before them.

Major-general Euſtace, who acted on this occaſion with general Johnſon, diſplayed great ſpirit and gallantry.

That ſide of the hill which general Johnſon aſcended, is by far the ſteepeſt, and commands the town.

As the army commanded by general Johnſon loſt more men in killed and wounded than all the other troops that attacked Vinegar-hill, we may conceive the difficulties and the oppoſition which he muſt have encountered.

He ſuſtained the following loſs: Two field officers wounded, two captains killed, two ſubalterns killed and two wounded, two ſerjeants killed, one wounded, one

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* Plate IV. 4.

one miſſing, ſixteen rank and file killed, ſixty-two wounded, five miſſing.

The arrival of general Moore's army at Foulkes's mill occaſioned a very great alarm at Wexford and the Three-rock camp. † On the evening of the nineteenth, the drums beat to arms, and the church bell was rung. Keugh and Harvey were very buſy, but ſeemed much diſmayed. They ſent all the rebel ſoldiers in town to the Three-rock camp. For three miles, the diſtance from it to the town, each ſide of the road was crowded with old men, women and children, on their knees, praying for their ſucceſs, as they marched by. When they advanced about two miles, they met on horſeback father Keane, commonly called the bleſſed prieſt of Bannow. The rabble had uncommon veneration for him, becauſe they believed, from his ſuperior ſanctity, that he was more expert in working miracles, and had more ſupernatural powers, than any other prieſt. He was a little old grey-headed man. The rebels flocked to him with great eagerneſs, to obtain his benediction, which he gave, by laying his hand on their heads, and muttering a few words.

This prieſt having been guilty of ſome irregularities, ſoon after he was prieſted, retired to Newfoundland, where he exerciſed, for ſome years, his ſacred function, and at the ſame time the apoſtolick purſuit of a fiſherman. A boat, in which he ſerved as a ſailor, having caught great quantities of cod fiſh, in a harbour where it had been ſought for in vain ſome years before, this ſudden change was imputed to his benediction beſtowed on it. He returned to his native country, with the title of the bleſſed prieſt of Bannow, which is his native place. During the rebellion he diſtributed many thouſand ſcapulars* among the rebels; and to numbers he gave two, one to protect them in advancing, the other in retreating. He aſſured the wearers of this ſacred ſymbol, that a ball from a heretick gun could do them no more injury than a pea. He conſtantly viſited the rebel camps, particularly that on the mountain of Forth; and a poney on which he rode, was led by two pike-men, who cried out, with a loud voice, "Make way for the bleſſed prieſt of Bannow!" I have been aſſured that he refuſed his bleſſing to ſome rebels, unleſs they brought him the head of Mr. Goff, of Horetown, a quaker, who was juſtly and univerſally eſteemed; and it is ſaid, that he would moſt certainly have been aſſaſſinated, but for the victory of general Moore, which ſtruck terror into the rebels.

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† Having given the reader a deſcription of the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill, I ſhall give him that on the mountain of Forth, in Appendix, No. XXI. 3.

* See in the Index a full explanation of this religious emblem; and in Plate V. a figure of one.

A party of them took poſſeſſion of Mr. Goff's houſe, under the command of one Monk, and they were attended by father Byrne, a prieſt, who was purveyor to the party; and he compelled the Miſs Goffs, young and amiable women, to bake bread, and do every other menial office to ſupply the rebels. A party of them one day aſked his benediction, having knelt down for that purpoſe; but he refuſed to give it, only to ſuch as produced their pikes ſtained with the blood of hereticks.

It was mentioned before that general Moore was to take poſt at Foulkes's mill, ten miles from Wexford, to prevent the rebels in their flight from Vinegar-hill from eſcaping by Clomines. He remained in the demeſne of Mr. Sutton, of Longraige,‡ which is quite cloſe to it, on the evening of the nineteenth of June.

Next morning, general Moore had a ſmart action with the rebels, which is deſcribed by him in a letter to general Lake.†

I have been aſſured by perſons well acquainted with the deſigns of the rebel general, that this action was brought on in the following manner:

That general Roche intended to have taken poſſeſſion of Roſs, when general Johnſon had left it;

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‡ Plate III. 6, 7.

† Appendix, No. XXI. 2.

that he ſent one party to Horetown, to watch the motions and engage the attention of general Moore, while the main body proceeded to Roſs; that the former ſuddenly and unexpectedly came on general Moore's army, and had a ſkirmiſh with them.

The main body having heard the firing, went to their aſſiſtance, which brought on a general action.

Roche, after being defeated, meant to have kept one diviſion of his army in the woods of Horetown, to the north, the other in thoſe of Roſſgarland, to the ſouth; and to have renewed the attack in the night, when, aided by the darkneſs which would have been favourable to the charge of his pikemen, and relying on the ſuperiority of his numbers,* he entertained ſtrong hopes of ſucceſs; but the arrival of the 29th and the Queen's regiment as a reinforcement to general Moore baffled his expectations.

There were many prieſts in the rebel army, exhorting their troops, and often horſewhipping, and even threatening the runaways with ſwords and piſtols, to compel them to return to their ranks.

Having mentioned the occurrences which preceded and occaſioned the evacuation of Wexford by the rebels, I ſhall now relate that event, and the dreadful maſſacre of proteſtants which took place the day before, and which has caſt ſuch an indelible ſtain on that county, that every Iriſhman, who feels for the honour of his native country, ſhould wiſh that its very name was expunged from the map of Ireland. From the ſanguinary ſpirit which the rebels manifeſted on all occaſions during the rebellion towards that ſect of chriſtians, there is not a doubt but that they meant to extirpate them as ſoon as they had obtained a decided ſuperiority over the government; and their leaders never failed to practiſe every artifice they could deviſe, to make them believe they were in a fair way of attaining it: But when their deluſions were removed, and they ſaw a very numerous and well-appointed army march into the county of Wexford, they were ſtung with deſpair, and reſolved to indulge their fanatical hatred againſt proteſtants, by murdering ſuch of them as were their priſoners.

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* He had at leaſt fifteen thouſand. General Moore had not more than one thouſand two hundred.

Joſeph Gladwin, the gaoler, declares, that Thomas Dixon, mariner, went down to the gaol about the hour of two o'clock, mounted on a large white horſe, and that a man walked by his ſide, bearing a black flag; that when he came to the Bridewell door, he ſaid, "Bring out the priſoners; and, as they are ſhot, we will pile them againſt the dead wall of the gaol."

I ſhall give the reader an account of this tragical affair, as related to me by ſome reſpectable perſons who reſided in Mr. Hatchel's houſe,* very near the bridge, where it was perpetrated, and were eye-witneſſes to it.

"Between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock on the morning of the twentieth of June, we ſaw a body of rebels coming over the bridge, bearing a black flag, with a croſs, and the letters M W S inſcribed on it in white; which were ſuppoſed to mean murder without ſin; and on the other ſide a red croſs. After having made a proceſſion through part of the town, they fixed that woeful harbinger of death on the cuſtom-houſe quay, near the fatal ſpot where ſo much blood was ſoon after ſhed; and where it remained flying for about two hours before the butchery began.‡

"Soon after they arrived on the quay, they ſeemed to diſperſe; however many of them remained there, and repaired to one particular place, where drink was given to them, and where a prieſt was very buſy in diſtributing it, and who, they believed, remained there till they left the quay, ſhouting, "To the gaol! to the gaol!" when they all diſappeared, but returned about four o'clock to the bridge, with a number of priſoners, whom they maſſacred. They thus continued till about ſeven o'clock to convey parties of priſoners from ten to twenty, from the gaol and the market-houſe, where many of them were confined, to the bridge, where they butchered them. Every proceſſion was preceded by the black flag, and the priſoners were ſurrounded by ruthleſs pikemen, as guards, who often inſultingly deſired them to bleſs themſelves. ||

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* Plate VI.

‡ Some reſpectable proteſtant ladies, priſoners at that time, aſſured me, that at that awful moment, they were informed, and with apparent ſorrow, by ſome popiſh women, in whoſe houſes they lodged, that the hour was come, when every perſon in Wexford of their religion, would be put to death. Others received this melancholy intelligence the evening of the preceding day.

"The mob, conſiſting of more women than men, expreſſed their ſavage joy on the immolation of each of the victims, by loud huzzas.

"The manner, in general, of putting them to death, was thus: Two rebels puſhed their pikes into the breaſt of the victim, and two into his back; and in that ſtate (writhing with torture) they held him ſuſpended, till dead, and then threw him over the bridge into the water.

"After they had maſſacred ninety-ſeven priſoners in that manner, and before they could proceed further in the buſineſs, an expreſs rode up in great haſte, and bid them beat to arms, as Vinegar-hill was beſet, and reinforcements were wanting. There was immediately a cry, "To camp! to camp!" The rebels ſeemed in ſuch confuſion, that the maſſacre was diſcontinued.

"In the moment of confuſion, the reverend Mr. Corrin, pariſh prieſt of Wexford, arrived on the bridge, to divert them from their ſanguinary deſigns, and which, it is ſaid, he did to the utmoſt of his power. Soon after his arrival, he knelt down on the very ſpot where the blood had been ſpilled, and ſaid ſome prayers. After which the rebels roſe from their knees, and exclaimed, "Come on, boys, in the name of God, to the camp! Thank God, we

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|| See Appendix, No. XX. 2.

have ſent theſe ſouls to hell!" They then accordingly ſet out for the camp.

"It is remarkable that the ſavage pikemen knelt down, lifted up their hands, and prayed apparently with devotion, before they proceeded to commit any of the murders."

A lady, who was in Mr. Hatchel's houſe, near the bridge, where this ſanguinary ſcene took place, deſcribes it thus in her diary, which I quoted before: "About three o'clock, captain Dixon came to the quay, calling out, "To the gaol!" He was followed up the cuſtom-houſe lane by numbers. They returned ſome time after to the bridge. I thought ſome alarm induced them to leave the town, and ſat eagerly watching, till I beheld, yes, I ſaw, abſolutely ſaw, a poor fellow cry for life, and was then moſt barbarouſly murdered.

"To give an account of this helliſh ſcene is beyond my ſtrength, nor could any perſon deſire to hear it. No ſavages ever put their priſoners to more deliberate torture. I ſaw a boat go to the priſon-ſhip, and bring my friends and acquaintances (who on landing paſſed by our door) to torture and death. I ſaw the horrid wretches kneel on the quay, lift up their hands, ſeeming to pray with the greateſt devotion, then riſe and join, or take place of other murderers. Their yells of delight at the ſufferings of their victims will ever, I believe, ſound in my ears.

"To deſcribe what we all ſuffered would be impoſſible. I never ſhed a tear, but felt all over in the moſt bodily pain. We expected life only till the priſons and the ſhip * were emptied; when an expreſs came, to ſay the army were marching againſt Vinegar-hill camp, and that if they did not reinforce it immediately, all was loſt. The town prieſts then, and not till then, made their appearance. The leader of the murderers called to his men, in theſe words,

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* It was but twenty-five tons burden, and twenty-two gentlemen were confined three weeks in its hold.

words, which I diſtinctly heard, "Come, my lads! we will now go; bleſſed be God, we have ſent ſome of their ſouls to hell!" They went off really as if they had been performing a praiſeworthy and religious action."

Mr. James Goodall, who had been taken out of the priſon-ſhip, and conveyed to the bridge, to be murdered, but was ſaved by the interference of Roche, the lay-general, declared upon oath on his trial, "That the aſſaſſins on the bridge were like a pack of ſtarving hounds ruſhing on their game."

Mr. Corrin had ſlept the preceding night at Clonard, two miles off, to chriſten a child for Mr. Kellett, who was in the priſon-ſhip, and whoſe wife was of the popiſh perſuaſion: She, Mrs. Bland and Mrs. Crump, earneſtly entreated him to ſave the lives of their huſbands, who were in the priſon-ſhip, and he faithfully promiſed to do ſo. This I heard from one of theſe ladies.

Previous to his departure he ſeemed ſo much agitated by fear, as the king's frigates and gun-boats appeared outſide the harbour, that he could ſcarce go through the ſervice of baptizing the child; and he piteouſly beſought them to protect him, as he would protect their huſbands.

When they had put to death on the bridge a good many of the priſoners confined in the gaol, they ſent a boat to the priſon-ſhip and called for meſſieurs Cox and Turner. After having plunged two pikes into the boſom of the former, he jumped into the water from the bridge, but was ſhot as ſoon as he roſe. †

Mr. Turner, a magiſtrate, who beheld this woeful ſpectacle, was next brought forward. They conſulted about raiſing his body on their pikes, and carrying it through the ſtreets, as they harboured the moſt inſatiable revenge againſt him, becauſe he was an active juſtice of the peace, and a zealous loyaliſt.

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† He commanded the Taghmon cavalry, had been a captain in the 5th regiment of foot, and had retired on half pay. He was taken at Coolcliffe.

loyaliſt. His own poſtillion, Thomas Cleary, § inſiſted on having the gratification of ſhedding his blood; but the intemperate eagerneſs of the pikemen for carnage operated like mercy towards him, for a number of them joined him in perforating his body with pikes, and threw it over the bridge.

Mr. Lehunte was next ſent for to the priſon-ſhip, but he fortunately happened to be in the gaol, where he eluded their ſearch in the corner of a cell. Their miſtake, and the delay occaſioned by it, very fortunately ſaved his life, as the expreſs arrived, and the alarm took place in the mean time.

Mr. Hore, of Harper's-town, nephew to the earl of Courtown, a moſt amiable inoffenſive gentleman, and Mr. Kellett, were next brought from the priſon-ſhip. The former was aſked, whether he had any perſon who could ſpeak in his favour? He ſaid, he had not, but requeſted time to find a perſon who could do ſo. He was then aſked, whether he was not connected with Mr. Boyd, member for the town? He anſwered, by ſaying, that Mr. Boyd was married to his ſiſter. To which the rebels replied, that is enough; and having immediately maſſacred him with their pikes, they threw his body into the river. ||

Mr. Edwards, taken out of the priſon-ſhip, was ſaved, becauſe he was married to a popiſh wife. It was aſked by one rebel, whether he had ever prevented his wife from going to maſs? Another, who was friendly to him, anſwered in the negative, and ſaid, he had often attended his wife to the chapel, and had gone for her when maſs was over; on which he was diſcharged.

Mr. Samuel Atkin, married to a proteſtant, was murdered.

Another perſon of the ſame name, and his two ſons, were ſaved, becauſe, it was believed, the father was married to a popiſh wife.

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§ See Cleary's confeſſion in Appendix, No. XX. 22.

|| As Mr. Boyd's family were zealous loyaliſts, they, and every perſon connected with them, were peculiarly the objects of rebel vengeance.

The bloody Thomas Dixon, and his wife, were preſent at, and ſuperintended this dreadful ſcene of carnage on horſeback.

When the rebels retreated from the bridge, on the alarm given by general Roche, Dixon and his wife attempted to follow them; but their horſes ſtartled at the immenſe quantity of blood which was ſhed on the bridge, and refuſed to paſs through it; on which they diſmounted, and led their horſes over the bridge; ſhe, at the ſame time, holding up her riding habit, leſt it ſhould be ſtained with blood. She was heard to deſire the rebels not to waſte their ammunition, but to give the priſoners plenty of piking.

It will reflect indelible diſgrace on the popiſh prieſts of Wexford, of whom there were no leſs than fifteen or ſixteen in the town during the perpetration of theſe maſſacres, that none of them, except father Corrin, ever interfered to prevent them. They evinced the moſt unbounded influence on all occaſions; for no proteſtant was ever injured who had been ſo fortunate as to obtain a protection from one of them. It has been ſaid in defence of the prieſts, that they had been totally ignorant of the maſſacres, till Mr. Kellett ſent to father Corrin.

It was well known, at an early hour, that the rebels meditated theſe ſcenes of ſavage cruelty, and their intention was announced by the proceſſion which they made with a black flag. The aſſaſſinations began at the gaol about two, on the bridge between three and four, and ended between ſeven and eight. At different times, the priſoners were conveyed in numbers of from ten to twenty, ſurrounded by ferocious pikemen, and preceded by that enſign of death, through the principal part of the town.

When every perſon of humanity in Wexford was petrified with horror at ſuch tragick ſcenes, which continued for five hours, could the prieſts alone have remained ignorant of them in ſo ſmall a town as Wexford? The idea is too abſurd.

I have been informed, that a young man from Roſs, who acted with the rebels, but who had more humanity than moſt of them, went to doctor Caulfield, informed him of the maſſacres which were going forward, and beſought him to prevent them; but he refuſed to interfere himſelf, but ſaid he would ſend father Roche, his chaplain, who was preſent, for that purpoſe; but he never was known to exert himſelf. The perſon who gave this notice to doctor Caulfield, with whom father Corrin had dined, related it to many perſons who aſſured me of it.

Mr. George Taylor, a man of great veracity, wrote a hiſtory of the rebellion in the county of Wexford, of which he is a native; and he tells us, "That while this work was going on, a rebel captain, being ſhocked at the cries of the victims, ran to the popiſh biſhop, who was then drinking wine with the utmoſt compoſure after dinner; and knowing that he could ſtop the maſſacre ſooner than any other perſon, entreated him, for the mercy of God, to come and ſave the priſoners. He in a very unconcerned manner replied, "It was no affair of his;" and requeſted the captain would ſit down and take a glaſs of wine with him: adding, "That the people muſt be gratified." The captain refuſed the biſhop's invitation; and, filled with abhorrence and diſtreſs of mind, walked ſilently away.

Mrs. O'Neil went to the doctor to complain of the murder of her nephew, Mr. Turner, on the bridge: He was one of the firſt perſons taken out of the priſon-ſhip; yet doctor Caulfield did not interfere, nor did Mr. Corrin, though he was preſent, till Mr. Kellett ſent a meſſenger for him; and there were many perſons maſſacred in the interval between Mrs. O'Neil's complaint and the deliverance of Mr. Kellett.

While they were diſpatching Mr. Hore, of Harper's-town, Mr. Kellett, who was the next intended victim, ſent a perſon in the crowd, who had formerly lived with him as ſervant, for Mr. Corrin, who dined at doctor Caulfield's, the popiſh biſhop, to let him know his perilous ſituation; and he inſtantly repaired to the bridge, threw himſelf between Mr. Kellett and the pikemen, ſaying, that they ſhould not kill him, without firſt butchering him. Having thus reſcued him, he firſt led him to his own houſe, and afterwards to Clonard, about two miles off, the ſeat of Mr. Kellett, who kept Mr. Corrin at his houſe till next day, to protect him; dreading that the rebels might have retaken and reconveyed him to priſon. It was univerſally believed, that father Corrin's interference did not proceed from pure motives of humanity, but from a preconcerted agreement with Mrs. Kellett, for the following reaſons: "He did not approach the bridge, or uſe any exertion till he received Mr. Kellett's meſſage at the biſhop's; and when he led him away under his protection, he left the other priſoners on their knees in the hands of the ruthleſs pikemen, without offering to interfere for their preſervation.

The following circumſtance tends ſtrongly to confirm this opinion: A gentleman of very great reſpectability, who was on board the priſon-ſhip, aſſured me, that on the morning of the maſſacre, a ſervant of Mr. Crump went on board, and from the general tenor of his converſation, they could infer, that meſſieurs Crump, Kellett and Bland would be ſaved at all events; which we may ſuppoſe was in conſequence of the promiſe made to their wives by Mr. Corrin the evening before.

Charles Jackſon, an Engliſhman, who had practiſed the trade of a carver and gilder at Wexford, was among the laſt party of priſoners ſuppoſed to have been ſaved by Mr. Corrin. He publiſhed a narrative of his ſufferings, and of the events which occurred at Wexford during the rebellion. The popiſh clergy of that town have relied much on his veracity; and it is moſt certain that his relation of the events of which he was an eye-witneſs is ſtrictly true.

A popiſh prieſt of Wexford wrote a pamphlet under the ſignature of Veritas, with the aſſiſtance, and under the direction of doctor Caulfield, merely for the purpoſe of vindicating the conduct of the Romiſh clergy; in which he often quoted Jackſon's narative, which gives a faithful repreſentation of the events which occurred, except while he was in priſon; and his account of them during that period was erroneous, for the following very obvious reaſon: They were communicated to him by his wife, who, being a rigid papiſt, was completely under the influence of the prieſts.

He gives the following account of the eſcape of himſelf and his fellow priſoners on the bridge:

" General Roche rode up in great haſte, and bid them beat to arms; ſaying, " that Vinegar-hill camp was beſet, and that reinforcements were wanting;" that this operated like lightning on the rebels, who inſtantly quitted the bridge, and left Jackſon and the other victims on their knees. That the mob, (conſiſting of more women than men,) who had been ſpectators, alſo inſtantly diſperſed in every direction, ſuppoſing the king's troops were at hand: That the priſoners, ſtupified with horror, remained ſome time on their knees, without making any effort to eſcape: That the rebel guard ſoon returned, took them back to gaol, telling them, that they ſhould not eſcape any longer than the next day, when neither man, woman or child of the proteſtants ſhould be left alive."

Different perſons at that time in Wexford, and ſome who lived near the bridge, have unanimouſly concurred with Jackſon's relation of it.

A perſon of the utmoſt veracity, who was led out to execution, and narrowly eſcaped, has poſitively aſſerted, that he believes father Corrin would not have interfered at all, but that he imagined there was a complete reverſe of fortune, in conſequence of the alarm occaſioned by the arrival of the meſſenger from Vinegar-hill; but this perſon was ignorant of the ſecret compact which he had made with Mrs. Kellett.

As ſtrong ſuſpicions were entertained, and inſinuations were thrown out, ſoon after the maſſacre at the bridge, that the popiſh prieſts in Wexford had more influence than any other perſons there, and that they could have protected thoſe whom they choſe, father Corrin went to Mr. George Taylor, one of the priſoners who eſcaped, when Mr. Kellett was reſcued, and aſked him to ſign a paper, containing a contradiction of it, and a general approbation of the conduct of the prieſthood in Wexford during the rebellion. He refuſed to do ſo, but at his inſtance gave him the following certificate:

"I do hereby certify, that the reverend John Corrin, by his humane exertion, has been the inſtrument in the hands of God in ſaving my life, and eleven others of my fellow-priſoners, the twentieth of June, being the day of the general maſſacre on the bridge of Wexford.

Ballywalter, GEORGE TAYLOR."
Auguſt 28th, 1798.

Mr. Taylor, on giving Mr. Corrin this certificate, aſked him, "What uſe he meant to make of it?" He anſwered, "To employ it in my defence." The reader will draw but one inference from this anticipated defence againſt an accuſation which was not at that time even thought of. As meſſieurs Taylor and Jackſon, who eſcaped from the maſſacre on the bridge, differed from each other in the relation of this dreadful event, I ſhall endeavour to account for their apparent contradiction.

Taylor imputes their preſervation ſolely to the interference of Mr. Corrin: Jackſon, to the alarm and confuſion occaſioned by the arrival of the expreſs, in which every one concurs with him, except George Taylor. The former ſays, they were led away from the bridge by Mr. Corrin; the latter, that they were left in the hands of the pikemen. I ſhould give greater credit to the relation of Jackſon, than that of Taylor, for the following reaſons: Mr. Kellett perſonally aſſured me, that Mr. Corrin led him away from the bridge; and it is moſt certain, that the remainder of the priſoners were led back to the gaol by the pikemen, where they remained until the king's troops entered the town. If Mr. Corrin had influence enough over the mob to check the maſſacre, and to reſcue Mr. Kellett, why did he leave the remainder of the priſoners in the hands of the ferocious rebels, who might have butchered them after his departure? In the ſtate of ſtupefaction to which the priſoners were reduced by terror, as Jackſon obſerves, it is very poſſible that Taylor might have miſtaken the real cauſe of their preſervation. They were ſurrounded by an immenſe mob, beſides the pikemen; and as many ſpectators in the houſe of Mr. Hatchel, near the bridge, have unanimouſly agreed, that the alarm and diſperſion of the rebels took place rather before the arrival of Mr. Corrin, it is poſſible that Mr. Taylor might have miſtaken the real cauſe of it, particularly as he could not have ſeen Mr. Corrin until the multitude diſperſed; beſides, he is uncommonly near-ſighted. I ſhall not pretend to diſpute his veracity, as I know him to be a perſon of ſtrict religious and moral principle, but I really believe he was miſtaken.

The following occurrence muſt diminiſh our belief of father Corrin's having acted from pure motives of humanity: Mrs. Margaret Lett, the wife of a brewer of Enniſcorthy, having been examined as a witneſs on the trial of Thomas Clooney, on the fifth of July, 1799, at Wexford, depoſed, That ſhe had the protection of father Corrin; that her huſband was a priſoner in the gaol of Wexford; that Clooney wrote on the back of the protection, that he would go bail for Mr. Lett's good behaviour, and that he would not leave Wexford, if Mr. Corrin would *allow** him to be taken out of gaol; and that ſhe went with the paper to Mr. Corrin, but he would not allow him to be liberated; that Clooney afterwards went to the priſon, took him out, and left him at her lodgings.

In this manner they put ninety-ſeven proteſtants to death, at Wexford, on the twentieth of June. Some perſons have ſaid that the number did not exceed ninety-five; but the bloody calendar. of all the proteſtant priſoners there, which I have in my poſſeſſion, puts this beyond a doubt.

On the trials of Peter Byrne and Ignatius Roſſiter, at Wexford, the former the fourteenth of June, 1799, the latter the twentieth of February, 1800, two members of the bloody committee that ſat in the gaol, the following facts were proved upon oath: Kennet Matthewſon, John Atkin, Richard and Joſeph Ganford, proteſtants, and priſoners in the gaol, were led before that ſanguinary tribunal to be tried. One of the priſoners having aſked Roſſiter, "What they meant to do with them?" He replied, that "They were on the black liſt." Peter Byrne, member of the committee, had a piſtol in his hand, and on ſeeing the priſoners, exclaimed in a rage, "It is not by two or three that you are to let us have the priſoners, (meaning to execute) for if you do not let us have them by the dozen, by J——s, I will blow up the gaol in two minutes." John Roſſiter, another member of the committee, ſhewed John Atkin the form of an oath which he ſaid the committee had taken, and the inſtructions which they had received to regulate the manner of proceeding;† that early on that day, a man went to him where he was confined, and ſhewed him a liſt which he ſaid was the black liſt, which he had got from the committee ſitting below ſtairs. The priſoners were then led to the committee-room door, but were kept outſide it. The man, who firſt accuſed Matthewſon, ruſhed into the room with a party of the rebels, who dragged him out. When the bloody committee were going out to ſee Matthewſon put to death, John Roſſiter, having a regard for Atkin, and wiſhing to ſave his life, put him into the committee-room, deſired him to ſhut himſelf in and not to appear at the windows, leſt he ſhould be ſhot. He entered the room, and ſaw Matthewſon ſhot and butchered with pikes in the ſtreet. There was a table in the committee-room, on which there were pens, ink, and paper, and a green book, which, having put into his pocket, he crept under a bed, where he lay concealed, till John Roſſiter afterwards, when the committee had adjourned, led him back to his cell, where he concealed the book, containing a calendar of all the proteſtants at that time priſoners in Wexford. The committee were much incenſed at the loſs of their book,* but could not account for it. The reader may well conceive the perturbation of John Atkin, who lay concealed under the bed, while the members of the committee were vowing vengeance againſt the perſon who carried off their book.

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* This ſhews that Mr. Corrin was conſidered as a perſon of great influence over the rebels, which he exerted on this occaſion, and not for a humane purpoſe.

† It is evident that the monſters who compoſed the bloody committee were guided and governed by ſome ſuperior power; that they took an oath to proceed in the bloody buſineſs, and had written inſtructions how to act.

The amiable lady, whoſe diary I have quoted, ſays in it, "Mr. R——,† a Roman catholick, and one of the committee for proviſions, came to us the evening of the day the maſſacre was committed. He was like ourſelves, half dead with horror, and declared that he entreated the prieſts to come down with their crucifixes, and prevent the maſſacre; but they all refuſed to do ſo. We told him that father Broe ſaid he had ſaved nineteen priſoners.

"This Mr. R—— denied, and ſaid, it was the expreſs that ſaved them. He told us, that the black

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[*] See a copy of it, Appendix, No XX. 24.

[†] As he is no more, I may tell the reader that this was Mr. Pat. Redmond, a man of humanity, who filled his ſituation with reluctance.

flag meant that every one of that party had taken the black teſt oath. He ſaid, that a man went into a ſhop where he was, and aſked another to give him the black teſt oath. This was refuſed, and the perſon he aſked left the ſhop; on which the man who wanted to take the oath, ſaid, "that fellow ſhall be one of the firſt I will kill; but as to the oath, I don't care, for another will give it to me." This oath is to be found at the end of Appendix, No. XX. 7. and was found in various places, and on different rebels who were killed.

In many inſtances it has appeared, that the Roman catholicks, even in the meaneſt ſituation, could ſave proteſtants. The following is a notable proof of it:

John Tate, a proteſtant, but carrying a gun among the rebels for the preſervation of his life, addreſſed himſelf to a common man, a rebel in their camp at Little Limerick, ſaying, "There is a brother-in-law of mine in priſon at Wexford, I ſhall be obliged to you, when you go there, to take him out and ſet him at liberty." This man, whoſe name is James Murphy, never thought of the requeſt made by Tate, until the day and inſtant they were murdering the priſoners on the bridge; when recollecting that the name of the man he wiſhed to liberate was Iſaac Stephens, he ſearched the different priſons until he found him among a great number in the market-houſe of Wexford, and not only brought him with him and preſerved him, but two more loyal yeomen who were in the ſame priſon, and begged of him, for God's ſake, to ſave them. He brought out theſe three men in the midſt of near one hundred pikemen who guarded the door and ſaved them. Their names were, Iſaac Stephens, cooper, at Caſtle-bridge, Samuel Maud, farmer, and John Stedman, weaver.

The confeſſion of James Beaghan,* one of the murderers of the reverend Mr. Heyden in the ſtreets of Enniſcorthy, clearly proves what part the popiſh prieſts took in the conſpiracy and rebellion; and that the name of orangemen was fabricated merely to make the publick believe that the ſanguinary ſpirit of the rebels was not directed againſt proteſtants in general, but merely againſt ſuch of them as were members of that political ſect.

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* See Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

The evidence upon oath of doctor Mc. Nevin, a member of the Iriſh directory, before a ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, dated the thirtieth of Auguſt, 1798, proves that they were deeply concerned in it: His words are, "That the catholick prieſts had ceaſed to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well affected to the cauſe; that ſome of them had rendered great ſervice in propagating with diſcreet zeal * the ſyſtem of the Iriſh union."

Many perſons of undoubted veracity aſſured me, that the popiſh biſhop, doctor Caulfield, gave his benediction to the ſavage pikemen as they proceeded to the maſſacre on the bridge; yet I ſhould not think of inſerting it in this hiſtory, if it were not authenticated on the oath of a reſpectable gentlewoman who beheld it; becauſe, however ſanguine the doctor might have been in the cauſe, I could not have ſuppoſed that he would have been ſo void of diſcretion. Mrs. Crane, ſiſter to judge Chamberlaine, made this affidavit. †

I ſhall not take upon me to ſay, whether the doctor on this occaſion acted in obedience to the councils of Lateran, Conſtance, Toledo or Trent, all which are mandatory on perſons of his perſuaſion to extirpate hereticks; or whether he acted according to his oath of inauguration, which requires that he ſhould, to the utmoſt of his power, perſecute and impugn all hereticks, ſchiſmaticks, and rebels, againſt his ſovereign lord the pope; but in writing a hiſtory of the rebellion, I thought that I could not leave ſo extraordinary a tranſaction unrecorded.

On

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* He puts thoſe who acted with diſcreet zeal in contradiſtinction to thoſe who appeared without diſguiſe and in a military capacity.

† See Appendix, No. XX. 23.

On Monday, the nineteenth of March, 1800, doctor Caulfield wrote a letter to Bryan Murphy, a prieſt of Taghmon, reproving him for having preſumed to give abſolution for ſin, without having obtained a faculty for that purpoſe. This letter, and two more on the ſame ſubject, one from ſaid Murphy to a proteſtant clergyman, and the other from father Kelly, pariſh prieſt of Taghmon, to doctor Caulfield, the reader will find in Appendix, No. XX. 23. Bryan Murphy is the perſon alluded to in Michael Aſkin's affidavit relative to Scullabogue, Appendix, No. XX. 9.

It is moſt certain, that a reſpectable inhabitant of Wexford ſent a meſſage to the friary, near the chapel, to requeſt the friars would order the rebels to deſiſt from the maſſacres; but they ſaid, that they would adviſe but not order them to do ſo.

A proteſtant clergyman of Wexford aſſured me of the following fact: About ſix o'clock on the morning after the maſſacre, one of the friars expreſſed great joy to him on the proſpect of peace, (as the defeat of the rebels at Foulkes's mill was known;) and he expreſſed great concern that the prieſts happened to be out of the way, and were ignorant of the maſſacre, for otherwiſe they *could have ſtopped it;* but ſoon after he ſaid, "We knew from the talk of the people in the morning, that we could not have ſaved Mr. Turner."

The black flag was carried in proceſſion again on the morning of the twenty-firſt of June by Thomas Dixon, and his band of aſſaſſins, as a ſignal to murder the reſt of the proteſtant priſoners; but the large army which had ſurrounded Vinegar-hill the day before, and the victory obtained by general Moore the preceding evening at Foulkes's mill, had intimidated the blood-hounds ſo much, that they, fearing leſt they might provoke the vengeance of the royal army, reſolved to ſue for mercy.

Doctor Jacob and his family were not moleſted for the following reaſon: Being a gentleman of great medical ſkill, not only as a phyſician, but as a ſurgeon, and as the rebels compelled him to take care of their ſick and wounded men, as before-mentioned, they were not only anxious to preſerve his life, but ſhewed conſiderable reſpect for him, his family, and ſuch of his friends as were lodged in Mr. Hatchel's houſe.

The news of the victory at Foulkes's-mill having been received at Wexford the ſame evening it was gained, a number of rebel leaders, who had been preſent at the maſſacre, aſſembled at governor Keugh's houſe, and concerted meaſures of conciliation, in hopes of procuring an amneſty. Next morning they waited on lord Kingſborough, requeſting that he would be their mediator, and write to the different general officers to ſpare the inhabitants of Wexford and their property, on laying down their arms, and returning to their allegiance; which he agreed to do, on their inveſting him with the military command of the town, and reinſtating the civil magiſtrates.

During this negociation, the bloody Thomas Dixon, and many other rebel officers and privates, flocked to his lodgings, and implored his protection, in conſideration of their humane conduct in having ſaved the lives of many proteſtants.

General Keugh and his friends having acceded to lord Kingſborough's deſires, his lordſhip agreed to forward the following propoſals made by them to the different general officers:

"That captain Mc. Manus * ſhall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, † accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious perſuaſions, to inform the officer, commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without oppoſition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided their perſons and property are guaranteed by the commanding

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* Captain Mc. Manus of the Antrim was a priſoner. E. Hay, was a rebel leader, who went to protect him.

† Plate III. 3.

manding officer; and that they will uſe every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance alſo. Theſe terms, we hope, captain Mc. Manus will be able to procure.

Signed by order of the inhabitants of Wexford,

MATT. KEUGH."

Captain Mc. Manus was to have gone to general Needham to Oulart; but finding that he had changed his poſition, he repaired directly to general Lake at Enniſcorthy, where he found captain O'Hea and captain Burke of the North Cork regiment, who were ſent on the ſame errand, the former to general Lake, and the latter to general Moore.

Soon after the departure of captain Mc. Manus, the rebel leaders being uneaſy leſt the victorious army of general Moore ſhould arrive before their terms had been accepted by general Lake, urged lord Kingſborough to ſend a ſecond meſſenger to general Moore, to requeſt he would encamp at Carrickbridge,* before he advanced to the town. His lordſhip employed for that purpoſe enſign Harman of his own regiment, who was attended by one Carthy, a rebel captain.

Soon after he left the town, he was met by father John Murphy, and one Whelan, his aid-de-camp, who were leading a large rebel column from Vinegar-hill. Murphy aſked Harman, (who unfortunately was in full uniform,) whither he was going? he anſwered, to propoſe terms to general Moore on the part of the people of Wexford. Murphy ſaid, in a great rage, " I will hear of no terms:" Then addreſſing his aid-de-camp, and pointing to Harman, he ſaid, " That fellow ought to die, for he has been condemned by a committee:" on which Whelan drew a piſtol, and ſhot Mr. Harman through the head.

As captain O'Hea met one of the rebel columns retreating from Vinegar-hill, I give the reader his deſcription of it: He was accompanied by two rebel captains,

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* Plate III. 5, 6, now called Carrick-ferry.

captains, one of the name of Clooney, as guides and protectors. The column which he met was very numerous, and many of the men who formed it were well armed with muſkets, piſtols, and blunderbuſſes, and the remainder with pikes. General Edward Fitzgerald, who commanded, and rode at the head of the column, on ſeeing captain O'Hea in his regimentals, halted it; and after a cool ſalute, demanded his diſpatches, which he read and returned, with an appearance of diſſatisfaction. Many of the rebels cheered him, and ſeemed much pleaſed with the idea of peace; but a few curſed the idea, and ſaid, they would ſtill fight. At the rear of the column he met Edward Roche, the lay-general, who ſaluted him, and ſuffered him to paſs, when Clooney had explained the purport of his embaſſy.

General Lake gave the following anſwer to Keugh's letter:

"Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms againſt their ſovereign; while they ſo remain, he muſt uſe the force entruſted to him, with the utmoſt energy, for their deſtruction.

"To the deluded multitude, he promiſes pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, ſurrendering their arms, and returning with ſincerity to their allegiance.

Enniſcorthy, 22d June, 1798. G. LAKE."

The inhabitants of Wexford, who ſaw this rebel column advancing at a great diſtance, were much alarmed, dreading that they would plunder and burn the town.

When lord Kingſborough was inveſted with the command of it, he ſent a note to Scallion,* who was on board the priſon-ſhip, to deſire he would bring Mr. Solomon Richards of Solſborough to him, as he wanted his advice and aſſiſtance, in the critical ſituation in which he then ſtood. The rebels attempted to ſink the boat in which he went, as he paſſed under the bridge, which was very high, by darting their pikes through it; and would have effected it, but that they were prevented by Scallion.

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* He was created an admiral by the republick, for having taken his lordſhip priſoner.

Soon after Mr. Richards waited on lord Kingſborough the rebel column entered the town, headed by father Murphy, who advanced to his lordſhip's lodgings, mounted on a fine horſe fully capariſoned, having a caſe of piſtols and a broad ſword. Lord Kingſborough addreſſed him from his window, and told him he would endeavour to obtain favourable terms for him and his friends, provided they conducted themſelves properly; and ſaid, he hoped he was coming to give up his arms: On which, the ſacerdotal hero, in a paroxyſm of rage, diſmounted, and aſcending to his lordſhip's apartment, aſked him, with much rudeneſs and petulance, who he was? and on being informed, he ſaid, with great indignation, "I had you tried and condemned this morning at the camp at Vinegar-hill, and I'll have you taken out and executed this night."

Doctor Caulfield, the titular biſhop, who had juſt arrived, began to expoſtulate with him; on which lord Kingſborough deſired him to reſpect his biſhop; but Murphy flouriſhed his hand over the biſhop's head, ſaying, "I was once your prieſt; but I am now a general." However, when his anger cooled, he knelt down, kiſſed his hand, and acknowledged his ſuperiority.

Whelan, Murphy's aid-de-camp, who was preſent, had a large whiſkey bottle in his pocket, and a piſtol in his hand; and he boaſted that he had juſt ſhot his officer outſide the town, alluding to the murder of enſign Harman. He alſo ſaid, he would ſhoot lord Kingſborough; on which his lordſhip cocked his piſtol, preſented it at his breaſt, and declared he would ſhoot him, if he moved his hand, which prevented the perpetration of his ſanguinary deſign.

Mrs. Richards, her ſiſter, and ſome officers wives, had ſought an aſylum in his lordſhip's lodgings at this critical and alarming moment; and fearing that they ſhould all be maſſacred if lord Kingſborough ſhot Murphy, or his aid-de-camp, one was in hyſtericks, another fainted, and another fell on her knees to deprecate his lordſhip's anger.

While they were in this ſtate of perturbation, Perry the rebel general entered his lordſhip's apartment, and carried Murphy and Whelan off; and ſoon after he led the band of rebel aſſaſſins out of town, but left his two aid-de-camps, who were wounded, with lord Kingſborough, who had them taken care of.

The ſudden flight of the rebels is principally to be imputed to their fear of the king's troops, who were advancing; and the ſudden arrival of a few brave yeomen, which I ſhall deſcribe, and whom they took for the advanced guard of our army, occaſioned their precipitate retreat.

It is certain that Dr. Caulfield uſed every means in his power, and ſucceeded, in preventing the rebels from murdering lord Kingſborough; partly by his ſpiritual authority, and partly by telling them that he was a valuable hoſtage; and that by preſerving his life, and conciliating him, he would probably obtain favourable terms for them and their friends, and prevent the ſoldiers from deſolating the town and the country.

When general Moore's army was within about two miles of Wexford, they perceived the houſe of a proteſtant in the ſuburbs on fire, from which they concluded, that the rebels were burning the town. Mr. James Boyd, repreſentative for the town, who commanded the Wexford cavalry, trembling for the fate of his wife and children, aſked permiſſion of the general for him, and as many of the yeomen cavalry as would accompany him, to puſh forward to the town, and to make a deſperate effort to ſave their families and their property. The following perſons, with great magnanimity, volunteered in that perilous ſervice, and ran a riſk of devoting their own lives to ſave the property and lives of the proteſtant inhabitants who remained in the town; they were all members of the corps but one. Captain James Boyd, member of parliament, lieutenant Perceval, high ſheriff for the county, corporal John Stetham, corporal William Hughes, A. H. Jacob, of the Enniſcorthy corps, and the following privates, John Tench, Joſeph Sutton, Archer Bayly, Marcus Doyle, Abraham Howlin, John Byrne, and William M'Cabe, Mr. Boyd's ſervant. Chriſtopher Irwine, permanent ſerjeant of the troop, followed them rapidly on foot, his horſe having been ſhot. They daſhed into the town with a degree of valour bordering on deſpair, and announced with a loud voice, that the army was at their heels. This gave the rebels ſuch an electrick ſhock, that, panick ſtruck, they fled in all directions, ſome over the bridge, others to the barony of Forth. Their conſternation was ſo great, that very few of them attempted in their flight to injure the inhabitants of the town. One rebel fired at meſſieurs Jacob and Rudd, but the latter ſoon diſpatched him. A rebel fired at lord Kingſborough in the ſtreet, for which another perſon, a loyaliſt, inſtantly ſhot him.

During this ſcene of confuſion which their flight occaſioned, the bloody Thomas Dixon, mounted on a very fine horſe which he had taken from Mr. Cadwallader Edwards, rode through the ſtreets, with a broad ſword drawn, and upbraided the rebels for their timidity and their dilatorineſs; and ſaid, "If you had followed my advice in putting all the hereticks to death three or four days ago, it would not have come to this paſs." Mrs. Dixon, who accompanied him on horſeback, with a ſword and a caſe of piſtols, clapped the rebels on the back and encouraged them, by ſaying, "We muſt conquer: I know we muſt conquer:" and ſhe exclaimed repeatedly, "My Saviour tells me we muſt conquer!"

They repaired to the bridge to ſtop the retreat of the rebels, but in vain, though Mrs. Dixon drew a piſtol and ſwore vehemently that ſhe would ſhoot any one of them who would refuſe to return with her to put the remainder of the hereticks to death. They endeavoured to raiſe the portcullis of the bridge to prevent their retreat, but were unable to do ſo.

Governor Keugh came into the ſtreet, and cried aloud, "Gentlemen, fly to the camp at the mountain of Forth; you have nothing elſe for it: Go there and defend yourſelves." Some of them, as they were retreating (but particularly young M'Gauley, of Oulart, who was afterwards hanged) cried out, "Let us ſet fire to the town!" but they had not time to do ſo, for in a few minutes there was not a rebel in it.

A very reſpectable lady informed me, that father Roche, the general, on horſeback, and with a drawn ſword, harangued the rebels in the ſtreet, and endeavoured to inſpire them with courage, before her window. He told them, "that they were of the only true faith, which was the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and that if they would ſupport him in the extirpation of hereticks, they would ſoon have but one religion;" but they were deaf to his exhortations, and ſome of them ſaid, "By my ſoul, father Roche, we have ſtood by you too long; we are ſorry we ever came to you, for you have deceived and ruined us!" I have already quoted the journal of a reſpectable lady, who reſided near the bridge. I ſhall now give the reader her obſervations on the events which took place the day that the town was evacuated. She mentioned before, that the black flag had been carried about in proceſſion, to announce that the maſſacre was to be renewed.

"About four o'clock Mr. Redmond and doctor Jacob came to us. They had been fired at in the ſtreet. The doctor was as compoſed as I am now; but I really never ſaw ſuch firmneſs of mind as he poſſeſſes on all occaſions. Mr. R—— ſaid, "The general maſſacre is going to begin, and that he came to ſave us, or rather to ſhare our fate, for he feared we could not eſcape;" however he had got a boat, with men on whom he thought he could rely, to the end of our houſe, that we ſhould try to get into it, ſtand the fire of the rebels from the quay and in paſſing under the bridge; and if we got clear, throw ourſelves on the mercy of the gun-boats. This was truly deſperate: I walked up ſtairs, and went to a window; the rebels were ſettling themſelves as before, on the bridge, and ſending a boat to the priſon-ſhip; when, conceive my aſtoniſhment, I ſaw them all begin to run. I flew down ſtairs, doubting my ſenſes, to tell doctor Jacob. He came to the window. It was no illuſion; run they did, in ſuch confuſion, that I was amazed numbers were not trampled to death. A general cry, "The army are come, they are in the town," explained their flight.—Wretches ran out of the infirmary in their ſhirts. In an incredible ſhort ſpace of time the ſtreets were almoſt clear. Above fifty armed rebels ruſhed into our houſe, tore out their green cockades, threw their arms under the beds; and hoped to eſcape by being found under doctor Jacob's roof. He put on his regimentals, and went into the ſtreet. A villain that was going off, turned about, and fired at him, but miſſed him.

"Mr. Perceval, the ſheriff, galloped down the quay to our door, and ſaid, "Here are twelve thouſand ſoldiers with us." Imagine, if you can, our feelings! I never ſhall forget Elizabeth's countenance as ſhe came down ſtairs and ſhook us by the hand. The boat that was ſent to bring them * to torture and to death, brought them to liberty and to rapture. Several came to us. No kind of decorum was obſerved. Nothing but kiſſing and embracing. Moſt of the men cried violently. I ſaw above five thouſand men fly from one horſeman. It was ſuppoſed that four thouſand of them fled from one end of the town. My bridge acquaintances are thoſe who, under the command of Perry and Fitzgerald, have ſince ſpread miſery and deſtruction over the counties of

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* The priſoners from the priſon-ſhip.

of Wexford and Wicklow. We never learned what became of Dixon. None of us ſaw him go over the bridge; and as he is a very large man, and rode a tall white horſe, he could hardly eſcape the obſervation of twelve of us who were anxious to ſee him depart. Mrs. Boyd told me, that ſhe and lady Ann Hore were ſitting in their lodgings, expecting the entrance of the murderers, when they heard a horſe gallop and ſtop at their door."

The lady whoſe journal I quote, and many others who were in Wexford at that time, have declared, that the preſervation of the town and proteſtant inhabitants can be imputed to nothing but the determination of the rebels to murder lord Kingſborough, to whoſe lodging they repaired with father Murphy, and that that object diverted them from their nefarious deſign, till the alarm, which I have mentioned, occaſioned their general diſperſion and flight.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the twenty-firſt, the day of their deliverance, father Broe the friar, having viſited the priſon-ſhip, and recommended to the priſoners to be chriſtened, as he ſaid it might be the means of ſaving them from the rage of the rabble, about fifteen of them conſented. He gave thoſe who ſubmitted to that ceremony the following certificate:

"I hereby certify that A. of B. in the pariſh of C. has done his duty and proved himſelf a Roman catholick, and has made a voluntary oath that he never was an orangeman, nor took the orange oath. Dated Wexford, June twenty-firſt, 1798.

F. JOHN BROE."

This unqueſtionably proves that father Broe knew that a ſecond maſſacre was intended; and that there was no ſafety for any perſon but a Roman catholick.

As the rebels were retreating over the bridge, one of them fired at the gentlemen on the deck of the priſon-ſhip, but the ball paſſed over their heads.

General Moore having ſent the Queen's regiment into Wexford, between eight and nine o'clock, encamped that night about two miles from it, on the ſouth ſide of the Slaney. The army under generals Lake and Dundas encamped on the north ſide of the Slaney, between Temple-hill * and Carrickferry. ‡ As they were encamping, they found in the hedges about fifty rebels, with their pikes, who had fled from Vinegar-hill, whom they ſhot; which induced them to ſearch ſome bruſhwood which was contiguous, and they found there many more, whom they alſo put to death.

General Johnſon remained on the ſouth ſide of the Slaney, and not far from general Moore. General Lake entered Wexford on the morning of the twenty-ſecond of June, and eſtabliſhed his ſtaff in Keugh's houſe, where he, as governor of the town, and a rebel general, had held his ſtaff a few hours before.

As many falſe and ſcandalous reports were propagated by the diſaffected, that ſeveral wanton and barbarous outrages were committed by the king's troops on their entering Wexford, that many perſons were immediately and without any criminal proceſs put to death, I think it proper to obſerve, that ſuch infamous calumnies were perfectly groundleſs; that peace and good order were preſerved there; and that none but thoſe who took a very active part in the rebellion were puniſhed. I give the reader, in Appendix, No. XXI. 4. a liſt of the delinquents who ſuffered there during the ſpace of two years after, and general Lake's humane proclamation.

To palliate the atrocities committed in Wexford by the rebels, it has been falſely inſinuated, that they were provoked to perpetrate them by lord Kingſborough's having violated the terms which he had made with them, but this is totally without foundation.

Keugh on his trial made a very able and manly defence, during the whole of which he was cool and deliberate, and ſo eloquent and pathetick, as to excite the moſt tender emotions in the breaſts of his auditors. Lord Kingſborough, Mr. Lehunte, and other reſpectable witneſſes, proved that he acted on all occaſions with ſingular humanity, and endeavoured to prevent

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* Plate III. 4, 5. ‡ Ibid. 6.

prevent the effuſion of blood; and that they owed their lives to his active interference. He ſaid, "That after the maſſacre on the evening of the twentieth of June, he was ſitting in his own houſe, when he received the following meſſage from the commander in chief: "Roche, the prieſt, by Thomas Dixon;—that as he was leaving town, on particular buſineſs, he ordered him under pain of death, on the next morning before twelve o'clock, to put to death one hundred more of the priſoners * in the ſame manner that ninety-ſeven had ſuffered that day." He then ſtated, that his brother, who had lived many years in his houſe, and had long ſerved the king with reputation as an officer, ‡ was as noted for his loyalty as for every moral virtue: That on hearing the ſanguinary mandate of Roche, delivered by Dixon, he ordered himſelf to be put to bed, as from feebleneſs and decrepitude he had not been able for many years to move from one place to another. The next morning he crept, all fours, to the governor's apartment, in his abſence, where having found a caſe of piſtols, he blew out his brains. He was frequently interrupted in the courſe of this doleful narration, by crying and ſobbing. He declared that his only object was to reform and improve the conſtitution; but that popiſh fanaticiſm had defeated his deſigns, and borne down every thing. He lamented that he had totally neglected the cultivation of the proteſtant religion, in which he had been bred; however, he was attended in his laſt moments by a proteſtant clergyman. After having prayed devoutly on his knees, he roſe and then prayed aloud and fervently for the king and the royal family, and that his majeſty might long ſit upon the throne, and that the conſtitution in church and ſtate

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* This ſhews that the maſſacre intended next morning, which was announced by a ſecond proceſſion with the black flag, was a deliberate act, and planned by the rebel leaders.

‡ Being an amiable old man, and very loyal, he was filled with horror at the ſituation to which his brother was reduced.

ſtate might never be overthrown. His pathetick eloquence and ſtrength of argument on his trial moved the audience ſo much, that a general officer, who was preſent, ran haſtily to general Lake, and requeſted that he might be reſpited; but he aſſured him, that he found among his papers ſufficient indications of his guilt. See in Appendix, No. XXI. 5. a liſt of rebel leaders found among them. Roche, the prieſt and commander in chief, one Fenlon, a ſchoolmaſter, and two obſcure perſons, were executed at the ſame time with Keugh. The former, about forty years old, was tall and corpulent, and had a ferocious countenance. While Keugh and the other priſoners were on their knees, he continued motionleſs, and ſhewed no appearance of devotion, except that when they were preparing for his execution, he knelt down and kiſſed the ground.*

Soon after Roche was ſuſpended, the rope broke, and he fell ſenſeleſs on the ground; but on recovering, he aroſe and exclaimed, "G—d's blood, what are you about? why do you pull my ſtock ſo tight?" He then mounted the fatal ſtep a ſecond time, and was launched into eternity!

Some of our officers who converſed with him, while in priſon, aſſured me that they thought he was born a general, from the judicious remarks which he made on ſome actions, particularly that of Vinegar-hill. He ſaid, that they were very much deceived in the county of Wexford, as they imagined that the inſurrection would have been general all over the kingdom, and then they muſt have ſucceeded. He allowed that the object of the Iriſh union was the ſubverſion of the conſtitution.

John Hay, the rebel general, was taken at his own place, hiding in a ſhrubbery, by general Dundas's army, who encamped near it on the 22d of June, and was hanged next day. He was of an ancient popiſh family, and the ſon of Mr. Harvey Hay of Ballankeele,† noted for his hoſpitality. He had lived a great while in

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* A common practice among his ſavage ſectaries. † Plate III. 3.

France, and had ſerved in the French army. Though his manners were poliſhed, and he appeared generous and liberal, he was a bigot, and diſplayed a moſt cruel and ſanguinary diſpoſition during the rebellion. He was ſo beſotted with ſuperſtition, as to wear a ſcapular, which was found hanging on his breaſt when they were going to execute him.

On the trial of general Edward Roche, Thomas Hatchell proved that he heard Mr. Hay at Vinegar-hill propoſe the murder of all the proteſtants, and that Roche oppoſed it. The cold-blooded murder, committed by him of Gray Thomas, at the ſame place, was alſo proved on Roche's trial.‡ Thomas Smithſon confirmed the evidence of Thomas Hatchell.

The arreſt of B. B. Harvey and John Colclough was attended with ſome curious circumſtances, which I ſhall relate. On the flight of the rebels from Wexford the twenty-firſt day of June, they retreated to the largeſt of the Saltee iſlands,† which Mr. Colclough rented from Mr. Grogan. Doctor Waddy, a phyſician, who ſerved in the yeomanry, having got intelligence of their retreat, applied to general Lake for a proper party, and an armed veſſel, to go in queſt of them, which he readily obtained.

About three o'clock on Sunday afternoon the twenty-third day of June, he ſet ſail in the Rutland cutter of ten guns, commanded by captain Willoughby, with lieutenant Turner of the Queen's, a detachment of his regiment, and a man of war's boat, with a party of ſailors well armed. The iſland is about ſix leagues from Wexford, and four or five miles from the ſouthern coaſt of that county. The weather was ſo tempeſtuous, that they were obliged to reef their ſails; and the wind being adverſe, they did not deſcry the iſland till about four o'clock in the morning, and could not caſt anchor along ſide it till eight. When they were approaching it, they ſaw a ſmall boat paſs from the iſland to the main land. As it is ſurrounded with high precipices, and is inacceſſible but in

‡ See Appendix, No. XIX. 7.

† Plate III. 12.

in one place, and as they expected to be oppoſed by a party of armed rebels, who it was believed had accompanied Harvey and Colclough, capt. Willoughby prepared to cover their landing with the cutter's guns, and they were attended for the ſame purpoſe by the man of war's boat. On landing, they repaired to the only houſe on the iſland, occupied by one Furlong, who rented it from Mr. Colclough. They found there an excellent feather-bed, with fine ſheets, which were warm, a handſome tea equipage, ſome genteel wearing apparel, belonging to both ſexes, particularly, a pair of pantaloons, which doctor Waddy had ſeen on Mr. Colclough before the rebellion; and near the houſe ſome ſilk ſhoes and other articles, hid in high ferns. They ſearched every ſuſpected ſpot in the iſland, particularly a place called the Otters' cave, but in vain; though they had not a doubt of their having been there, as they had found, among other things, a cheſt of plate concealed in a place belonging to Colclough.

The doctor reſolved to make another effort, by going round the iſland in a boat, for the purpoſe of reconnoitring the ſides of it. In doing ſo, he perceived, on the edge of a high precipice, one rock lighter-coloured than the adjoining ones; and as the earth near it ſeemed to have been recently ſtirred, he ſuſpected that they had been making preparations there for their concealment. He therefore again aſcended the iſland, and found that the approach to the place which he wiſhed to explore was ſteep, ſerpentine, and through ſome crags. The light-coloured ſtone covered the mouth of the cave, and above it there was an aperture to let in the light. The doctor called out to Colclough, and told him, that if he did not ſurrender immediately, and without reſiſtance, he ſhould receive no quarter. Colclough aſked, "Is that doctor Waddy?" and on his ſaying, "Yes," he ſaid he would ſurrender; and ſoon after he, at the doctor's deſire, gave up his arms through the hole in the cave. The doctor threw down the precipice the ſtone which covered the mouth of it, which fell with a monſtrous craſh; on which Mr. and Mrs. Colclough came forth, dreſſed in the meaneſt habits of peaſants, for the purpoſe of diſguiſing themſelves. Then B. Harvey came out, ſaying, "My God! my God!" and ſo pale and weak from fatigue and anxiety of mind, that the doctor was obliged to ſupport him. He alſo had a cheſt of plate concealed, which he gave in charge to the doctor and his party.

They arrived in Wexford harbour about nine at night; but as the tide was out, the priſoners could not be committed till next morning.

Meſſieurs Harvey and Grogan, and Patrick Prendergaſt, a rich malſter, were executed at the ſame time.

The former was a weak man, who fell a ſacrifice to the malign influence of baſe and deſigning men, who cheriſhed in him diſaffection to the ſtate, which made him a ſanguine advocate for reforming our conſtitution; the various excellencies of which he was as incapable of diſcerning, as an inſect is the grandeur and elegance of a magnificent edifice.

Mr. Grogan, who was executed at the ſame time, denied his guilt, and declared on his trial that he had acted by compulſion, which was certainly true, though it was proved that he had been frequently ſeen with a green cockade, marching in and out of Wexford, at the head of a large body of rebels; and that as commiſſary to the republick, he had ſeized the proviſions of different people in its vicinity, ſo as to leave their families quite deſtitute.

Mr. Harvey, in his defence on his trial, ſaid, "That he became a member of the Iriſh union three years before; that he imagined the only object was to reform the conſtitution; but that he did not till recently diſcover that the popiſh prieſts were deeply concerned in it, and that the extermination of proteſtants was their main deſign:* That having oppoſed their ſanguinary views, he was depoſed, and the command was given to that infamous villain father Roche: That he was then carried to the Three-rock camp as a priſoner, where he remained a few days, and was ſo far at liberty as to be allowed to walk about; but ſo cloſely watched, that, with every wiſh to make his eſcape, he found it impoſſible, till the evening the rebels fled in every direction on the approach of the king's troops."

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* This was kept a profound ſecret from the proteſtant leaders.

He died in a very decent manner, having been attended by a proteſtant clergyman, and prayed moſt fervently. A ſhort time before his trial, a particular friend of his and mine, having aſked him, how he came to conſent to the bloody buſineſs of Scullabogue; he, very much ſhocked, replied, "That it was brought about by an infamous ſanguinary popiſh faction."

Mr. Harvey wrote the following letter to lord Kingſborough, a ſhort time before his execution. It was the laſt graſp for life, and ſhews manifeſt ſigns of perturbation:

"My lord,

"I take the liberty of requeſting your lordſhip will let me have an opportunity of ſeeing your lordſhip before you leave Wexford. You cannot but recollect how repeatedly I wiſhed to ſpeak to your lordſhip alone; that I was always prevented by fear; and whenever I met you and was allowed to ſpeak to you, I was ever ready to accede to propoſals of reſtoring order and government.

I am, with ſubmiſſion,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
B. B. HARVEY."

Mr. Harvey, in a numerous company, and at the houſe of a relation in Dublin, in the year 1796, began to broach ſome of his republican opinions, which I endeavoured to refute. At laſt, I ſaid to him, with much emphaſis, "Beware that your life and property do not fall a ſacrifice to your abſurd republican notions!"

The following fact proves that he was a man of humanity: The reverend Mr. Wilſon, miniſter of the pariſh of Mulranken, in which he lived, and ſuch of his proteſtant pariſhioners as could not make their eſcape, were taken priſoners, and ſent to Wexford gaol on the firſt of June; but Mr. Harvey ordered them home, on their taking the united Iriſhmen's oath.

From the following incidents we may infer, that, with the beſt military talents, and the warmeſt zeal in the rebel cauſe, his power could not have been of any duration. Mr. Solomon Richards aſſured me, that a prieſt refuſed to grant him a protection, the day after our troops evacuated Wexford; but on applying to B. Harvey, he gave him one, which afforded him liberty and ſecurity till Mr. Harvey's power began to decline, and then no reſpect was paid to it, and he was committed to priſon.

Matthew Green, an inhabitant of Wexford, who was hanged there for being a rebel captain, and for having been concerned in the murder of Murphy on the third of June, went on board the priſon-ſhip, and ſaid, with an air of inſolence, to Mr. Richards, "So, you would not take my advice in joining us, and in taking a command. See whether B. Harvey's advice or mine is beſt, and whether he or I will be the greateſt man in a day or two; but mark my words, that he and all the proteſtant generals and priſoners will *go*, for we will have but one people. I doubt whether you can eſcape with your life."

John Colclough, of Ballyteige,* died with much decency and firmneſs. He was the only perſon of his name who was a papiſt, and who was publickly accuſed of being a rebel. He was deſcended from John Colclough, who became a convert to popery about the beginning of the 18th century, and who from his great bigotry was called the Saint. He left only one child, an infant ſon, who he deſired might be bred a proteſtant; conſcious, I ſuppoſe, that the religion which he profeſſed, would have a tendency to make him a bad ſubject of a proteſtant ſtate. With a loud voice, and much compoſure, he exhorted the bye-ſtanders to avoid the abſurd prejudices and opinions which had brought him to an untimely and ignominious death; and he expatiated on the extreme folly of endeavouring to overturn a regular and well-eſtabliſhed government; and he ended with theſe notable words, "From what I have ſeen theſe laſt three weeks, I am not ſorry for dying." Alluding, I ſuppoſe, to the maſſacres.

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* Plate III. 9, 10.

Fanaticiſm had made the lower claſs of people ſo blind to their own intereſt, and ſo inſenſible to danger, that ſome of them were convicted in Wexford, ſoon after the king's troops arrived there, of uſing ſeditious language, and of endeavouring to ſeduce them; though ſo many of their fellow-traitors had recently ſuffered capital puniſhment.

Some attempts of this kind were made on the Queen's regiment, the firſt which entered the town on the twenty-firſt of June, though it conſiſted of Engliſhmen. Thomas Graham, an inhabitant of Wexford, was convicted of trying to ſeduce John Nailor of that regiment, while a ſentry on his poſt, a few days after the regiment had landed in Ireland.

The ſailors continued ſo diſaffected, that they refuſed, in the autumn of the year 1798, to convey goods from Dublin to Wexford for a Roman catholick merchant of that town, becauſe he was notorious for his loyalty, though he had offered a very high price for the freight. This ſpirit of diſaffection and combination was inveſtigated, and fully proved, before a committee of the houſe of commons.

Soon after the maſſacres at Wexford, on the twentieth of June, the following ſentences were carved on the rails of the portcullis of the bridge, the place where they were perpetrated; and they were legible in the month of June, 1799: "Sacred to the chriſtian doctrine of ſending orangemen to the meadows of eaſe, June 1798: The holy hereticks that were ſlain."

The rebel column, which, after the defeat at Vinegar-hill, had retreated to the north of the county of Wexford, and the county of Wicklow, were joined by a large body belonging to the latter, headed by Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, and his brother William, and continued to ſpread deſolation there, burning the houſes of proteſtants, and murdering ſuch of their occupiers as fell into their hands. The firſt achievement which they endeavoured to perform in this new ſcene of action, was an attempt to deſtroy Hacketſtown. *

As numbers of the people of the country were ſeen, on the twenty-fourth of June, aſſembling on all the adjacent hills, no doubt for the purpoſe of joining the column which I have already mentioned, the garriſon, conſiſting but of forty of the Antrim militia, commanded by lieutenant Gardner, and fifty of the Hacketſtown infantry, commanded by captain Hardy, ſent intelligence of it to the officers commanding yeomen corps in the neighbourhood.

At ſix o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fifth, captain Chamney, with thirty of his infantry, captain Hume, with thirty of the Talbot's-town cavalry, and lieutenant Braddell, with twenty-four of the Shillelah cavalry, reinforced the garriſon, and marched with them a ſhort diſtance from the town, to meet the rebels, who were thought to be thirteen thouſand ſtrong, and were commanded by generals Garret and William Byrne, meſſieurs Perry, Mc. Mahon, Michael Reynolds, and Edward Fitzgerald. The garriſon had gone but a ſhort diſtance from the town, when the rebels began to file off on each ſide, for the purpoſe of ſurrounding them. In conſequence of this, the Talbot's-town and Shillelah cavalry were obliged to retreat, for fear of being cut off, by the road to Clonmore, and could not afterwards return to aſſiſt in defending the town.

In the retreat, captain Hardy, a brave and intelligent officer and a moſt amiable gentleman, and four men,

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* There was an attack made on this town the twenty-fifth of May, by a numerous body of rebels; but they were repulſed by the yeomen and a ſmall party of the Antrim militia.

men, were killed. The infantry, about one hundred and twenty in number, took poſt in the barrack, part of them having lined a breaſt-work which the captain had raiſed ſome days before in the rear of it. The remainder defended the front.

The reverend James Mc. Ghee collected nine proteſtants, and with them occupied and reſolved to defend a houſe which commanded the main ſtreet, and one ſide of the barrack, which was thatched, and which thoſe inſide it could not defend. The family of Mr. Mc. Ghee, all the proteſtant women of the town, and even the wife of general Byrne, (whom, it is ſaid, he wiſhed to get rid of,) took refuge in it. Mr. Mc. Ghee barricaded the lower part of the houſe, placed four of his men in its rear to prevent it from being burnt, and the other five in the front, not only for its defence, but to cover the ſide of the barrack which was expoſed.

The town was ſoon ſurrounded by a prodigious number of pikemen, who ſet fire to it in different quarters, and one thouſand and fifty muſketeers commenced a heavy fire on it. In about two hours the whole town, except the barrack and two houſes more, was in flames, which preſented a dreadful ſcene, the horrors of which were much heightened by the inceſſant fire which the rebels maintained, and the very thick ſmoke in which the town was involved, and which entered even into the houſe, ſo that its defenders could ſcarcely ſee each other. About one o'clock the houſes fell in, and a wind having ſprung up which diſperſed the ſmoke, they were able again to ſee the rebels; who finding that they could not ſet fire to the barrack, which was ably defended by captain Chamney, without having burnt the houſe in which Mr. Mc. Ghee kept garriſon, they relinquiſhed the former, and approached the latter in great numbers, and with dreadful yells, crying, "Liberty or Death!" Having their colours flying, and ſounding their bugle-horns, they puſhed cars before them with feather beds in them as breaſt-works, to cover their approach. A well-directed fire from the houſe, for about twenty minutes, made them retreat, leaving behind them their cars, and twenty-eight men killed.

During the engagement, which laſted from ſix in the morning, till half after three in the afternoon, the loſs of the proteſtants was but eleven men killed and fifteen wounded. It was univerſally believed, that no leſs than five hundred of the rebels were killed. They carried off upwards of twenty car-loads of dead and wounded. When any of their men were ſo badly wounded as to be unfit for ſervice, they threw them into the flames, in which they alſo burned many of their killed. It was a common practice with the rebels to put their wounded men to death, leſt they might turn informers.

Next day great numbers of dead bodies were found in ditches; and immediately behind Mr. Mc. Ghee's garriſon they found fifty dead men with their pikes, and thirty over whom a little clay had been thrown. That gallant party would have been unable to defend themſelves for want of ammunition, had not lieutenant Fenton, of the Talbot's-town cavalry, been providentially prevented from attending his duty by a contuſion, occaſioned by a fall from his horſe, as he ſat behind a pier between two windows making cartridges; and to the immortal honour of Mrs. Fenton, ſhe continued to go about the houſe, and to ſupply the beſieged with refreſhment during their laborious and perilous ſervice; and when their ſtock of balls was exhauſted, ſhe broke up her pewter plates, and caſt bullets of them with her own hands, which her huſband made up into cartridges.

The garriſon were obliged to retreat to Tullow the evening of the action, for the following reaſons: They were exhauſted with fatigue; their ammunition was expended; and all the houſes in the town, except three, were conſumed, and the rebels returned and burned them. Thus circumſtanced, had they waited for a ſecond attack in the night, which the enemy meditated, it muſt have been fatal to the garriſon.

This body of rebels burnt every proteſtant houſe within ſix miles of Hacketſtown, in every direction, and murdered ſuch of their inmates as they could ſeize.

Wherever they encamped, they, as uſual, ſent out parties in queſt of proteſtants, whom they murdered. Mr. William Byrne, of Ballymanus, frequently was preſent at, and gave orders at the maſſacres, for which he was ſoon after hanged.

Iſaac Langrell, a proteſtant, was piked near Gorey; after which, as ſome ſigns of life appeared in him, a ruffian, with a hay knife on the end of a ſtick, gave him a ſtroke acroſs the neck, which almoſt ſevered his head from his body; on which William Byrne, who was preſent with a drawn ſword, and ſeemed to command the party, ordered them to march off, ſaying, "For the heretick will riſe no more."

The following fact was proved on a court-martial at Wexford, the 19th of May, 1800: Henry Hinch, a proteſtant, was taken from his own houſe, near Gorey, by a band of aſſaſſins, and conveyed to the rebel camp, where Mary Forde ſaw him on his knees, begging his life; when Mary Redmond, his neighbour, whom he had regarded as a friend, inſiſted that he ſhould be killed; on which he was ſhot, and when he fell ſhe ſtruck his body with a ſtone, and called him an orange rogue. Then a rebel of the name of Philips fired another ſhot at him. This poor man, who had lived by his induſtry, left a wife and nine children.

As that column ſtill continued to infeſt the country contiguous to Gorey,* general Needham, on the morning of the thirtieth of June, ſent Hunter Gowan, captain of the Tinahely cavalry, with a part of his corps, to reconnoitre near Moneyſeed.† From a hill near that town, about three o'clock in the morning, he perceived the rebels in a hollow under him in very great force, having received large reinforcements ſince their flight from Vinegar-hill. He ſent intelligence of it to general Needham, who ordered colonel Puleſton, of the Ancient Britons, to join him immediately with detachments from his own regiment, the 4th and 5th dragoons, the Ballaghkeene, Gorey and Wingfield yeomen cavalry. The latter, before the reinforcement arrived, killed eight or ten ſcattered rebels, and among them one Brien, who the day before went to general Needham, pretended to return to his allegiance, ſurrendered a pike, and in conſequence of it obtained a protection; but on that day he was armed with a muſket.

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* Plate II. 4.

† Plate II. 3, 4.

The rebels advanced to Tinahely,* and having turned off to Wingfield,† burned the old manſion there, and then proceeded to Moneyſeed, where our troops firſt got ſight of them. From thence they purſued them for two miles, to a place called Ballyellis,‡ where the rebels, being cloſely preſſed, placed their baggage and their cars in the road, and poſted a number of pike-men in their front. As ſoon as our cavalry came in ſight of them, at the turn of a road, they charged them with great impetuoſity; but when they were within a ſhort diſtance of them, the pikemen leaped over the hedges at each ſide, on which the horſes in front were entangled in the cars; and thoſe in their rear preſſing on them, a ſhocking ſcene of confuſion enſued; both men and horſes were involved and tumbled over each other: The rebels fired on them from behind the hedges and a park wall which was near, and while they were in this ſtate of embarraſſment, killed numbers of them with their muſkets, and piked ſuch of them as happened to be unhorſed.

Colonel Puleſton, whoſe horſe they ſhot or piked, was with difficulty ſaved by his men. Captain Giffard, of the Ancient Britons, and Mr. Parſons, adjutant of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, who had ſerved with reputation abroad, and about ſixty privates of the military and yeomen, were killed.

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* Plate II. 1. † Ibid. 2. ‡ Ibid. 4.

I have been aſſured, that this action would have been more fatal to the loyaliſts, but that the Wingfield corps, who were on the right, went through a lane to a hill which commanded the rebels, whom they put into confuſion by a well-directed fire, and of whom they killed from twenty to thirty.

The deſign of the rebels was to ſurpriſe the town of Carnew, which was about a mile diſtant, to have killed fifty yeomen, who garriſoned it, and to have burnt the few houſes which they had not deſtroyed before; but the garriſon having been appriſed of their deſign by ſome of the cavalry in their retreat, took poſt in a malt-houſe, and defended the town ſo well, that the rebels, unable to paſs through it, retired to Ballyellis,* and in their retreat burnt a fine new houſe of ſir John Jervis White.

They then took poſt on Kilcavan-hill,‖ near Moneyſeed, and to the north weſt of Gorey, where the Wexford rebels ſeparated from thoſe of the county of Wicklow, who were commanded by Garret Byrne of Ballymanus; for, ſoon after the battle of Vinegar-hill, they had united and co-operated. This ſeparation was occaſioned by a diſpute between their leaders. They repaired from Kilcavan, where they remained but an hour, to Ballyraheene-hill, which lies between Carnew and Tinahely.

In their progreſs they killed twelve proteſtants, among whom was a farmer of the name of Driver, and burned ſome houſes. They were purſued by detachments of the Wingfield and Shillelah cavalry, the Tinahely infantry commanded by captain Morton, the Coolatin by captain Chamney, and the Coolkenna by captain Nixon, the whole making about one hundred and twenty. They endeavoured to gain the hill of Ballyraheene, which was high and ſteep, before the rebels, but could not ſucceed. However, though they were poſted on an eminence, and behind hedges, and notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority of numbers, the brave and loyal yeomenry, with a degree of valour bordering on raſhneſs, attacked and engaged them for three quarters of an hour; but were at laſt obliged to retreat, as the rebels were endeavouring to ſurround them. Captains Chamney and Nixon, and ſeventeen privates, were killed, and many were wounded. Though Garret Byrne had been the particular friend of captain Chamney, he ordered his houſe, which was within a quarter of a mile of the action, to be burnt; but lieutenant Chamney having taken poſt in it with forty yeomen, defended it all night againſt the whole hoſt of rebels, of whom they killed great numbers. One of them was ſhot in endeavouring to ſet fire to the hall-door, bearing a feather bed on his back for his defence. This engagement took place the ſecond of July, two miles from Tinahely, and four from Carnew.

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* Plate II. 4.

‖ Ibid. 3, 4.

Garret and William Byrne of Ballymanus, who headed the banditti, which committed theſe outrages and barbarities, piqued themſelves on the antiquity of their family. Garret, the eldeſt brother, had an eſtate, and was reputed a gentleman, from his birth, property and education. Edward Fitzgerald alſo was a man of independent fortune, and had received a good education.

On the fourth of July, general Needham, who was ſtationed at Gorey with a ſmall force, received information that this body of rebels had for two nights been aſſembled at the White heaps,* a very elevated ſpot, which had an extenſive plain on the top. It is about ſix miles to the north of Gorey, and near the village of Coolgreney. Thinking it a very favourable opportunity for attacking them, he concerted meaſures for that purpoſe with general ſir James Duff and the marquis of Huntley; the former commanded at Carnew,‡ the latter at Arklow.§

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* Plate II. 1, 2. ‡ Ibid. 4. § Ibid. 1.

General Duff's column was deſtined to cut off the retreat of the rebels by the Wicklow gap, that of the marquis of Huntley was to occupy the ſummit of Croghan mountain, * which lies to the north of Coolgreney, and to intercept their flight by that aſcent.

General Needham was to make the attack. At dawn of day he approached within half a mile of the White heaps, when his advanced guard was perceived by ſome videttes of the rebels, poſted near a farm-houſe, in which ſeveral of the rebel leaders had ſlept the preceding night. Theſe videttes gave the alarm to the main body, and it unfortunately happened that ſoon after a fog aroſe, ſo thick as to retard the movement of our troops, and to afford a cover to the rebels to eſcape. When general Needham arrived on the White heaps, he found very viſible marks of the enemy having ſlept there the night before; however he met but a few ſtragglers, who were put to death. About twelve o'clock, the fog clearing off, he obſerved the rebels aſcending Croghan mountain, where, meeting by ſurpriſe the marquis of Huntley's corps, they deſcended rapidly, and endeavoured to eſcape by Wicklow-gap, which lies to the ſouth-weſt of Croghan; where, approaching in the fog, cloſe to ſir James Duff's column, a few rounds of grape ſhot compelled them to change the courſe of their flight towards a hill near Moneyſeed, where they were cloſely purſued by ſir James, when, on the diſperſion of the fog, they were perceived by general Needham, who, though at two miles diſtance, joined in the purſuit; and finding that his infantry could not advance with ſufficient celerity, he puſhed on his cavalry, which joined that of ſir James Duff. At length the rebels, after having been purſued and haraſſed by our cavalry for above twelve miles, and finding themſelves unable to proceed, reſolved to try the iſſue of a conteſt, and for that purpoſe

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* Plate II. 1.

poſe formed behind hedges, and under cover of a coppice wood, at Ballygullen, near Mount Nebo,* and three miles from Gorey.

They waited our attack, which began by grape ſhot, from four ſix-pound curricle guns, but finding that our guns were protected by cavalry only, and the few gunners who worked them, they made many deſperate efforts to take them, having maintained a very heavy fire of muſketry, and advanced a numerous body of pikemen; but they were repulſed by the ſingular bravery and ſteadineſs of lieutenant Hemmings, who commanded the artillery, and captain Ledwell with a detachment of lord Roden's fencibles. At length the head of ſir James Duff's column arriving, the rebels were ſoon routed, and a vigorous purſuit was made, in which the earl of Roden,† at the head of his regiment, acted with his uſual ſpirit and gallantry. About three hundred of the rebels were thought to have fallen. On that day the yeomen cavalry, under captain White, cut off great numbers of the rebels.

Some farmers and labourers, who were concerned in this affair, declared to their landlords, after an amneſty had been granted by government, that in this purſuit they threw away their clothes to lighten themſelves; and that they were ſo much overcome with hunger and fatigue, that they wiſhed for death. After this defeat the rebels never appeared in any part of the county of Wexford in ſuch force as to meet the military or the yeomen in a pitched battle; but many bands of aſſaſſins continued to rob and murder. Part of thoſe who were diſperſed on this occaſion, went into the counties of Kildare, Carlow and Meath, under Fitzgerald, Aylmer, Garret Byrne, Perry and Kearns, and ſpread deſolation in their progreſs. The two former ſurrendered

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* Plate II. 4.

† That gallant nobleman was in the moſt perilous ſervice during the rebellion, and volunteered whenever his regiment was not on duty.

rendered themſelves at the caſtle; the two latter were hanged at Edenderry. Many of their followers died by the ſword and the gibbet; others turned robbers; and but few returned to their reſpective homes.

The mountains of Wicklow continued for many months after the aſylum of a deſperate banditti, who, under Holt and Hacket as leaders, committed plunder and aſſaſſination in all the adjacent country. That county, from the ſtrong poſts and faſtneſſes which its ſteep craggy mountains and deep defiles afford, was the laſt place in Ireland in which rebellion was ſubdued in the reigns of Elizabeth, Charles I. and king William.

Some perſons of acute diſcernment in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow have made the following obſervations to me, which prove that the war was a religious one: That no papiſt ever lamented, or does ſo to this hour, the relations they have loſt in the rebellion: No wife was ever ſeen to ſhed a tear for the death of her huſband, or a father or mother for the loſs of a ſon. In one inſtance only, nature prevailed, and a tear ſtarted from the eye.

Another circumſtance obſerved by the ſame perſons proves it to have been founded in religious bigotry: That men who bore formerly very excellent moral characters, were guilty of murder, robbery, and perjury without remorſe; and that numbers were perſuaded, contrary to the ſentiments of nature, and the obligations of true religion, not only to neglect, but to violate all the ties of duty, friendſhip, gratitude and humanity in proſecuting the war.

In the courſe of the rebellion, ſome pariſhes were more cruel and ſanguinary than others. Wherever the rebels happened to be encamped and to have the country at their devotion, they maſſacred proteſtants for ſome miles round them; which is fully proved by the atrocities perpetrated by them in the vicinity of Carrickbyrne, Enniſcorthy, and Gorey.

In the pariſhes of Killan, Roſſdroit, Clomnore, Adamſtown, and Newbawn, no proteſtant was ſpared.

In the former, which lies near the weſt ſide of the Black-ſtair * mountains, the rebels were on the point of committing the following barbarous act: A band of aſſaſſins were ſent out to collect all the proteſtant women and children in it, in order to burn them in the church. They drove the victims into an outhouſe, belonging to a Mrs. Kelly, within gun-ſhot of it, where they were to be kept till they could procure a ſufficient number of faggots to accompliſh their horrid deſign. The ruffians who were employed in it, frequently called the church the proteſtant pie. In this dreadful ſituation were theſe helpleſs and miſerable women, embracing each other, and preſſing to their boſoms, for a laſt farewel, their innocent babes, when Providence interfered, and ſaved them in a moſt miraculous manner. The army commanded by general Johnſon, in their way to Enniſcorthy, drove the rebels from Lackenhill. One of them, a native of Killan, fled home in great conſternation with the news, and added that the king's troops were cloſe at his heels. The guilty keepers, fearing the juſt puniſhment of their crimes, forſook their charge and fled. A few, more brutal than the reſt, detained twelve of the youngeſt girls all night, and forced and dreadfully abuſed them. Four of theſe aſſaſſins were afterwards convicted of theſe crimes at Newtown-barry, and, by the orders of general Taylor, were executed in the village of Killan, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1798, oppoſite to the houſe where they had committed that brutal act, and not far diſtant from the ſpot which gave them birth. All theſe circumſtances were proved on the trial of theſe monſters by the concurrent teſtimony of the ſufferers.

Michael M'Grath proved, by affidavit, that a few days before the action at Vinegar-hill, he ſaw five proteſtant girls, viz. Eliza and Hannah Shields, Anne and Hannah James, and Rachael Murphy, all in tears, in cuſtody of Chriſtopher Drohan and four other men; that

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* See Plate III. 1.

that he aſked Drohan, where he was conducting them? that he anſwered to Killan priſon; and that at the riſk of his life, he reſcued them from ſaid perſons.

Rachael Murphy, Anne and Hannah James ſwore on the trial of theſe men, that Drohan, while they were his priſoners, informed them, that their intention was (meaning himſelf and his party) to raviſh them, viz. the ſaid five girls, that night, and to burn them next morning; and that, previous to this, their fathers had been murdered.

The following paper was found in the pocket of a rebel, who was ſhot near Coolgreney, by captain Hugh Moore, of the 5th dragoon-guards:

“ Jeſus I H S Maria
“ I truſt ⊿ Thee.

“ This is meaſured of the wounds of the ſide of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was brought from Conſtantinople unto the emperor Charles, within a gold cheſt, as a relief moſt precious to that effect, that no evil or any thing might take him which reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be hurted by any tempeſt, fire, water, knife, ſword, lance or bullet. Neither the devil ſhall hurt him; he ſhall be victorious, and never die an unnatural death, and ſhall be a ſure ſafety to women with child.”

Many of the ſame purport were found in the county of Wexford during the rebellion. One of them was found on Pat. Prendergaſt, a rebel in the county of Mayo, while the rebellion raged there. One of them is to be ſeen in doctor Bernard's hiſtory of the ſiege of Drogheda.

Another piece of ſuperſtition to which the common people in Ireland of the Romiſh religion are much attached, is the ſcapular, a religious order, the myſteries of which are various and profound.* Its ſectaries wear on their ſhoulder or breaſt, and next to their ſkin, a piece of cloth, about three inches ſquare, with I H S worked on it; meaning Jeſus hominum Salvator. It is ſuppoſed to avert much moral and phyſical evil; and that it will prevent a perſon from dying, though ſhot through the heart, till he receives the rites of his church.

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* They are to be found in a little book called the Scapular, publiſhed by Elfaner Kelly, in Dublin. The form of one of them is to be found in Plate V.

I mentioned before a practice of putting red tape on the necks of popiſh children: It prevailed much in that part of the county of Carlow bordering on the county of Wexford.

A popiſh ſchoolmaſter at Tullow inflicted a ſevere puniſhment on a proteſtant boy, for having worn it. A magiſtrate received information that John Hannigan, pariſh prieſt of the pariſhes of Coolkenno and Clonmore, ordered pieces of red tape to be put on the necks of popiſh children, to diſtinguiſh them from proteſtants; and that he knew that a maſſacre of the proteſtants was to take place.

Some officers who, when on duty, traverſed many parts of the county of Wexford, aſſured me, that they ſaw, in various places, the ſign of the croſs on the doors of ſome dwelling-houſes; and on others, the following words: "Protection for this houſe." They were inſcribed on the houſe of Mr. Devereux, of Carrigmannon, and even on the gates leading to it; which, it is believed, was done becauſe he was a Roman catholick.

In the neighbourhood of Gorey, the chapels of father Francis Kavenagh and ſome other prieſts, who had acted very treacherouſly and cruelly towards the proteſtants, were burnt by the latter, who compelled them to fly to Wexford, where they continued to receive their parochial dues. During their reſidence there, the prieſt of each pariſh announced, by letter, to his pariſhioners, that he would ſay maſs preciſely at a certain hour; and they went regularly at that hour to the walls of their reſpective chapels, where they prayed, and went through the ceremony of maſs, at the time appointed, with as much devotion as if the prieſts were preſent, on a ſuppoſition that they were acting in uniſon with them.

The following calculation of the inhabitants of the county of Wexford, will in a great meaſure ſhew the reader their number, and the proportion of thoſe who were in actual rebellion againſt the beſt of kings, and the only conſtitution in Europe that affords its ſubjects any degree of rational liberty. It will alſo prove, by induction, that the population of Ireland is much leſs than is generally imagined.

A hearthmoney collector, well verſed in calculation, made an exact cenſus of the people in three baronies and a half, ſo late as the month of March, 1800; and he included in it the populous town of Wexford. Theſe baronies contain at leaſt one-third of the population of the county, and they were leſs depopulated than any other parts of it; beſides, this calculation has been made ſince the rebellion.

I conſider the county of Wexford, which is very populous, a good average from which to deduce the number of inhabitants in Ireland, according to the quantity of ſquare acres which it contains, in proportion to thoſe in the kingdom at large; and I conceive that it is nearly a thirty-fourth part of it. The following table will in a great meaſure eſtabliſh the poſitions which I have made:

Baronies.	Population.	Total.	Population of the county Wexford.
Wexford,	7,405		
Forth,	5,575		
Bargy,	6,072		
Shelmalier, weſt of the river Slaney	3,977	23,029	69,087

Acres in the county of Wexford.	Acres in Ireland.	Population of Wexford.	Population of Ireland.
343,000	11,607,650	69,087	2,348,958
		Dublin	200,000
		Total of the population of Ireland	2,548,958

On the trial of Mr. William Byrne, of Ballymanus, at Wicklow, on the twenty-fourth of July, 1799, it was proved, that he, Perry and Redmond, who were leaders, made a regular muſter of the rebel army before they marched from Gorey to attack Arklow, and that they amounted to thirty-one thouſand.

The inhabitants of the county of Wexford* - - - - - -		69,087
The army that attacked Arklow,	31,000	
There were three large rebel camps beſides, one at the mountain of Forth, one on Vinegar-hill, one on Carrickbyrne, and allowing 5000 for each, - - -	15,000	
Allow for ſmall rebel poſts -	3,000	
		49,000
		20,087

On the ſame trial it was proved, that when the rebel army under William Byrne went to burn Tinahely in the night, they ordered ſuch of the inhabitants as were Roman catholicks to put up lights in their houſes, which they did; and none of them, in conſequence of it, were burnt, but that all thoſe of the proteſtants were. It was proved alſo, that father Toole, a prieſt, ſaid maſs near the town, while it was in a ſtate of conflagration.

It is aſtoniſhing how ſucceſsful the rebels were in their endeavours to ſeduce the king's troops, and they never failed to exert themſelves for that purpoſe, though they might have been quartered ever ſo ſhort a time in one place.

Lord Blayney aſſured me, that there was a dreadful mutiny in the 4th light brigade of militia under his command, at Ferns,‡ in the month of Auguſt, 1798: That he diſcovered one morning, that they were to have riſen that night, and to have murdered him and all the proteſtant officers and privates in the brigade; but he ſeaſonably defeated their deſign, by ſuddenly marching them off to another camp at Scarawalſh-bridge. † It appeared that they had been plentifully ſupplied with money, and had a conſtant and unremitting intercourſe with a neighbouring prieſt, who lord Blaney had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to think was active in ſeducing them.

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* A great number of the rebels in the county of Wexford came not only from the adjacent counties, but even from the metropolis and parts of Munſter.

‡ Plate II. 6, 7.

The following proofs appeared of the mutinous ſtate in which they were, by the examinations of ſerjeant Mc. Man, and other ſoldiers of the Antrim regiment, ſworn before Cornelius Wallace and William Moore, eſquires, both magiſtrates, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, 1798; that there was a conſpiracy in the 4th light brigade of infantry quartered at Ferns, to murder their officers and all orangemen, and that lord Blaney was to be the firſt murdered.

By informations ſworn before colonel Hugh Clinton, it appeared, that they were to have attacked and ſtormed the camp at Ferns, and then to have proceeded to that of Scarawalſh; and that part of the Clare, Kildare, Queen's county, Antrim, Kilkenny, and Donegal regiments, were engaged in it; and that one Doherty, a ſoldier in the latter, ſaid he muſt go and conſult the prieſt about it.

Patrick Mc. Mahon, of the Clare militia, ſtated in his examinations, ſworn before William Moore, eſquire, the thirteenth of Auguſt, 1798, that Murray and Gallagher, privates in the ſame regiment, aſked him, in the church yard of Ferns, to be ſworn to be true to them and their cauſe, meaning an inſurrection; but added at the ſame time, that if he had any underſtanding of his religion, there would be no occaſion to ſwear him.

By a court-martial, held at Waterford, the thirteenth of November, 1798, by order of general Johnſon, the mutiny of the 4th light battalion was proved in the cleareſt manner: That it was to have taken place the night they marched from Ferns; and that they were to have murdered their officers, and all the orangemen and proteſtants of the regiment.

* Plate II. 8.

It is ſurpriſing how ſimilar the rebellions in Ireland have been in their origin and progreſs, and how uniformly deſtructive in their effects.

The county of Wexford was deſolated in the year 1641; and the houſes of the biſhop of Ferns and Mr. Ram of Ramsford, were deſtroyed as well in the rebellion of that period as in the late one; which appears by an affidavit, ſworn by Mr. Ram the twelfth of January, 1641, and lodged in Birmingham-tower.*

The rebels, who eſcaped from our troops after the battle of White-heaps, fled into the county of Kildare, under the command of Garret and William Byrne, Edward Fitzgerald, general Perry, and Kearns, a popiſh prieſt, having been induced to join their fellow-traitors there by Michael Reynolds, who being reinforced by them, was encouraged to undertake, what he had long meditated, an attack on the little garriſon of Clonard,§ defended by a few yeomen, commanded by lieutenant Tyrrell, of Kilreny, high ſheriff of the county, and of whom I made mention before.

A report having prevailed, that they had this in contemplation, lieutenant Tyrrell acted for ſome time on the defenſive. At laſt, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the eleventh of July, his nephew, Mr. Richard Allen, who was a member of his corps, galloped into the yard, and announced that he had been cloſely purſued by a large party of rebels, that he narrowly eſcaped being taken, and that he was ſure they were advancing to Clonard.

It unfortunately happened that ſome of the guards were abſent, not having the moſt remote ſuſpicion that the garriſon would be attacked. Lieutenant Tyrrell, notwithſtanding his utmoſt exertions, could muſter but twenty-ſeven men, three of whom were his own ſons, the eldeſt not ſeventeen years old, the youngeſt but twelve. He had no ſooner cloſed the gate of the court-yard, than the firing began.

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* See it in Appendix, No. XXI.

§ Plate I. 6, 7.

Though lieutenant Tyrrell had never acted in any military capacity, the coolneſs, the ſkill, the good ſenſe, and energy of mind, which he ſhewed in this critical and perilous ſituation, would have done honour to a veteran. He ſtationed in a turret in the garden, which commanded the road by which the rebels were expected to advance, ſix of his corps, including Mr. Allen and his ſon, only fifteen years old. After fixing ſome other out-poſts, he retired into the barrack, with the main body, of whom he ſelected the beſt markſmen, placed them at thoſe windows from which they were moſt likely to annoy the enemy, and deſired them not to fire without taking good aim.

The advanced guard of the rebels, conſiſting of about three hundred cavalry, approached towards the turret, in a full trot, without apprehending any danger. Their leader, one Farrell, was mortally wounded by the firſt ſhot fired by young Mr. Tyrrell; and the main body having been thrown into confuſion by a general volley, fled out of the reach of their fire. The rebel infantry then coming up, paſſed by the turret under cover of a wall, and part of them having taken poſt behind a hedge, maintained a conſtant fire on it, but without effect. The remainder joined another party, who came by a croſs road from a different quarter, for their object was to have ſurrounded the town. They then ſtationed a guard on the bridge, to prevent any reinforcement from arriving in that direction. The markſmen from the windows ſoon diſperſed and put to flight that guard, after having killed about a dozen of them. This proved afterwards to be of the utmoſt conſequence to the little garriſon, as it preſerved a communication with the weſtern road.

The rebels, diſappointed in their attack both on the houſe and the turret, reſolved to make one deſperate effort to ſtorm the latter. A party of them having penetrated into the garden, ruſhed into the turret. The yeomen ſtationed there had the precaution to draw up through a trap-door the ladder by which they aſcended to the loft. The rebels endeavoured to mount to it on each other's ſhoulders, but were conſtantly killed in the attempt. Some fired through the floor, others drove their pikes through it, but without effect. The rebels perſevered in the attempt with inflexible obſtinacy, though twenty-ſeven of them lay dead on the ground-floor. At laſt they ſet fire to a large quantity of ſtraw under the turret, which was ſoon in flames.

Two of the beſieged, Mr. George Tyrrell, and Mr. Michael Cuſack, were ſhot in endeavouring to make their eſcape, by ruſhing through the ſmoke. The remainder eluded the vigilance of the rebels, and arrived ſafe to the main body, by leaping from a very high window, and paſſing under cover of a wall.

Afterwards they ſet fire to the toll-houſe, and ſome cabbins near the bridge, and threw ſome of the dead bodies into the flames, for the purpoſe of conſuming them, leſt their numbers ſhould be known.

The conflict had now laſted ſix hours, and the rebels ſeemed determined to maintain it; but very fortunately an event happened, which at the ſame time that it depreſſed their courage, inſpired the loyal garriſon with renovated valour. One of the guard, who had been excluded on the ſudden ſhutting of the gates in the morning, fled to Kinnegad, and informed the garriſon there of the perilous ſituation of his friends at Clonard; on which, eleven of the Northumberland fencibles, under a ſerjeant, and fourteen of the Kinnegad infantry, under lieutenant Houghton, marched for Clonard.

Lieutenant Tyrrell, with great gallantry, ſallied forth from the houſe, and formed a junction with them. After having poſted this reinforcement in the moſt advantageous ſituation, to gall the enemy, he, with a few picked men, undertook to drive the rebels from the garden, which about four hundred of them ſtill continued to occupy. Some of them were on a mount thickly planted with fir trees, which afforded them a protection, and prevented them from being ſeen; the remainder were intrenched behind a privet hedge. Lieutenant Tyrrell, with great gallantry, diſlodged the latter, who fled to their friends on the mount.

The conflict then became very warm, the rebels appearing determined to maintain this advantageous poſt; and the yeomen, but few in number, though ſix of them were badly wounded, and the remainder were overcome with fatigue, reſolved to die ſooner than retreat.

Mr. Richard Allen received a ball which paſſed through his arm, and lodged in his ſide.* At laſt, lieutenant Tyrrell's party, after having diſplayed prodigies of valour, routed the party on the mount, and drove them out of the garden; and the Northumberland and Kinnegad corps killed many of them in their flight. This victory, obtained by a handful of loyaliſts over a numerous body of rebels, was one of the moſt ſplendid achievements, performed in the courſe of the rebellion. No leſs than one hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and a great many wounded.

During the engagement, the rebels plundered the houſes of lieutenant Tyrrell at Kilreny, and Mr. George Tyrrell at Ballinderry, and deſtroyed the whole of the furniture in both.

The joy which lieutenant Tyrrell and his garriſon might have felt, on gaining ſo ſplendid a victory, was loſt in their great ſolicitude for Mrs. Tyrrell, who had gone in her chaiſe to her houſe at Kilreny that morning, about ſome domeſtick concerns; and on hearing that the rebels were approaching, ſhe drove back, and endeavoured to arrive at Clonard before them: But ſhe had not gone far, before ſhe heard the noiſe of muſketry, which convinced her of the impoſſibility of accompliſhing it, and therefore turned back; but was ſoon overtaken and ſtopped by two men on horſeback with drawn ſwords, who, after many oaths and imprecations, compelled the poſtillion to turn about, and proceed towards Clonard:

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* He died of his wounds.

They met in their way two hundred men armed with ſwords, pikes and muſkets, who ſearched the carriage for arms. Then three men, armed with muſkets, mounted the boot of the chaiſe, and three behind it, attended by the reſt, compelled the ſervant to drive to the other end of the village of Clonard, where they had a warm altercation about the treatment which Mrs. Tyrrell ſhould receive; ſome urging that ſhe ſhould be treated with civility, others with brutality. At laſt ſhe prevailed on them to permit her to go into a cottage, where two men armed with muſkets were poſted over her as ſentinels. She remained there, till the whole body of them, when retreating, ſtopped at the cottage; and one of their officers approaching her, informed her, that ſhe muſt go into her carriage, and accompany them. She implored them in the moſt pathetick manner to let her remain behind, and as an inducement to do ſo, ſhe offered her carriage and horſes to general Perry: At firſt he ſeemed obdurate, but on her falling on her knees, he granted her requeſt. Soon after he left her, a common fellow ſeized her by the arm, dragged her to the door, and ſaid, ſhe muſt attend them on horſeback, as ſome of their wounded men muſt go in her chaiſe. She addreſſed herſelf again to the officer, who had been ſo kind to her before; but he ſaid, that ſhe muſt go and remain with them as a hoſtage, till the fate of one of their general officers, a priſoner at Clonard, was determined; but added, that ſhe would be permitted to go in her chaiſe.

When they had proceeded about a mile, general Perry requeſted to join her in the carriage: Soon after, a low fellow ſtopped it, and got into it, ſaying, "That he had a right to it, as it was he that firſt obtained it;" and notwithſtanding the rank of general Perry, he could not prevent his intruſion, nor check his inſolence. At laſt, one Kearns, a popiſh prieſt, rode up to the carriage, and as he had been kindly and hoſpitably entertained at different times by Mrs. Tyrrell for a week together, ſhe implored him to interfere in obtaining her releaſe; but he coldly anſwered, by ſaying, "Oh! yes, madam!" and having retired, ſhe ſaw no more of him. At laſt, Mrs. Tyrrell was liberated by a captain Byrne, * and permitted to return to her family at Clonard, but on foot.

The rebels, after their defeat, retreated to Carbery, where they got poſſeſſion of lord Harberton's houſe, which they plundered of various articles, and paſſed the night in drinking what liquors they found in his lordſhip's cellars.

On the twelfth of July, they marched into the county of Meath, by Johnſtown and the Nineteen-mile houſe: They were purſued by colonel Gough, who, with but ſixty infantry and twenty cavalry, attacked and routed them with conſiderable ſlaughter. They were next purſued by general Myers, with detachments of the Dublin yeomanry and Buckinghamſhire militia, and though he was not ſo fortunate as to overtake them, he drove them towards Slane, where general Meyrick encountered and killed many of them. They were afterwards attacked by different detachments of the military, who in the courſe of a few days cut off great numbers of them, and finally diſperſed them.

Perry and Kearns made their eſcape into the King's county, where attempting to croſs a bog near Clonballogue, they were apprehended by meſſieurs Robinſon and Ridgeway, of the Edenderry yeomen, who conveyed them to that town, where they were tried and executed by martial law. Perry was chearful and communicative, acknowledged the part he had taken in the rebellion, and ſeemed to glory in it. Kearns was ſullen and ſilent, except when he upbraided Perry for his candour in frankly confeſſing his guilt.

This reverend gentleman was at Paris in the year 1794, when in the adminiſtration of Roberſpiere, the French

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* This was Mr. Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, who afterwards obtained his pardon on ſurrendering himſelf.

French were extirpating the Romiſh clergy. He was actually hung up at Paris, but the weight of his body (as he was of a huge ſtature) bent the iron of a lamp-poſt to which he was ſuſpended ſo much, that his toes touched the ground, and prevented animal life from being extinguiſhed. An Iriſh phyſician, who perceived this, had him conveyed to his houſe, and recovered him. Having fled to his native country, he was appointed curate of a chapel near Clonard. From the vehemence with which he unremittingly inveighed againſt French republican principles, and the warm encomiums which he beſtowed on our conſtitution, he was regarded as a ſteady loyaliſt, and a good ſubject; in conſequence of which he was well received, and even at times domeſticated in the houſes of ſome of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen in the counties of Meath, Kildare, and the King's county.

As the defenders were at that time formidable in thoſe counties, he was not only admitted to the conferences of the magiſtrates, but even aſſiſted them in their nightly patroles againſt thoſe miſcreants.

It having been diſcovered that he betrayed the counſels of the magiſtrates to the rebels, he was excluded from their conferences; and poſitive information having been received, that he had incited ſome perſons to commit a murder, he fled into the county of Wexford, where he became a rebel leader.

On Sunday morning the ſecond of June, intelligence having been received, that a number of rebels had appeared in force near the Scalp and Enniſkerry, in the county of Wicklow, the drums beat to arms, and in leſs than three hours, a large body of yeomen, conſiſting of detachments from the Stephen's-green and Rotunda diviſions, the Lawyers and Attornies cavalry and infantry, with their uſual ſpirit and alacrity, ſet out to meet the inſurgents, under the command of general Myers.

On June the ninth, a detachment of captain Beresford's corps patrolling near Rathfarnham, came up with a party of rebels who were on their way from Dublin to the Wicklow mountains, conveying ammunition to the banditti who infeſted them. They were armed, had a green flag, and green cockades in their hats. Three or four of them were killed, and three who had acted with ſingular treachery by firing after they had ſurrendered themſelves, were hanged at Rathfarnham; five more were led into town as priſoners.

A numerous body of rebels who eſcaped from Vinegar-hill retreated into the county of Kilkenny, under the command of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, by the Scullagh gap,* and thence they proceeded to Caſtlecomer, deſtroying the houſes and property of proteſtants, and murdering ſuch of their inhabitants as fell into their hands.

Lieutenant Dixon, of the Wexford regiment, was ſtationed at Gore's-bridge,|| a neat village on the river Barrow, and county of Kilkenny, with twenty-five of his own regiment, and a ſmall party of the 4th dragoon guards.

On the twenty-ſecond of June, they received intelligence that father John Murphy's column was in motion, and on that night they burned the village of Kil Edmond. An expreſs was ſent to ſir Charles Aſgill, to Kilkenny, eſcorted by all the dragoons quartered at Gore's-bridge, to inform him of their movements; but as the hedges at each ſide the road were thickly beſet with rebels, who kept up a conſtant fire on them, they were under the neceſſity of returning. This was towards the morning of the twenty-third. Lieutenant Dixon being determined to protect the village of Gore's-bridge, and to prevent it from ſharing the fate of Kil Edmond, ſtationed his men on the bridge, which croſſes the river, not ſuſpecting that the main body of the rebels were near him. He had no ſooner taken his poſt, than he ſaw the adjacent hills covered with them, and

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* Plate II. 6, 7, 8.

|| Ibid.

at the ſame time ſaw a column, of which he could not diſcover the extent, move along the road from Kil Edmond. Not knowing that the river was fordable, which it happened to be in many places, he thought there might be a poſſibility to maintain his poſition till a reinforcement ſhould arrive; but he ſoon perceived their intention to ſurround him, having croſſed over the river for that purpoſe, and that they meant to break and embarraſs his party, by driving a number of cattle againſt them, which they were collecting in the adjacent fields; a common expedient among the rebels. Wiſhing to provide againſt this artifice, he procured a number of cars, and made a barricade of them in his front.

But he ſoon perceived from the greatneſs of their numbers, and the ſmart fire the rebels kept up, that they had no other reſource but to retreat. Beſides, the rebels had brought a ſwivel to bear on the bridge, and had alſo planted ſome large pieces of cannon in a commanding ſituation. When they had retreated to Low Grange, they were ſurrounded by the rebels, who aſſured them, they ſhould receive no injury if they laid down their arms. At that moment, lieutenant Dixon was ſo fortunate as to make his eſcape, having mounted behind a quarter-maſter of dragoons, who was retreating; and at the ſame time he heard the rebels exclaim, "Have we got the officer?" The rebels then proceeded to Kellymount, where they put nine of their proteſtant priſoners to death, with circumſtances of ſavage cruelty.

It appeared by the joint information of the ſoldiers who eſcaped, ſworn before lieutenant-colonel Ram, that the following circumſtances attended the murder of the ſoldiers: That Walter Devereux, who ſaid he was commander in chief in the abſence of the general, (meaning father John Murphy,) ordered the proteſtant priſoners to be ſelected from the reſt; and they were pointed out by one of their own ſoldiers, of the name of Bruton, of the Romiſh perſuaſion: They were ſurrounded by a circle of about eight thouſand rebels, when Devereux ordered corporal Orange to be dragged out of the circle and ſhot, having ſaid, inſultingly to him, "Orange by name, and Orange by nature."

They proceeded in the ſame manner to put to death ſix of the Wexford regiment, and two dragoons: That they remained priſoners with them till the twenty-ſixth of June, when the rebels were routed with great ſlaughter at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, where the Wexford ſoldiers made their eſcape: That while they remained priſoners with the rebels, they had no other food but raw meat and water.

Walter Devereux had been principally concerned in the maſſacre at Scullabogue, and yet he remained unnoticed till the month of November, 1798, when being on the point of embarking on board a ſhip at the Cove of Cork, to ſail for America, he was fortunately recogniſed by ſome of the Wexford ſoldiers, who had been his priſoners, was apprehended, and afterwards hanged. When arreſted, he had the protections of five general officers.

The rebels, in their progreſs to Caſtlecomer,* maſſacred two more of the Wexford ſoldiers.

The priſoners declared, that they received the moſt ſavage treatment from this band of traitors. Half-famiſhed, and overcome with fatigue, they were hurried on precipitately without reſt, except when their prieſts ſtopped for a few minutes to ſay maſs; which they frequently did, for the purpoſe of kindling fanaticiſm in them, as their courage emanated from no other ſource, and as it never failed to animate them, even when overcome with the want of food and ſleep.

On Saturday morning the twenty-third of June, a man arrived at Kilkenny, and informed ſir Charles Aſgill, that he had been taken priſoner by the rebels at Gorey, and had been obliged to repair with them to their camp at Vinegar-hill ; that he had been compelled to attend a numerous body of them, thirty thouſand in number, as he believed, who had fled from thence, and who under the command of father John Murphy had marched into the county of Kilkenny, through the Scullagh-gap, and that he was detained by them till that morning, when he made his eſcape ; on which ſir Charles Aſgill ordered the garriſon under arms, and marched from Kilkenny in purſuit of the rebels, between eight and nine o'clock ; and having proceeded about three miles, in the line where the rebels were ſuppoſed to be, he halted, and called the honourable viſcount Loftus and the honourable colonel Howard, whoſe regiments were on that ſervice, and conferred with them and the other field officers on the plan which he intended to adopt.

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* Plate I. 8, 9.

On deliberation, they concluded it would be imprudent to proceed farther, without knowing the number of the enemy, and the route they had taken, as ſir Charles had left in Kilkenny a large quantity of ammunition, and had well-grounded apprehenſions that its diſaffected inhabitants only waited for an opportunity of riſing ; beſides, ſhould he miſs the rebels in purſuing them, they might have ſlipped by him and come to Kilkenny, and have plundered and burnt it in his abſence. He had ſent, in the mean time, major Lawder, a gallant and intelligent officer, with a party of dragoons acroſs the country towards Leighlin-bridge, to reconnoitre the rebels, and bring intelligence of their movements. Juſt before he returned, the wives of ſome of the men who had been taken by the rebels at Gore's-bridge, and had eſcaped, arrived, and informed him of their poſition, and of their numbers, which appeared to have been much leſs than he imagined ; and ſoon after major Lawder arrived, and confirmed their account. On this he ordered the troops to move forward to Kelly-mount, but they had quitted it, and proceeded towards Caſtlecomer.

As the troops had been faſting and under arms all day, he returned to Kilkenny, after he had ſent a large detachment of the cavalry to reconnoitre them; and they having approached very near the rebels, would have attacked them, but that a bog happened to intervene.

I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the progreſs of the Wexford rebels, who found in the county of Kilkenny the popiſh multitude as much diſaffected as themſelves. The town of Caſtlecomer being contiguous to extenſive collieries, it was to be apprehended that the perſons who worked in them would be very ſuſceptible of being infected with the doctrines of united Iriſhmen, as they are under little or no control of their employers, as they are led, from the nature of their laborious occupations, to uſe ſtrong liquors, and they are more prone to turbulence, diſcontent, and combination, than any other ſet of men.

ATROCITIES COMMITTED AT CASTLECOMER AND IN ITS VICINITY.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, the colliers firſt appeared in arms, and attacked the barrack of Doonane, (about three miles from Caſtlecomer,) in which there was a company of the Waterford militia. The object of the rebels was, it is ſaid, after taking the barrack, and putting all the loyaliſts to death, to march to Carlow, and join the body deſtined for the attack of that town. It unfortunately happened, that moſt of the Waterford were billeted through the village of Doonane; however, the few that were in the barrack, though taken by ſurpriſe, completely beat the rebels off, conſiſting of at leaſt ſeven hundred men. Several of the ſoldiers turned out of the barrack in their ſhirts, and kept up a ſmart fire for a few minutes, when the rebels fled precipitately. As they carried with them their killed and wounded, it never was aſcertained how many fell in that action.

The honourable James Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, who commanded the Faſſaghdineen yeomen cavalry, as ſoon as he got intelligence of the attack on Doonane, collected as many of his corps as were near the town of Caſtlecomer; and, together with a detachment of the Waterford militia then quartered in the town, marched with the utmoſt ſpeed to the relief of Doonane; however, too late to come up with the rebels, who by that time had gained the mountains, and were diſperſing.

It providentially happened, that the proteſtants of Caſtlecomer were not attacked that night, while the garriſon had marched to Doonane; as they muſt have inevitably fallen a ſacrifice to their ſavage fury. Had they ſucceeded in the attempt on the barrack of Doonane, they would unqueſtionably have afterwards attacked the town.

On the twenty-fourth of May, captain Butler's yeoman corps was ordered on permanent duty; and the day after a troop of the 5th, or Royal Iriſh dragoons, under the command of captain Green, marched in, to ſtrengthen the garriſon. With this reinforcement, they conceived themſelves tolerably ſecure.

Early in the month of June, ſir Charles Aſgill received information againſt ſeveral of the Faſſaghdineen cavalry, as rebels, and in conſequence ſeven of them, all papiſts, were lodged in Kilkenny gaol. The people of the neighbourhood continued to give up their pikes, and to take oaths of allegiance, in order to lull the magiſtrates and proteſtant inhabitants into a ſupine and fatal ſecurity.

They were frequently alarmed by reports of the rebels coming to attack them, and the garriſon were ſeveral nights under arms; but thoſe reports were generally occaſioned by ill-grounded apprehenſions. The minds of the people were in ſuch a ſtate, that any unuſual noiſe at night occaſioned infinite alarm. However, at length they heard that a body of rebels, who eſcaped from Wexford, were making their way to that country, in order to join the colliers, and then proceed to attack Kilkenny.

In the courſe of Saturday the twenty-third, ſeveral loyaliſts from the mountains, between Caſtlecomer and Leighlin-bridge, brought intelligence, that the rebels were bending their courſe that way. They ſtill remained in heedleſs ſecurity. They had often been alarmed by falſe reports, that they would not now believe the approaching danger, though each ſucceſſive expreſs ſtrengthened the former; and though a poor man who was moſt dreadfully mangled and left for dead by the rebel advance-guard was brought into the town, to have his wounds dreſſed. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the diſtreſſing ſcene which on that evening preſented itſelf, all the proteſtants with their families flying from the mountains and the colliery. For ſeveral hours the roads were crowded with thoſe unfortunate fugitives, with infancy and decrepitude in their train, dreading the ſpirit of fanaticiſm.

On Saturday night the garriſon was reinforced by a troop of the 4th dragoons, a company of the Waterford militia from Doonane, a company of the Downſhire, twenty of the Cullinagh infantry, and forty of the Cullinagh cavalry, ſo that the whole might conſiſt of nearly three hundred, but being moſtly cavalry, they were not at all calculated for that country, where the ground is much broken up with colliery pits. That night, the rebels ſlept at a place about five miles from Caſtlecomer, on a ridge of mountains, near Leighlin-bridge.

Among the loyaliſts who fled from the colliery and the adjacent country, there were about one hundred who had arms, but very little ammunition. They were ordered out in different parties, to watch the movements of the rebels, many of them with not more than ſix rounds of cartridge. The whole force was drawn out on the bridge, and in the main ſtreet; and a reconnoitring party, conſiſting of one hundred men, was ſent out about four o'clock in the morning, to watch the rebels motions. There was ſuch an immenſe fog early on Sunday morning, that it was utterly impoſſible to diſcern objects at twenty yards diſtance.

About four o'clock, the rebels arrived at a place called Gurteen, near three miles from Caſtlecomer,* where they heard maſs. It being St. John's day, they had prayers again about two miles off, where they halted. They had proceeded under cover of the fog, ſo that the troops, who were ſent to reconnoitre, were fired on before they could ſee them. At length the fog began to diſperſe a little, which opened to the aſtoniſhed troops a view of not leſs than from eight to ten thouſand rebels, thoſe armed with muſkets in the front, the pikemen in the rear. The main body had halted on the road, and two wings were extending themſelves on each ſide, the whole forming a creſcent. In order to underſtand the perilous ſituation of our troops, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that for nearly two miles of the road to the town of Caſtlecomer, there is a long range of wall on each ſide; and about half a mile of it is planted. While the fog was ſo thick, the troops could not perceive that the wings of the rebel army had conſiderably ſpread themſelves, and were advancing in a ſmart trot to ſurround the town, while the main body remained ſtationed in the road; ſo that captain Green, judging from their numbers that all reſiſtance was fruitleſs, ordered a retreat; and the rebels, who had got before them and lined the walls, kept up a ſmart fire on them. The retreat was very diſorderly; and many of the infantry were overturned by the cavalry, and left expoſed to the rebels fire.

An inſtance of uncommon audacity occurred within a few perches of the town: A rebel captain, with a green ſaſh, ruſhed out from a by-road on horſeback, and accoſting the honourable captain James Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond, at the head of his corps, deſired him to ſurrender, and that he, his men, and the town, ſhould be ſaved. Captain Butler miſſing fire at him, the rebel wheeled about, fired without effect, and was ſhot by a yeoman within a few yards of the rebel army.

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* Plate I. 8, 9.

The retreat of our troops had not been ſo precipitate, but that many of the rebels had ruſhed to the bridge, almoſt as ſoon as the ſoldiers; but with ſuch a confuſed rapidity did the retreating party gallop into the town, overturning every thing before them, that the reſt of our force that was poſted on the bridge joined the throng, and fled up the ſtreet. A very few of the Waterford and Downſhire militia kept their ground on the bridge for a few minutes, killed ſeveral rebels, and gave the whole a check. At length they took refuge in four houſes which were next to and completely flanked the bridge; and, together with a few loyaliſts of the town, kept up a warm fire from the houſes. The right wing of the rebels forded the river above the town, and, being joined by the traitorous inhabitants, ſet fire to the ſuburbs.

The perilous ſituation of the loyal few in thoſe houſes already mentioned, can be better imagined than deſcribed; the bridge crowded with rebels, yelling with rage, crying out for blood, and not a ſoldier to oppoſe them; the back-houſes all on fire. Here, amidſt ſurrounding flames, and to the very breaſts of the rebels, might be ſeen the gallant captain Butler, ſingle and unſupported, riding down the ſtreet, within a few yards of the rebels, endeavouring to rally the ſcattered force, calling them back in words that would animate the dead. Amidſt balls thick as hail, twice did he ride up and down the ſtreet, with an heroick intrepidity, as laudable as it was unavailing. And now commenced a very ſharp, but ill-directed fire from the rebels on the bridge, which was as warmly and more effectually anſwered from the houſes; for three hours and a half this fire was kept up, and not a rebel was ſuffered to croſs the bridge alive. At length when their ammunition was almoſt expended, general father Murphy, who had kept aloof from the heat of the action, near the church where they tried their priſoners, ſent a black ſervant of theounteſs of Ormond, whom they had taken priſoner, to inform thoſe who fired from the houſes, "That if they marched out with their hats on the top of their guns, their lives ſhould be ſaved; that it was in vain to reſiſt any longer, as he expected a reinforcement from Ballyragget immediately." They detained his ambaſſador for ſome time, and at length ſent the reverend general word, that they would ſubmit if he would by the ſame meſſenger ſend them a written aſſurance of mercy. This they did to gain time; and ſoon after they obſerved the troops from Kilkenny lining the hills, and taking their poſitions to attack the rebels. General ſir Charles Aſgill, with nine hundred men, went to their relief, and a few rounds of grape-ſhot ſoon diſlodged the rebels, who retreated the way they came, in a ſlow pace, and in an irregular manner.

When ſir Charles arrived near the town, he ſent a detachment of the Wexford, under lieutenant colonel Ram, (which were ſoon joined by the grenadiers of the Wicklow) and a party of cavalry, to take poſt on a bridge contiguous to it, and on the Doonane ſide of it; and after firing a few rounds of grape into Caſtlecomer, they marched into it. At that time the rebels, a few ſtragglers excepted, had abandoned it; but two of them, who remained under the bridge, fired up the ſtreet ſeveral times, and wounded two of the Wicklow regiment. Lady Ormond's manſion, and ſeveral other houſes in the town were then in a blaze; and the heat was ſo great, that the bombardier of the Wicklow regiment requeſted that ſir Charles would change his poſition, as he was afraid that the guns might go off; upon which he took poſt on an eminence which commanded the town.

The family of Mr. Kane, agent to lady Ormond, had been in a deplorable ſtate. The females had been priſoners in their own houſe, which the rebels locked up and ſet on fire; and they retired to the cellar to avoid the flames, but the troops arrived and liberated them before it was conſumed. They had previouſly taken Mr. Kane priſoner, and carried him before father Murphy, who continued in the body of the church, trying, as orangemen, ſuch proteſtants as they had taken priſoners; and two of whom they maſſacred before ſir Charles arrived. He tried and would have had Mr. Kane put to death as an orangeman, but that ſome poor women of the colliery, by their tears and entreaties (as he is a gentleman of great humanity) prevailed on the reverend general to let him eſcape.

Sir Charles, having taken an elevated poſition, poſted his guns ſo as to rake the woods, in which he killed a good many of the rebels, who compoſed the rear guard of the main body, at that time two miles out of the town, and ſuppoſed to be between ſix and ſeven thouſand men.

As ſir Charles Aſgill returned to Kilkenny without leaving a ſoldier in Caſtlecomer, the proteſtants were obliged to deſert their houſes, and leave them and their property to the mercy of thoſe, of whom they ſoon found they had formed but too juſt ſuſpicions. To remain in the town, without military protection or ammunition, would ſurely have been madneſs; for at the time of the general's orders to return, the rear of the rebel army was ſtill in view.

I ſhall not attempt, for I could not deſcribe, the heart-breaking ſight of all the proteſtants quitting their homes. The whole road, from Caſtlecomer to Kilkenny, was one continued and melancholy train of fugitives, men, women and children, who but a few hours before were poſſeſſed of peace and comfort, now outcaſts from their houſes, ſeeking an aſylum among ſtrangers, from the mercileſs hands of their popiſh neighbours. That evening the rebels of the town burned every loyaliſt's houſe; for, infuriate with the plunder of lady Ormond's cellar, they committed every exceſs. From Sunday to Thurſday thoſe ſavages rioted in the pillage of the town, when at length ſir Charles Aſgill, on the twenty-eighth of June, ſent a party of the Glengarry fencibles and the Faſſaghdineen cavalry, who ſurpriſed them in the midſt of their extceſſes, killed about twenty-four, and took ſeveral priſoners, from whoſe confeſſion it appeared, that a party of Caſtlecomer rebels, all Roman catholicks, had gone to meet the Wexford army on Friday the twenty-ſecond, and induced them to come on to attack it. Moſt of theſe have ſince been hanged or tranſported.

It would be tedious to mention the ſeveral inſtances of atrocity which occurred at that time in Caſtlecomer and its vicinity: I ſhall, however, ſubjoin a few undoubted facts, which are well known.

On Sunday morning the twenty-fourth of June, James Anderſon, who was a vidette in the colliery, was met by the advanced guard of the rebels, as he was returning from his watch, not ſuſpecting that the rebels were in the neighbourhood. They aſked him if he was a *chriſtian;* on anſwering that he was, they deſired him to *bleſs himſelf* as a proof of it. This he could not do; they then dragged him into a houſe on the road ſide, drove a pike through him, under his arms, raiſed him up from the ground on their pikes, and ſtabbing him under the ear, bled him like a pig, in a crock which had milk in it. He was a quiet, inoffenſive man. He was not an orangeman, but, what was the ſame in the eyes of the rebels, a proteſtant.

An inſtance occurred, which very ſtrongly marks the deſigns and ſentiments of the rebels: A poor man, of the name of Coggan, was purſued by a party of rebels through lady Ormond's plantation; he was overtaken, and moſt miſerably mangled with pikes; when almoſt expiring, he begged of them to ſend for the prieſt. They curſed him for a ſtupid vagabond, that he did not tell them at firſt that he was a chriſtian,* and they would not have uſed him ſo. This poor man luckily ſurvived to tell the ſtory.

Arthur Williams, a quiet induſtrious tradeſman, was taken priſoner in Mr. Kane's houſe in Caſtlecomer, was brought to the church, and there was on the point of being ſhot, when the army appearing in view, they took him with them to Wolf's-hill, where his diſtracted wife followed him, and endeavoured to have him ſaved by the interference of a rebel captain; but as father Murphy was not then on the ſpot, he could not be releaſed.

The Downſhire militia from Maryborough appearing at a diſtance, the whole rebel army moved off about ſeven o'clock in the evening (Sunday) to Doonane, and thence to the Ridge, bringing Williams along with them. Here they put him on his knees, and in the act of prayer, they run him through with pikes, and then ſhot his face almoſt off. This happened on Monday morning; his wife could not find him till Saturday after, when ſhe diſcovered him in a lonely part of the mountain, two miles off the road, ſo disfigured, that ſhe could ſcarcely recogniſe him: He was not an orangeman.

Two men, of the name of Conn and Salter, having taken refuge in Caſtlecomer the night before the attack, brought their families with them. In the buſtle and confuſion of the engagement they were ſeparated from their wives and children: When the action was over, anxiouſly looking for their families, they met a man who had been a ſervant for many years to the former (Conn), who told them that he would ſhew them where their wives and children were; when bringing them about two miles from the town, collecting near twenty rebels, and ſnatching a gun from his old maſter's hand, he ſhot him almoſt in the preſence of his wife, and then they piked both him and Salter: They buried them immediately; the latter not quite dead: They then took the bodies up, ſcooped out Salter's eyes, and buried them in a place where they could never ſince be found.

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* Meaning thereby a papiſt.

William Bradley, his daughter Catherine Neſbitt, and nephew, David Leycock, going from their houſe on Wedneſday the twenty-ſeventh of June acroſs the hills, in order to reach Kilkenny, were purſued by a party of Caſtlecomer rebels, robbed and barbarouſly murdered: The woman was pregnant.

Their bodies were not diſcovered until the Chriſtmas after. Neither Bradley nor Leycock were orangemen.

The county of Wexford rebels, after having burned Caſtlecomer, encamped within four miles of Athy, intending to attack it next morning, and thence to have joined Doorly, the traitorous yeoman and aſſaſſin of Rathangan, and William Aylmer, at Proſperous.

General Dunn, at that time quartered at Monaſtereven, hearing the perilous ſituation of Athy,* with that ſpirit which he diſplayed on all occaſions, flew to its aſſiſtance, with a ſix-pounder and one hundred of the city of Cork militia. His arrival gave ſuch ſpirit to the yeomanry, that they only wiſhed to be led againſt their enemies. The general ſelected one hundred of the yeomen, in addition to the city of Cork detachment, and conſcious of the goodneſs of his cauſe, at twelve o'clock at night marched to the attack of the rebel camp. His intentions were fruſtrated, as the moment he arrived at Athy, the reverend Mr. K——, a popiſh prieſt, was ſeen poſting to the rebel camp with great expedition, to inform them of the intended attack.

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* Plate I. 8.

When the general arrived there, he found it had been deſerted at an early hour in the night, and that they had retraced their ſteps. He purſued them for many miles without any ſucceſs, except that in flying from him, they fell into the tract of the gallant major Mathews of the Downſhire, who, with four hundred men, purſued them; and having appriſed ſir Charles Aſgill of it, he joined in the purſuit, overtook them at Kilcomney, near Gore's-bridge, and completely defeated them.

A body of troops having marched from Maryborough, on the twenty-fourth of June, by order of ſir Charles Aſgill, for the purpoſe of co-operating with him, proceeded towards the collieries of Caſtlecomer and Doonane, and on the road they ſaw Caſtlecomer on fire, after ſir Charles Aſgill had retreated from it to Kilkenny; they conſiſted of four hundred of the Royal Downſhire militia, commanded by major Mathews, captain Poole, with the Ballyfin yeomen cavalry, and captain Gore, with the Maryborough corps.

As ſoon as they arrived at Moyad, they ſaw the rebels under father Murphy in great force, on the high grounds above Doonane. As it was late in the day, they reſolved on retiring to Timahoe, and to attack them early next morning. Soon after they received an expreſs from ſir Charles Aſgill, deſiring them to return to Maryborough; but they anſwered, by propoſing to him to attack the rebels next morning on the Doonane ſide, and that they would attack them on the road from Timahoe in the oppoſite direction: Sir Charles anſwered them next morning, at ſeven o'clock, by ſaying that his troops were too much fatigued to co-operate with them, but that they might engage the rebels, ſhould circumſtances prove favourable for that purpoſe.

They then returned to Moyad, with an intention of attacking the rebels next day; but the cavalry, who were ſent out to reconnoitre, having brought intelligence that the rebels had retreated to the bridge of Old Leighlin, they again purſued them, but were diſappointed in their deſign of bringing them to action, as they had marched to Gore's-bridge. The cavalry having proceeded to Old Leighlin,* captain Poole ſent an expreſs to ſir Charles Aſgill of the enemy's motions, and of their intention of attacking them the firſt opportunity that offered. At Old Leighlin they met Mr. Vigors, an active and intelligent officer, who had retired from the ſervice; and he ſupplied them with a number of cars to carry their men, as ſome of them were overcome with hunger and exceſs of fatigue; and he alſo accompanied them to the ſcene of action, giving them at the ſame time his advice, and every aſſiſtance in his power.

About twelve o'clock at night they arrived at Leighlin-bridge, and in two hours after received an expreſs from ſir Charles Aſgill, deſiring them to meet him at Gore's bridge, at five o'clock in the morning. They inſtantly marched in purſuit of the rebels; but ſoon after, major Mathews, having received intelligence that they had bent their courſe towards the mountains, changed his route for the purpoſe of intercepting them; and ſent intelligence of his deſign to ſir Charles Aſgill, by Mr. Moore, collector of Leighlin, who, with his brother, Mr. Pierce Moore, attended them, and to whoſe advice and aſſiſtance major Mathews attributed their having intercepted and overtaken the enemy.

After a march of three hours, they came in ſight of the rebels poſted on Kilcomney-hill, near Gore's-bridge,† and fired ſome cannon ſhot at them, on which they retired about a mile and a half, to form their line. Our troops followed them in column, with the cannon in front, and the cavalry in the rear. They no ſooner formed, than they heard ſir Charles Aſgill's cannon on the other ſide of the hill. After a few diſcharges of our artillery, the rebels were broken and fled, and our troops continued to purſue them for ſix miles with great ſlaughter.

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* Plate II. 3, 4.

† Ibid. 6.

All their cannon, baggage, horſes, ſtores and proviſions, fell into our hands, and ſome unfortunate ſoldiers and proteſtants, who happened to be their priſoners, were retaken. The remainder of the rebels fled into the county of Wexford, through the Scullagh-gap.

Father John Murphy, a prieſt, who acted as aid-de-camp to the great ſacerdotal hero, John Murphy, of Boulavogue, and who had accompanied him from Vinegar-hill, fell in this action. He had a dove and a crucifix on his buttons; and letters directed to him were found in his pocket, recommending to him proper places for encamping.

Father John Murphy, the commander in chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken at an alehouſe by three yeomen, one of them of the name of Mc. Cabe, and was led a priſoner to Tullow,† the head-quarters of ſir James Duff. He was introduced into a room where the general, his aid-de-camps, colonels Foſter and Pigot, the earl of Roden, captain Mc. Clintock, and in all about twenty officers were ſitting. Major Hall having aſked him ſome queſtions which gave him offence, he in a violent rage made a blow of his fiſt at the major, which would have knocked him down, but that he warded it off with his arm, on which he received a ſevere contuſion. On ſearching him, they found in his pockets his veſtments, and ſome letters from Mrs. Richards and other ladies, priſoners at Wexford, imploring him to ſave the lives of their huſbands and relations. He was hanged on the ſame day. His body was burnt, and his head was fixed on the market-houſe of Tullow. He was about forty-five years old, light complexioned, bald pated, and about five feet nine inches high: He was well made, uniting ſtrength and agility: He was iraſcible, and, when in a paſſion, had ſomewhat the aſpect of a tiger. His pix, his oil-ſtock, and a ſmall crucifix were found in his pocket.

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† Plate II. 1, 2.

In order to do away in ſome degree the ſtain which his infamous conduct might bring on the Iriſh prieſthood, it has been ſeduloufly propagated that he was excommunicated; but this is abſolutely falſe, for he continued to exerciſe his clerical function, and was regarded as a pious and learned prieſt, till the breaking-out of the rebellion; when,

> "He did ſo ill tranſlate himſelf,
> "Out of the ſpeech of peace that bears ſuch grace,
> "Into the harſh and boiſterous tongue of war,
> "Turning his books to glaives, his ink to blood,
> "His pens to lances; and his tongue divine
> "To a loud trumpet, and a point of war."
>
> SHAKSPEARE.

It is no leſs ſingular than true, that the lower claſs of Iriſh papiſts never think that their prieſts can ſuffer any ſtain or contamination from the commiſſion of crimes, how heinous ſoever; juſt as Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego remained uninjured from the flames.

Father Nicholas Sheehy is added to the bead-roll of their ſaints; and I need not give any other proof of the reverence in which the memory of that famous ſacerdotal hero, John Murphy, is held, than the following:

A piece of ſuperſtitious trumpery is now printed by William Jones, No. 75, Thomas-ſtreet, Dublin, entitled, "Revelations revealed to ſaint Auguſtine, ſaint Bridget, and ſaint Anne, by our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt." The ſecond part of it is ſaid to explain the twelve golden Fridays in the year;

and the devotions, together with ſome ſolitary acts, by the late reverend father John Murphy, D. D. In this he points out the number of paters and aves that are to be ſaid each golden Friday, and on certain holy days; and it is ſtated in it, "That what man or woman ſoever ſhall carry it about them, ſhall be not only free from our enemies, but alſo from a ſudden and unprovided death; and if any woman travailing with child, ſhall wear it about her, ſhe ſhall be not only ſafely delivered, but likewiſe be free from the fear of death in child-bed; and what houſe or place it is kept in, ſhall be free from evil ſpirits. To him or her who ſhall carry it about them, the bleſſed Virgin ſhall appear to forewarn them of their future bleſſed ſtate: The devil ſhall have no power over them at their laſt hour: They ſhall ſee our bleſſed Saviour nailed to the croſs, (in the ſame manner as he ſuffered for our redemption,) before their death."

This curious piece is in the hands of the popiſh multitude in the county of Wexford, who regard this church-militant hero as a martyr in the cauſe of French republican liberty and religion.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

No. 1. Where the rebel columns from Ballyclare and Templepatrick joined.

2. The rebels in cloſe column with a ſix-pounder in front, when the curricle guns under lieutenant Neville opened their fire on them.

3. Lieutenant Neville, with two ſix-pounders, flanked by the yeomanry and dragoons under colonel Lumley firing on the rebels.

4. Colonel Lumley charging the rebels after paſſing the church yard.

5. The church-yard lined with rebels, who are repreſented by the dotted lines, firing on the dragoons, charging as they paſſed, and among whom they did great execution.

6. The guns under lieutenant Neville, after retreating from No. 3, firing on the ſecond column of the rebels advancing up Bow-lane.

7. The ſecond rebel column.

8. The dragoons, after charging, drawn up under the dead wall of lord Maſſareene's garden, and covered on their left flank by a demi baſtion.

9. The yeomanry firing over the wall on the rebels who attempted to get poſſeſſion of the guns at No. 6, after the artillery had abandoned them, and the dragoons had retreated acroſs the river.

10. The watering-place over which the dragoons retreated.

11. The entrance to lord Maſſareene's court: The dotted lines from it repreſent the road the yeomanry retreated to take poſt in the garden where they could only be attacked by the narrow walk through which they got in.

12. Lord Maſſareene's caſtle.

13. Lord Maſſareene's domain.

14. Lord Maſſareene's walled garden.

15. The Six-mile water.

16. Colonel Durham with the Monaghan militia, and captain Coulſon of the artillery, firing on the rebels retreating by the Ballymena road.

17. The light battalion from Blaris camp under colonel Clavering drawn up.

18. Diſtillery.

19. Barracks.

20. Doctor Macartney's.

21. Flour-mills.

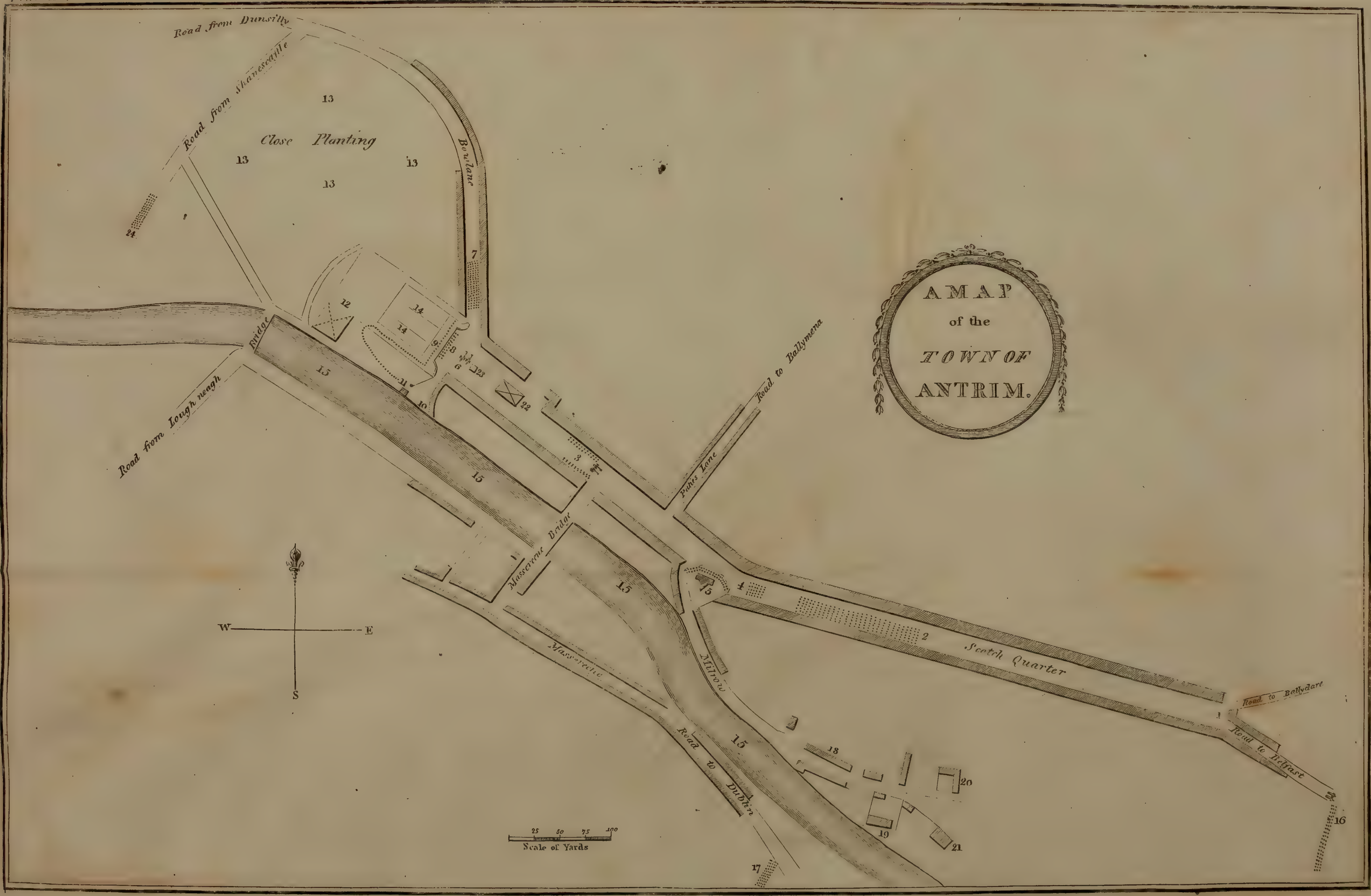
22. Market-houſe with the priſoners.

23. Little guard-houſe, behind which lord O'Neil was killed.

24. The rebel column under colonel Orr.

THE

Plate IX.


A MAP
of the
TOWN OF
ANTRIM.
Road from Dunsilly
Road from Shanescastle
Close Planting
13
13
13
13
Boulane
7
12
14
14
9
8
6
11
10
23
22
Bridge
15
15
15
15
Road from Lough neagh
24
3
Pates Lane
Road to Ballymena
Massereene Bridge
5
4
2
Scotch Quarter
Millrow
Massereene
Road to Dublin
Road to Ballydare
Road to Belfast
1
16
17
18
19
20
21
W
E
S
25 50 75 100
Scale of Yards

T

THE BATTLE OF ANTRIM.

The conſpiracy had been more alarming in the north than in any other part of the kingdom, as numbers of preſbyterians concerned in it there had more improved intellects, more courage, and knew better the uſe of arms, than the inhabitants of Leinſter and Munſter; but the conciliatory meaſures uſed by government had detached numbers from the union, and the ſalutary coercion uſed by the general officers in diſarming the multitude, abated the ſpirit of the conſpirators, by diminiſhing their hopes of ſucceſs.

For theſe reaſons we may ſuppoſe, the conſpiracy did not break out in the North for ſome days after it explored in the province of Leinſter. Though the detention of the mail coaches had been the ſignal for a general inſurrection, the preſbyterians, wary and cautious, heſitated to riſe, till they had heard that their friends in the ſouth were actually in arms, and yet had made preparations for that purpoſe; but in Leinſter, the war being purely religious, and the people being blinded by fanaticiſm and impelled by the irreſiſtible influence of their prieſts, ruſhed into action on the night of the twenty-third of May, appointed for the general riſing.

Lord O'Neil, who reſided at Shane's-caſtle in the county of Antrim, having received certain intelligence that an inſurrection was ſhortly intended, as governor of the county, ſummoned by publick notice the magiſtrates of it, to meet at Antrim, on the ſeventh of June, 1798, for the purpoſe of concerting meaſures to prevent it. To counteract his deſign, the leaders of the conſpiracy reſolved to bring forward the riſing on that day, to attack the town of Antrim, to ſeize his lordſhip and the magiſtrates, and to keep them as hoſtages; and they intended at the ſame time to have ſeized a quantity of arms ſurrendered at different times, which were depoſited in that town.

General Nugent, having received intelligence of their intentions, ſent orders to Blaris camp for the ſecond light battalion, conſiſting of the 64th regiment, and the light companies of the Kerry, Dublin, Tipperary, Armagh, and Monaghan militia, and one hundred and fifty of the 22d light dragoons, with two curricle ſix-pounders, and two five and a half inch howitzers, to march to Antrim with all poſſible diſpatch ; and two hundred and fifty of the Monaghan militia, a troop of the 22d light dragoons, and the Belfaſt cavalry, under the command of colonel Durham, to march to Antrim, by Carmoney and Templepatrick ; and the light battalion from Blaris, commanded by colonel Clavering, and the dragoons by the honourable colonel Lumley. He alſo diſpatched orderly ſerjeants to major Seddon at Antrim, to inform him of the intended attack, and of the reinforcements which were going to his aſſiſtance.

The orderlies arrived at Antrim at nine o'clock, but did not perceive any extraordinary movement in the country, or any indication of inſurrection. However, the drums immediately beat to arms, the yeomanry aſſembled in a ſhort time, and the inhabitants of the town were called on to turn out in its defence. In ſending the ſummonſes through the town, it was diſcovered that all the notorious united Iriſhmen had left it early in the morning, which convinced major Seddon that general Nugent's information was well founded. Of four hundred men, capable of bearing arms, two hundred turned out on the occaſion ; but they could be ſupplied with no more than eighty ſtand of arms, as there were no more ſerviceable ; and there was ſo great a ſcarcity of ammunition, that after borrowing eight hundred rounds from major Seddon, the yeomanry had but twelve rounds a man, and thoſe who volunteered but five.

About ten o'clock, many perſons came in from different parts of the country, with intelligence that the rebels were forcing great numbers to join them, and that the maſs of the people were in motion.

At twelve o'clock, James Stewart Moore, eſquire, captain of the Dunſcoverick cavalry, and Mr. Gamble, lieutenant of the ſame, with fifteen men, came into Antrim from Ballymena, after having cut their way through about two hundred rebels near Kells: Both theſe gentlemen were magiſtrates.

Lord O'Neil ſlept at Hillſborough the night of the ſixth of June, on his way from Dublin to Antrim, and paſſed through Liſburn at ten o'clock in the morning of the ſeventh, without being known, and got to Antrim at half paſt twelve. He did not perceive any movement in the country, though his ſervants, who were about ten minutes after him, were robbed of their arms by the rebels. Had lord O'Neil been known in Liſburn, he would have been prevented from proceeding, as general Nugent had ſent orders to have the intended riſing communicated to all the magiſtrates in that neighbourhood, and to prevent them from going to Antrim.

The plan of the rebels was, to advance with four columns, one from the diſtrict between Antrim and Belfaſt, and to enter the town by the Belfaſt road; * the ſecond from Ballynure, Ballyclare and Doagh, to enter by the Carrickfergus road, and join the Belfaſt column at the end of the Scotch quarter; a third from Connor, Kells, and Ballymena, and to enter it by Paty's-lane; a fourth from Shane's-caſte, Randalſtown, and Dunoilty, to enter by Bow-lane. The three firſt columns were to make their attack at half paſt two o'clock; and at the ſame moment, the fourth, under the command of colonel Samuel Orr, brother to the famous William Orr, was to make its attack

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* Plate IX

attack a few minutes after. The two firſt columns reached the end of the Scots quarter, juſt as the advanced guard of our ſecond battalion was coming over the bridge from Liſburn, which is at right angles with the main ſtreet, and nearly the centre of the town.

The advanced guard was commanded by the honourable colonel Lumley, and conſiſted of one hundred of the 22d light dragoons, and two curricle guns, which opened with caſe ſhot from the centre of the main ſtreet, oppoſite the bridge, and were flanked by the yeomanry. The cavalry were drawn up in the rear.

The town of Antrim is nearly a mile long, and that ſpace from the Scots quarter to the market-houſe, is about two-thirds of its length, and nearly a ſtraight line. The main ſtreet is a continuation of the Scots quarter, and is at right angles with the wall of lord Maſſareene's garden, which is about forty yards from the market-houſe, and lies nearly in the centre of the ſtreet. The wall of the garden completely commands the main ſtreet, and the entrance to the market-houſe, which is a ſquare building, ſupported by ſtone pillars, and very difficult to ſet fire to. The guard-houſe was there, and a number of priſoners confined in it. There was a ſecond wall at right angles with the garden wall, which flanks it, and commands Bow-lane. The two walls are joined with each other, and with one part of an old fortification. The wall is about fifteen feet high towards the ſtreet, and being but four feet high on the garden ſide, forms a good parapet or breaſt-work. The church is about half way between the market-houſe and the end of the Scots quarter. It is built on a riſing ground, and is ſurrounded by a wall, which is about eight feet high towards the ſtreet, and four on the inſide. The church is nearly in a line with the houſes on one ſide of the Scots quarter, and part of the wall is parallel to the houſes at the oppoſite ſide, and the diſtance between it and the houſes is about twelve yards.

The church is about ſeventy yards from Maſſareene-bridge, where the guns began to play on the rebels, who were at that time about ſeventy yards above the church, advancing from the upper part of the Scots quarter, in a cloſe column of about twenty-two in front, and about four thouſand ſtrong. Their front was compoſed of about eight hundred muſketeers, who were excellent markſmen. Whenever they came within ſight of the dragoons and yeomanry, they commenced ſtreet-firing, and by the time they came within one hundred and fifty yards of the army, they filed to the rear. Their ſix-pounder [*] was then in front, with which they fired two rounds of grape ſhot, and did great execution, having killed and wounded three yeomen, two artillery men, and four or five dragoons. The recoil of the ſecond ſhot diſabled the gun ſo much, that they could not fire any more. The caſe ſhot from our curricle guns did ſuch great execution, that the rebels perceived they could not advance without immenſe loſs. However, their muſketeers preſſed on, and got poſſeſſion of the church-yard, from whence they maintained a heavy fire.

The greater part of the pikemen went acroſs the fields, and formed in Bow-lane, to take our army in the rear, which, being perceived, the gunners were ordered to retreat under lord Maſſareene's wall, where the guns could play on the rebels advancing up that lane; and at the ſame time the dragoons were ordered to charge, in order to cover the retreat of

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[*] They brought this gun from Temple-patrick, where they had it, and another braſs ſix-pounder, concealed under one of the ſeats of the diſſenting meeting-houſe. They cut a tree, of which they made a trail, and they mounted the gun on the wheels of Mr. M'Vickar's carriage, lord Templeton's agent, and had wedges to elevate and depreſs it. It was formerly attached to the Belfaſt volunteers, but lay concealed for ſix years. They had originally eight, which alſo lay concealed, but ſix of them were diſcovered by general Nugent about a week before.

of the guns; but before they could reach the rebel column, they had to paſs the church-yard, within four or five yards of the rebel muſketry, planted in ſecurity behind the wall. About eighty dragoons, headed by the honourable colonel Lumley, having made the charge, near twenty of them were killed and wounded. However, they bravely cut their way through, totally broke the rebel column, returned and renewed the charge by the church-yard wall, after leaving ſeventeen men dead in the ſtreet, about thirty wounded, and forty horſes killed, all in the ſpace of about two minutes. The officers who made that charge, were colonel Lumley, major Seddon, captain Baker, cornet Dunn, cornet Reid, and Mr. Gamble of the yeomanry, of which, cornet Dunn and Mr. Gamble were killed; the former ſhot through the heart, the latter had his horſe ſhot under him, and was afterwards perforated with pikes. Colonel Lumley, major Seddon, and cornet Reid, were wounded; the two latter with pikes. The former was ſhot through the ankle bone. Quarter-maſter Simpſon was likewiſe killed. The yeomanry retreated, and took poſſeſſion of lord Maſſareene's garden, from whence they could command the main ſtreet and Bow-lane, and in ſome degree protect the guns, which were under the wall along with the dragoons. Lord O'Neil and the reverend doctor Macartney, of Antrim, had remained in the ſtreet, with a party of dragoons, during the whole of the action.

When the rebels came within the range of the caſe ſhot in Bow-lane, they were warmly received. However, they continued to advance with great intrepidity; on which, colonel Lumley, who was wounded, ſeeing the loſs he had ſuſtained in the charge, ordered a retreat, and the guns to be abandoned. He then retreated acroſs the river, and proceeding by the ſhore of the lake, to the Liſburn road, joined the ſecond battalion of our troops who were within two miles of the town. Lord O'Neil's horſe having been wounded, became reſtive and refuſed to advance. Doctor Macartney ſtaid with him a conſiderable time, after the dragoons had retreated, endeavouring to get him to proceed with him ; but finding it impoſſible, he galloped his horſe through the rebels ; and being unable to overtake the dragoons, he joined Mr. Staples, member for the county, and got with him into a boat, rowed acroſs to the county of Tyrone, and informed general Knox, at Dungannon, of the events which had taken place at Antrim, and of which he had been ignorant until that very moment. The general immediately aſſembled all the yeomanry of the country, marched to Toome with one thouſand five hundred of them, and prevented the county of Derry rebels from riſing, and joining the other inſurgents.

Lord O'Neil, while endeavouring to get his horſe forward, was knocked down by a pikeman, and then mortally wounded, within thirty yards of the yeomanry behind the wall. His lordſhip ſhot one of the men who attacked him, and the yeomanry two more ; but the man who had given him the mortal wound eſcaped.

On the retreat of the dragoons, the rebels, fluſhed with ſucceſs, ruſhed on with a horrid yell, and ſeized the curricle guns ; but every man of that party was killed by the yeomen, and the remainder retreated into the houſes and by-lanes of the town. On that, Mr. John Macartney, * lieutenant of the Antrim yeomanry, aſſiſted by his brother, Mr. Arthur Ma-

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* At that time this young gentleman was little more than ſixteen years old, and his brother was but in his eighteenth year. The courage and the loyalty of theſe amiable gentlemen render them an honour to their parents and their country. Mr. Arthur Macartney diſplayed great ſpirit and patriotiſm, in detecting and oppoſing the baſe deſigns of ſome traitors who had inſinuated themſelves into the univerſity of Dublin. Their father, the reverend doctor Macartney, a gentleman highly reſpectable, was the firſt

cartney, lieutenant of the Royal Iriſh Artillery, who volunteered on the occaſion, made a ſally from the garden, with twenty of the Antrim corps, and drew up, in the midſt of the rebel fire, the guns and the ammunition cart; and having planted them on the garden wall, they diſlodged the rebels by a few diſcharges of round ſhot; however, they aſſembled again in ſeveral places round the town, to renew the attack; but colonel Orr, frightened on hearing the cannon, marched his column, which was one thouſand five hundred ſtrong, back to Randalſtown.

Before the rebels had arranged matters for a ſecond attack, the reinforcement from Blaris and Belfaſt arrived, on which they fled in all directions. But a great many of them were killed by the dragoons and the light companies of the Armagh and Monaghan militia, who were detached acroſs the fields to cut off ſtragglers. Colonel Durham on arriving over the town, was informed that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of it; and therefore opened his guns on it with round ſhot, and was on the point of doing much miſchief before he found his miſtake. The rebels left about one hundred and fifty dead in the town, and nearly two hundred were killed in the purſuit, in which lieutenant Murphy of the dragoons was ſeverely wounded with a pike.

It has been ſince diſcovered, that a conſiderable number of rebels had got into the town previous to the action, in ſmall parties, through lanes and the back doors of the houſes. About one o'clock, and before the rebels arrived, ſeveral pikes were diſcovered in a garden in the Scots quarter: in conſequence of which, the houſe to which the garden belonged was ſet on fire, and the flames communicated to ſeven more, which were conſumed. The rebels having

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perſon who gave any important information to government on the alarming ſtate of the conſpiracy in the North. It conſiſts of papers inſerted in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, under the head of papers ſeized by a magiſtrate in a diſtant part of the county of Antrim.

ing perceived the fire as they were marching towards the town, halted for near half an hour, doubtful if they ſhould make the attack, not knowing the real cauſe of the fire. During that delay, there aroſe a diſpute among the Roman catholicks and proteſtants of Orr's column; the former inſiſting on putting the orangemen in Antrim to death, but were oppoſed by the latter, who declared they would not conſent to any act of cruelty.

The attack upon Antrim was made a quarter before three o'clock. The reinforcements arrived at four. If the rebels had not halted on ſeeing the fire, they would have been in Antrim before colonel Lumley arrived: and of courſe would have taken the town.

Nearly one half of thoſe who joined the rebel force which attacked Antrim were compelled to do ſo by terror. In their flight they left behind them about three thouſand pikes and muſkets; and as they could not mount the two ſix-pounders at Templepatrick, they fell into the hands of our army on the ninth of June.

The rebels attacked Randalſtown at half paſt one on the ſeventh of June, and got poſſeſſion of the lower part of the market-houſe, in which there were fifty of the Toome yeomanry, and ſet fire to it; on which they ſurrendered, and were taken out of the windows by ladders.

Colonel Clavering and colonel Durham marched to Shane's-caſtle the evening of the ſeventh. The rebels evacuated Randalſtown at ten that night, and marched to Toome, where they remained two days; and on ſeeing general Knox advancing towards them, they broke down the bridge to prevent him from croſſing the Bann. The rebels went from Antrim* to Ballymena and Donegore hill, where they remained till Monday the eleventh, when colonel Clavering granted them an amneſty, on ſurrendering their arms, and promiſing to return to their allegiance. The rebels poſted at Ballymena, ſaid to be ten thouſand ſtrong, attacked Larne on the morning of the ſeventh, but were repulſed by a detachment of the Tay fencibles, aided by the yeomanry, and the loyal inhabitants.

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* Plate I. 3.

The death of lord O'Neil was univerſally and deſervedly lamented, as he poſſeſſed in a very eminent degree every good and amiable quality. He was generous and humane, warm and ſteady in friendſhip, and ſo mild and beneficent, that he was ever ready to forgive injuries. He had ſuch innate goodneſs and philanthropy, that he could ſcarce be induced to think ill of others; and he had ſuch fine feelings, that he never heard a tale of woe without ſympathiſing with the ſufferer, and wiſhing to adminiſter to his relief. It might be truly ſaid, that,

> "He had a tear for pity, and a hand
> "Open as day for melting charity."

After the battle of Antrim, the rebels collected in conſiderable force at Toome-bridge, one arch of which they broke down. The inhabitants of a diſtrict of the county of Antrim called the Montaughs, moſt of whom are Roman Catholicks, were obſerved to employ a number of fiſhing boats in conveying men acroſs the lake towards Toome.

The orangemen in the neighbourhood took a favourable opportunity of ſeiſing the boats, which they brought up the Lagan navigation; and having communicated what they had done to general Goldie, commanding at Liſburn, and requeſted his inſtructions reſpecting the boats, he warmly applauded their ſpirit and activity in performing this important ſervice, though unprovided with arms, and ordered them to be deſtroyed, to prevent any communication by the lake between the rebels in the counties of Antrim and Derry.

BATTLES OF SAINTFIELD AND BALLYNAHINCH.

As a report prevailed on the ninth of June, that there was a riſing at Newtownards * in the county of Down, colonel Stapleton marched with a detachment of the York fencibles, and ſome yeomen cavalry and infantry, and two pieces of cannon, towards Saintfield, and was informed between Comber and that town, that there was no appearance whatever of a riſing. The main body of the rebels lay in ambuſh, in a hollow way, through which he was to paſs, within a quarter of a mile of Saintfield. The hedges on each ſide were very high and numerous, and the rebels, who were concealed behind them and in ſome plantations, having ſuffered the principal part of colonel Stapleton's party to paſs unmoleſted, opened a very heavy fire on their rear, conſiſting of the yeomen cavalry, whom they threw into confuſion, as they were expoſed to the enemy in a narrow road, where they could not deploy, or make any movement for their defence. The reverend Mr. Mortimer, vicar of Portaferry, his nephew, and ſeven or eight yeomen, who had juſt joined them, were inſtantly killed. Thoſe who attempted to croſs into the fields to form, were butchered with pikes. At laſt, colonel Stapleton, with the moſt cool intrepidity, diſmounted, went into the fields, and formed the grenadiers there. Captain Chetwynd, lieutenant Unit and enſign Sparks, in attempting to follow him, were killed. Colonel Stapleton, having attacked the inſurgents with the grenadiers and the cannon which he brought to bear upon them, repulſed and killed three hundred and fifty of them.

The rebels having retreated towards Newtownards attacked, next day, a ſmall party, conſiſting moſtly of invalids and old men, who were poſted in the market-

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* Plate I. 3.

market-houſe there, to guard a quantity of baggage and ammunition, and who repulſed them; but, expecting next day to be attacked by a much larger party, they capitulated, evacuated the town, and marched to Belfaſt, eight miles off.

The rebels, fluſhed with their ſucceſs, and with the acquiſition of a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, formed a committee, and having laid a plan for their future operations, ſent a horſeman round the country, to ſummon their friends, and by force compelled thoſe to join them who ſhewed an unwillingneſs to do ſo.

In conſequence of this, a large body having aſſembled, they, on Sunday, entered the town of Bangor, where they compelled great numbers to join them, and plundered Mr. Ward's houſe of arms. The reverend James Clewlow, with laudable fortitude, and in the moſt pathetick manner, repreſented to them the fatal conſequences of their conduct, and adviſed them to lay down their arms; but could not ſucceed. They then repaired to a hill near Newtownards, where, having diſagreed, the Bangor people quitted them, returned and reſtored Mr. Ward's arms to Mr. Clewlow, in hopes of his getting for them a protection from general Nugent; to obtain which, he repaired to Belfaſt; but before he could return, two preſbyterian clergymen, meſſieurs Townſend and Hull, abuſed them as cowards and traitors to their cauſe, compelled them to re-aſſume their arms, and marched them to a hill called Scrabo, near Newtown, and thence to Saintfield, where they took poſſeſſion of the houſes of meſſieurs Price and Clewlow, which they plundered. They ſent a party from Saintfield to the houſe of one Mc. Kee, a farmer in the neighbourhood, and having ſet fire to it, he and his whole family periſhed in the flames. He was obnoxious to them, becauſe he had proſecuted ſome United Iriſhmen. He, at firſt, with very great bravery, beat off a party of about twenty, but was overpowered by a large reinforcement. Though old, he diſplayed great ſpirit, having been ſeen firing at them in the midſt of the flames.

A numerous body of rebels kept poſſeſſion of Saintfield, till Monday the eleventh of June, when they marched to Ballynahinch, and joined the main body, who were poſted in what they called a camp, on the lawn before lord Moira's houſe, which was a favourable poſition, on a commanding eminence, and ſkirted with thick wood. The commander in chief was general Henry Munroe, a linen-draper, and an inhabitant of Liſburn, who had been formerly adjutant to a volunteer company, and acquired ſome reputation for military knowledge.

On the morning of the twelfth of June, general Nugent marched againſt them from Belfaſt, with the Monaghan regiment of militia, part of the 22d dragoons, and ſome yeomen infantry and cavalry; and was joined by lieutenant-colonel Stewart, near Ballynahinch, with his party from Downpatrick, making in all about one thouſand five hundred men. Information having been received at the rebel camp, that general Nugent was on his march, to attack them, a party of five hundred was detached by Munroe, under the command of one Johnſon, to annoy the general, and retard his progreſs. They advanced near four miles to Creevy-rocks, at the Ballynahinch ſide of Saintfield, but were diſperſed by the flanking parties of the army, and did not return to their friends at Ballynahinch.

A numerous body of the rebels were poſted on the Windmill-hill, about a quarter of a mile from the town, but were ſoon driven from their poſition by the diſcharge of the artillery, and joined the camp at lord Moira's houſe. On that occaſion, one M'Cullogh, a rebel colonel, was taken priſoner, and immediately hanged. General Nugent and his party then occupied the Windmill-hill, where he halted that night, and made proper diſpoſitions for attacking them next morning.

A council was held in the rebel camp, in which the expediency of an immediate attack was debated with ſome warmth. Munroe adviſed them to wait till morning, and his recommendation ultimately prevailed.

Between two and three o'clock on the morning of the thirteenth, colonel Leſlie and the Monaghan militia marched into the town, and were vigorouſly attacked by a detachment of the rebels, and obliged to fall back. They, however, immediately rallied, and repulſed them with conſiderable ſlaughter. The rebels were ſo furious in their charge as to lay their hands on the carriages of the battalion guns, and ſome of them were almoſt burnt to a coal by their exploſion.

The detachment under lieutenant general Stewart, conſiſting of a part of the Argyleſhire fencibles, and ſome of the 22d dragoons, and ſome yeomanry corps, were likewiſe attacked; but they defeated the rebels, and killed a great number of them. The diſperſion now became general, and though the retreat was made in a confuſed and irregular manner, it was much favoured by the woods and the nature of the country, which prevented the cavalry from any long or effectual purſuit. Near five hundred rebels are ſaid to have been killed. The town of Ballynahinch was burned by the military.

Munroe fled towards the mountains without any guard or eſcort, and was afterwards accidentally diſcovered and taken by three orangemen, as he lay concealed in a potatoe furrow, under ſome litter, in an open field, about ſix miles from Ballynahinch. He offered them forty guineas to let him eſcape; but the loyalty of his captors was not to be corrupted. They brought him to Hillſborough, together with a young man of the name of Kane, taken with him in the ſame furrow, and who was formerly employed as a clerk in the office of the Belfaſt Northern Star.

They were ſent under a guard to Liſburn, where Munroe was tried by a court-martial, and executed oppoſite to his own door. His head was fixed on a pike, and placed on the market-houſe. Juſt before he was ſuſpended, he ſaid that he wiſhed to ſettle an account with a neighbour, to whom he was indebted. He accordingly got a pen and ink, and adjuſted it with all the coolneſs of deliberation.

The rebel army at Ballynahinch chiefly conſiſted of preſbyterians, and other denominations of proteſtant diſſenters, with few, if any, Roman catholicks, as 2000 of them deſerted the night before the battle, * which inflamed the preſbyterians very much againſt them.

On the night of the ninth, and the morning of the tenth, the inſurrection from Newtownards to Portaferry was general; and a body of rebels, to the number of one thouſand, attacked the latter about four o'clock in the afternoon. They were ſaid to be chiefly under the direction of one Warwick, a preſbyterian probationer, ſince hanged; and they were headed by one Mc. Mullin, of Portaferry, a ſhopkeeper, and two farmers in its vicinity. The town was gallantly defended by that brave veteran, captain Charles Mathews, and the Portaferry yeomanry, who took poſt in the market-houſe, and converted it into a garriſon.

Captain Mathews having received intelligence in the morning that the town was to be attacked, had the arches of the building filled up with a dry temporary wall, to prevent the rebels from ſetting fire to the loft, which their leaders had reſolved to do. Captain Hopkins, being in the river, with the revenue cruiſer which he commanded, rendered the moſt important ſervice on the occaſion with his guns. The loſs

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* They remained about two miles off, on the Seaford road, and could not refrain from expreſſing their ſatisfaction that the proteſtants were mutually deſtroying each other. Theſe Roman catholicks belonged principally to the pariſh of Loughin-iſland, and the adjoining country.

loſs of the rebels was conſiderable, while not a ſingle yeoman was hurt. Three volunteer loyaliſts, who worked two ſwivels outſide the market-houſe, having no cover, were killed.

The event of this action was of the utmoſt conſequence, for had the rebels ſucceeded in it, they were to have croſſed the lake at Strangford; and the rebels in the barony of Lecale, who were numerous, were to have joined them. * Downpatrick muſt have fallen, and an immenſe force, thus prevented, would have encreaſed the army of Ballynahinch.

The boldneſs and courage which the inſurgents in the North diſplayed during the very ſhort period that the rebellion exiſted, prove how dangerous and formidable it would have been, but that government very wiſely and ſeaſonably averted the horrors of it, partly by conciliatory meaſures, and partly by coercion; and the dreadful and cold-blooded maſſacres of proteſtants perpetrated in the South, having convinced the northern rebels of the cruelty and treachery of their Roman catholick confederates, and that their own deſtruction would be involved in that of the conſtitution, detached them from the union, and completely extinguiſhed the flame of rebellion in the North.

Dickey, a rebel leader, who was hanged at Belfaſt, declared a ſhort time before his execution, that the preſbyterians of the North perceived too late, that, if they had ſucceeded in ſubverting the conſtitution, they would ultimately have to contend with the Roman catholicks.

Some reſpectable gentlemen of the county of Donegal have aſſured me, that the preſbyterians and Roman catholicks of a large and populous diſtrict in it, called Fanet, were ſo jealous and ſuſpicious of each other, as ſoon as the maſſacres in the South were known, that they continued for ſome time watching each other, without going to bed at night; the

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* Plate I. 1.

the former dreading the fate of the proteſtants in Leinſter, and the latter fearing that the preſbyterians would be revenged of them for the maſſacre of their brethren. Numbers of preſbyterians, who had been united, deſerted their aſſociates, joined the yeomanry, and became orangemen.

The judicious diſpoſition and active exertions of lord Henry Murray, under lord Cavan, from Coleraine, in June, 1798, aided by the yeomanry of the town, and the like conduct on the part of colonel Leith, aided by the Londonderry and Bevagh corps of cavalry, not only checked the deſigns of the ill-affected in the country which they occupied, but completely checked the progreſs of the Antrim rebels, and kept them at the Antrim ſide of the Bann; all the bridges of that river having been well ſecured, and the boats drawn on ſhore to the Derry ſide by a party of orangemen.

The maſſacres of the South alarmed and animated many thouſand proteſtants, who ſuddenly volunteered, armed themſelves, and joined general Knox, whoſe approach from Moneymore towards Toome convinced the Antrim rebels, that they had no buſineſs to quit their own country; and he would have given them a complete overthrow, and have extinguiſhed, for a century, a diſpoſition to rebellion in that county, but that colonel Clavering, who had made terms with them at Ballymena, went expreſs to ſtop the general's approach. The tranquillity of the county of Armagh is chiefly to be imputed to the zeal and activity of the orangemen.

The amneſty granted to the rebels by colonel Clavering, though it was done with the beſt intentions, has been condemned by many northern gentlemen of very good ſenſe, as it was ſaid to have fed the flame of rebellion in the county of Antrim for many months after it took place, as much as general Dundas's negotiation did in the county of Kildare.

It ſhould be remembered with the livelieſt ſenſe of gratitude by the loyal ſubjects of Ireland, that ſome regiments of Engliſh militia, feeling for their danger and diſtreſs, voluntarily offered to go to their relief and aſſiſtance; that ſome of them went there ſo early as the month of June, 1798, and that no leſs than thirteen of them arrived there in that year.

It will reflect immortal honour on the marquis of Hertford and the marquis of Buckingham, that they firſt ſet the example, and arrived in Dublin early in the month of June, at the head of their reſpective regiments.

It ſhould alſo be remembered with gratitude, that our preſent amiable viceroy, the earl of Hardwicke, volunteered on that occaſion, and arrived in Ireland with the Cambridge regiment, which he commands.

THE REBELLION IN THE COUNTIES OF MAYO AND SLIGO.

The gentlemen and landholders in the province of Connaught piqued themſelves on the peaceable demeanour, and a reſpect for the laws, which the lower claſs of the people there continued to evince, when moſt other parts of the kingdom were diſturbed by the United Iriſhmen. But it has ſince appeared, that the maſs of the people were univerſally infected with their malignant doctrines, though they had not broken out into acts of open outrage; for at a provincial committee held at Dungannon,* the fourteenth of September, 1797, it was ſtated, that the province of Connaught was in a tolerable ſtate of organization; that a great number of United Iriſhmen had been made there, and more ſince the proclamation.†

In

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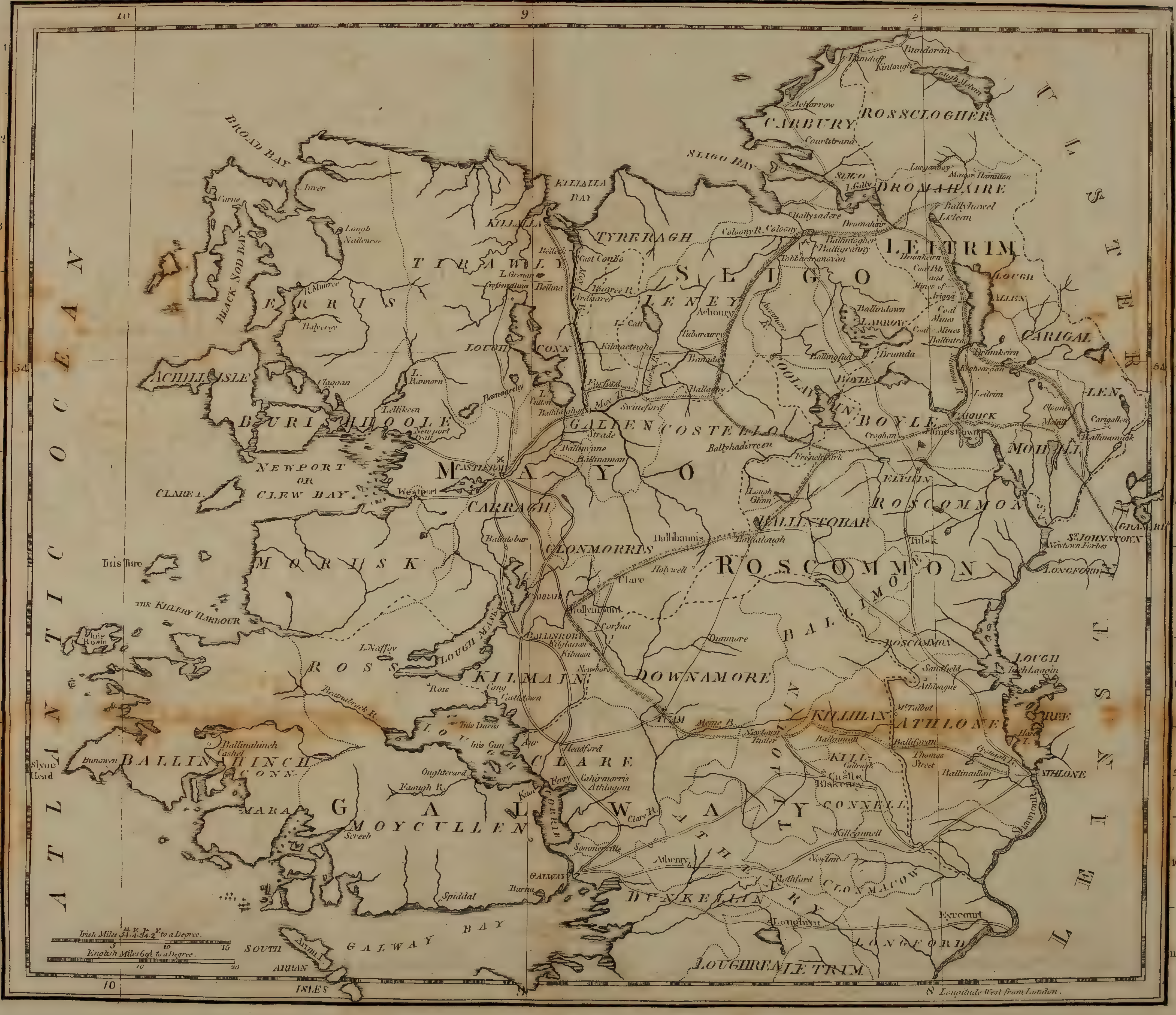
* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV.

† This alludes to the proclamation of the ſeventeenth of May, inviting the people to return to their allegiance, and offering an amneſty to ſuch as ſhould do ſo; and it proves the contumacy of the traitors in ſpurning at the benign and conciliating meaſures of government.

Plate 10


ATLANTIC OCEAN
ULSTER
LEINSTER
MAYO
SLIGO
LEITRIM
GALWAY
ROSCOMMON
BROAD BAY
BLACK SOD BAY
ERRIS
TIRAWLY
KILLALLA BAY
Killalla
TYRERAGH
SLIGO BAY
CARBURY
ROSSCLOGHER
DROMAHAIRE
LENEY
CARIGAL-LEN
MOHILL
ACHILL ISLE
BURISHOOLE
NEWPORT OR CLEW BAY
Clare I.
Westport
Castlebar
CARRAGH
GALLEN
COSTELLO
COOLAVIN
BOYLE
Lough Conn
Swineford
Ballina
Sligo
Collooney
Boyle
Carrick
Jamestown
Elphin
Ballintobar
Frenchpark
Ballyhadireen
MORISK
Inis Tuire
THE KILLERY HARBOUR
Inis Bosin
ROSS
Lough Mask
KILMAIN
CLONMORRIS
Hollymount
Ballinrobe
Cong
DOWNAMORE
BALLIMOE
ROSCOMMON
Dunmore
Tuam
KILLIHAN
ATHLONE
Lough Ree
Athlone
Shannon R.
Lough Corrib
Headford
CLARE
MOYCULLEN
BALLINAHINCH
CONNAMARA
Slyne Head
Oughterard
Galway
Barna
Spiddal
GALWAY BAY
SOUTH ARRAN ISLES
Athenry
ATHENRY
DUNKELLIN
TIAQUIN
KILCONNELL
CLONMACOW
Loughrea
LONGFORD
LOUGHREA
LEITRIM
Eyrecourt
Lough Allen
Longford
St. Johnstown
Newtown Forbes
Granard
Bundoran
Lough Melvin
Irish Miles 54.4.34.2 to a Degree
English Miles 69½ to a Degree
8 Longitude West from London
10
9
8
54

N.B. *The Lord Lieutenant's March is marked thus* ...... *Gen.^l Lake's thus* ═══ *and the French thus* ═══

In the beginning of the year 1798, a number of fugitive families arrived in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, from the north of Ireland; who, as they alleged, ſought for protection from the orangemen, who were perſecuting them on account of their religion. They were all Roman catholicks, and from their appearance of decency and induſtry, the plauſibility with which they repreſented their ſufferings, and the knowledge which they poſſeſſed of the linen manufacture, they readily obtained an aſylum from the gentlemen of the country, and were conſidered as a great acquiſition to it. They had alſo an apparent ſolemnity and ſincerity in their manners, and ſhewed ſuch attention to the duties of their religion, as not only procured them the eſteem of perſons of their own perſuaſion, but excited the pity of proteſtants, who conſidered them as an innocent and perſecuted people.

This was the general idea entertained of them; but ſome gentlemen, who conceived that their improper conduct muſt have been the cauſe of their alleged perſecution and expulſion, were not inclined to encourage or protect them. Nevertheleſs ſome hundred families of them ſpread themſelves over the country, particularly near the ſea-coaſt, and for ſome time demeaned themſelves in a peaceable and induſtrious manner.

But it was ſoon diſcovered, that they were much addicted to ſpeculate on politicks; that they held clubs and meetings, where newſpapers, for which they ſubſcribed, were conſtantly read; and that they were perfectly well verſed in all the political ſubjects which were then the topicks of converſation. They alſo brought with them a number of ſtrange and abſurd prophecies, which they pretended were delivered by the ancient Iriſh bards and prophets, foretelling the wars and calamities which were ſhortly to take place in the country, and which were to prove nearly fatal to the catholicks.*

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* In the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, ſuch prophecies were uſed during the civil wars, to rouſe the people, as may be ſeen in Spenſer, Morriſon, Temple, Laurence, and Harris.

In one of theſe it was aſſerted, that the upper part of the county of Mayo, particularly the mountain of Croagh Patrick, near Weſtport, * would be the ſafeſt place of refuge, whenever theſe calamities would commence; which induced numbers of people to repair there, ſome for protection, others to perform pilgrimage, and to do other pious offices, as it has always been conſidered as a holy place.

Theſe prophecies † have a very great effect on the minds of the lower claſs of people, who are perſuaded that the events predicted muſt neceſſarily come to paſs; and they were ready to catch at every rumour which ſeemed to correſpond with the ideas which they had inſpired. They breathed nothing but death, bloodſhed and devaſtation, painted the rivers as running crimſon with blood, and a peſtilence raging through the country, occaſioned by the effluvia of putrid carcaſes, which remained unburied; with every other horror which a dreadful civil war produces.

Such prophecies were one of the many artifices uſed to excite hatred in the popiſh multitude againſt proteſtants, who were figured under the title of the black army, and were deſtined to commit thoſe atrocities againſt the catholicks, and to furniſh a pretext of maſſacring them, whenever an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf.

Theſe northern families were but a ſhort time in the county of Mayo, when a perſon of high reſpectability informed the magiſtrates and country gentlemen, that they were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy then carried on in the North, and that moſt of them, conſcious of their crimes, fled from a country where they were cloſely watched, and dreaded the vengeance of the law, to one where, not ſubject to ſuſpicion, they might eaſily execute their deſigns.

Orange

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* Plate X. 6.

† I have already mentioned that many popiſh families had emigrated from the county of Tyrone to Connaught, in conſequence of prophecies.

Orange ſocieties had at that time commenced in the North, whoſe avowed object was, to protect themſelves and their country from the machinations of a ſet of popiſh traitors, who had bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn ties to overturn the conſtitution and extirpate the proteſtants, and that in ſo ſecret a manner, that many thouſands were united before a diſcovery could be obtained. At their ſecret meetings, which were generally held at night, they methodized their operations; employed emiſſaries to propagate their doctrines; collected money for the purchaſe of arms and ammunition; laid plans for attacking the houſes of proteſtants, and taking away their arms; and finally concerted the means of a general rebellion and maſſacre, in conjunction with the rebels of every other part of the kingdom.

The gentlemen and magiſtrates of the country were well aware that ſuch miſchiefs were hatching, but found it very difficult to procure full and convincing proofs to ſubſtantiate the facts, and to bring the traitors to puniſhment.

It was in this critical ſtate of things, that the ſpirit and promptitude of the orangemen, alive to the intereſt of their country, and attached to that conſtitution for which their anceſtors fought under king William, aſſociated under the ſtrongeſt bonds of loyalty and affection; and relying on the goodneſs of the cauſe in which they had embarked, they, without fear or reſtraint, hunted theſe traitors to their dens, developed their dark proceedings, and dragged them to puniſhment. By their well-timed and ſpirited exertions, they delivered that part of the kingdom from thoſe horrors which were ready to burſt upon the heads of the loyal inhabitants.

This was the perſecution which the diſaffected ſo much complained of, and which afforded a plauſible pretext for the outrages afterwards committed by the rebels.

The conduct of theſe northern families on the landing of the French proves with what malignant deſigns they were originally actuated; for, when that event took place, they threw off the veil of religion, and the cloak of humility, boldly aſſumed the iron front of war, preſſed forward to receive arms and ammunition from their new deliverers, choſe leaders among themſelves, erected the ſtandard of rebellion, and plundered and deſolated the houſes and the property of their proteſtant friends and benefactors.

It is very remarkable, that theſe men, deſpiſing the want of courage and abilities in the Connaught rebels, refuſed to ſerve promiſcuouſly with them, but formed a ſeparate corps, who kept together during the rebellion.

The peaſantry of the counties of Mayo and Sligo, (I mean of the Roman catholick perſuaſion,) are ſavage, ignorant, and ſuperſtitious; and though they were organized and ſworn to aſſiſt the French on their landing, yet I am convinced that they would not have had ſpirit or reſolution enough to riſe in rebellion, if that event had not taken place, however well inclined they might have been.

The gentlemen and men of landed property, with but few exceptions, were proteſtants of the church of England, and conſequently loyal, and ſtrongly attached to the eſtabliſhed government. To theſe were added an equally loyal and very reſpectable proteſtant yeomanry, moſtly freeholders, and planted rather thickly over the country. All theſe were tolerably expert in the uſe of arms, having ſerved in the volunteer and yeomanry corps.

Theſe two bodies, united in common intereſt, and rouſed by the danger which ſurrounded them, would have continued to overawe and reſtrain an ignorant and unarmed rabble, without men of property or conſequence at their head, and ſtimulated to action only by ſome low emiſſaries from other countries, or by their weak and infatuated clergy, many of whom were found among the foremoſt in joining the enemy, and in ſtrengthening the ranks of rebellion.

The landing of a little more than one thouſand French, achieved, almoſt inſtantly, what the united Iriſhmen could never have effected, notwithſtanding all their arts, to make the popiſh multitude riſe in rebellion.

Struck with a ſudden panick at the unexpected appearance of the French, the loyaliſts, for the moſt part, abandoned their houſes; the rebels, armed and encouraged by the French, elated with their firſt ſucceſs, and animated with a deſire of vengeance, and the hope of plunder, entered ſword in hand into the deſerted abodes of the fugitive loyaliſts, where, not content with pillage and rapine, they, with the moſt ſavage barbarity, like the Goths of old, ſacrificed to wanton revenge every thing valuable, which art and ſcience had formed and collected for the comfort and delight of the virtuous and intelligent; and in a few days defaced thoſe ornaments and improvements which human induſtry had been raiſing for a century before.

Another circumſtance which contributed to promote the cauſe of rebellion in thoſe counties, and to cement its votaries, by a bond ſtill more binding than the oath of the united Iriſhmen or defenders, was the propagation of the myſteries of the Carmelites among the Roman catholicks. This was originally a religious order, which was ſaid to have been inſtituted for the advancement of piety and morality, but it was now perverted to the purpoſe of aſſociating men for the expreſs purpoſe of committing treaſon, murder, ſacrilege, and robbery, with every other inferior crime, which depravity might ſuggeſt, or opportunity afford.

As its malignant influence operated much ſtronger in Connaught than in the province of Leinſter, where alſo it was made a vehicle of rebellion, I ſhall give the reader a more minute deſcription of it. In the neighbourhood of Ballina,* there were ſome mendicant friars, who were led, by the poverty of their ſituation, to convert the credulity of the popiſh multitude to their benefit, by inducing them to believe, that an admiſſion into this fraternity would enſure them eternal happineſs; and this foundation being once laid, it was not difficult afterwards to perſuade them to pay a ſmall ſum of money for its attainment.

At their initiation they received a ſquare piece of brown cloth, with the letters I H S inſcribed on it, meaning Jeſus hominum Salvator,† which was hung round the neck with a ſtring, and lying on the ſhoulder next to the ſkin, was, from its ſituation, called a ſcapular. The price of it on initiation was, to the poorer claſs, one ſhilling; to thoſe who could afford it, higher in proportion to their ability. This diſtinguiſhing badge of the order, having received the prieſt's benediction, was ſuppoſed to contain the virtue of preſerving the diſciple, not only from outward dangers and injuries, but alſo from the attacks of the ghoſtly enemy. They aſcribed to theſe ſcapulars the power of protecting a houſe, in which one of them happened to be, from being conſumed by fire, or of extinguiſhing one on fire, if thrown into the flames; while the ſacred extinguiſher would remain perfectly ſafe from the power of the fire, like the three Hebrews in the Babylonian furnace.

The ignorance and credulity of the popiſh multitude were impoſed on by the following device: The cloth of which theſe ſcapulars was originally made, being compoſed of the Aſbeſtos, poſſeſſed a quality to reſiſt fire; and on receiving the prieſt's benediction, they were committed to the flames, where, to the aſtoniſhment of the beholders, they were found to preſerve themſelves ſafe and entire;

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* Plate X. 3, 4.

† Jeſus, the Saviour of mankind. See it in Plate V.

and having undergone this fiery ordeal, the ſupernatural power which produced it was aſcribed to the prieſt's benediction.

Many of theſe were cut off the necks of the rebels when taken priſoners, and their virtue was put to the teſt by expoſing them to the fire, where they gave a convincing proof of their frailty, by being (as the inventors themſelves have long ſince been) reduced to duſt and aſhes.

The pariſh prieſts in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, either convinced of the efficacy and utility of this order, in promoting the cauſe of religion, or ſeeing that the ſale of ſcapulars was very profitable, procured a power from the friars before mentioned to diſpoſe of them, and admit candidates into this holy order. Bags of them have been often ſent to fairs and markets, and ſold to the credulous multitude.

The officiating prieſt at Ballina, curate to the popiſh biſhop, was the perſon then intruſted with the diſtribution of this ſacred ſymbol, a large number of which he conferred on the worthy claimants.

This ſoon became the ſignal by which thoſe of the true faith were to know each other, and the rallying point for thoſe devotees who carried on the cruſade againſt the hereticks; and a ſhop was opened ſoon after the landing of the French, where all the ſons of Erin, * with their pikes in their hands, were ſupplied with ſcapulars at regulated prices.

Theſe were intended, not only to unite them more ſtrongly againſt the common enemy, but to arm them with freſh courage, and protect them from danger in the hour of trial. Good God! will that day ever arrive, when a pure, a ſimple, a rational, and undefiled religion ſhall be eſtabliſhed among the deluded natives of Ireland; when the clouds of ſuperſtition and ignorance, which ſo much obſcure the human mind, ſhall be diſpelled by religion and reaſon, thoſe bright luminaries which the Deity has benignly afforded

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* The Iriſh for Ireland.

forded to erring man, to direct his wandering ſteps through the thorny paths of life, and to guide his feet in the ways of peace?

We may ſay to the popiſh multitude of Ireland, in the words of holy writ, "Ye do err, not knowing the ſcriptures." Mat. xxii. 29.

The better to inflame the paſſions and awaken the fanatical fury of the popiſh multitude againſt proteſtants, a report was univerſally propagated in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, ſome months before the French landed, that the orangemen had combined, and were determined to maſſacre the Roman catholicks, a device which was practiſed in every part of Ireland.

At Balle, near Hollymount,* in the county of Mayo, a patron was held ſome time in the month of July, when the diſſemination of that report had ſuch an effect on the inhabitants of that town and its vicinity, that they remained in large bodies all night in the fields, where the leaders of rebellion organized and ſwore them.

An active intelligent magiſtrate informed me, that he expatiated on the dangerous tendency of ſuch reports to the pariſh prieſt of Foxford,† ſome time in the month of July, 1798, and recommended to him to undeceive his flock, by aſſuring them, from the altar, that they were falſe and groundleſs; but he objected to it, alleging as an excuſe, that it would offend ſome of his moſt reſpectable pariſhioners.

The leaders of rebellion had recourſe to another very curious invention, to incenſe the minds of the Roman catholicks againſt the proteſtants, and inflame them with a ſpirit of revenge; and though the abſurdity was more likely to excite ridicule than ſerious attention, it had the wiſhed for effect on the ſemi-barbarous rabble.

A few days before the French landed, a report was induſtriouſly circulated, that the proteſtants had entered into a conſpiracy to maſſacre the Roman catholicks, and that they would not ſpare man, woman, or child. It was ſaid that, for this purpoſe, a large quantity of combuſtible ſtuff had been introduced by the orangemen, who made a kind of black candles of it; that they were of ſuch a quality, that they could not be extinguiſhed when once lighted; and that in whatever houſe they ſhould be burnt, they would produce the deſtruction of every perſon in it.

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* Plate X. 7.

† Ibid. 5.

It was ſaid alſo, that this deleterious ſyſtem was to be carried into effect through the whole country in one night; and the people in the villages were cautioned not to ſleep in their houſes, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed. *

Multitudes, impreſſed with this idea, ſat up all night, or ſlept in the fields.

The magiſtrates, finding that this report was univerſally credited by the lower claſs of people, poſted up an advertiſement at Ballina to undeceive them, and convince them of the futility and abſurdity of this report; but they were taught to believe that this notice was only an artifice to lull them into ſecurity, that they might more eaſily become a prey to their perſecutors.

As ſoon as the French landed, one Crohan, who ſerved as clerk to a popiſh chapel, was ſeized in the act of proclaiming in the pariſh of Kilmeckſhalgan, in the county of Sligo, that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks.

Moſt of the pariſh prieſts in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, to diſarm the ſuſpicion, and lull the vigilance of government and the magiſtrates, collected their flocks, and with them ſwore oaths of allegiance before magiſtrates, whom they ſolicited to adminiſter them.

In the month of April, 1798, father O'Donnell, pariſh prieſt of Kilmeckſhalgan, aſked Mr. Hillas, of Seaview,

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* This impoſition was practiſed in the county of Wexford.

Seaview, to attend him and his flock for that purpoſe; and they, in the preſence of him and counſellor Webber, gave that teſt of their loyalty; yet as ſoon as the French landed, that ſame prieſt ſeized Mr. Hillas's beſt horſe, and joined them.

The prieſts of different pariſhes, after the French landed, were heard to ſay to their flock, from the altar, "God help you, poor people! Pray for your ſouls; I cannot anſwer for your ſafety; the king's troops and the orangemen will put you all to death."

In the courſe of the ſummer of 1798, it was obſerved, that the petty ſhop-keepers, mechanicks and ſervants, of the popiſh perſuaſion, uſed to hold frequent meetings at the low tippling houſes in Ballina, and its vicinity, which induced well grounded ſuſpicions that they entertained deſigns of a treaſonable tendency; particularly as ſuch aſſociations were conſtantly attended by ſome of the northerns, who were active and zealous in making proſelytes to their pernicious doctrines. They alſo kept up a conſtant intercourſe with their friends in the North, by means of emiſſaries, who paſſed and re-paſſed in the guiſe of hawkers and pedlars. This intelligence having been privately communicated to the reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a very active and intelligent magiſtrate, (whoſe zealous exertions on this and other occaſions became a ſource of many future calamities to himſelf and his numerous family) he and a few friends, in whom he could confide, were conſtantly on the watch, in order to detect and counteract the treaſonable plans of this party; but they were conducted with ſuch ſecreſy, as to elude their vigilance, and prevent them from receiving any certain information of their real deſigns; however it had the good effect of filling them with alarm and diffidence, and of preventing them from diſſeminating their doctrine in as wide a circle, and with as much rapidity as before.

Mr. Neligan, ever attentive to the duties of his office and the peace of ſociety, having learned that an idle young man of the name of Reynolds, who often frequented the town of Boyle, * as a pedlar, was deeply concerned in the machinations of thoſe traitors, wrote to a friend there, to have him arreſted, and interrogated on the ſubject. On his examination, he aſſumed an appearance of the moſt perfect innocence, and denied every charge which was brought againſt him; but a few laſhes of a cat-o'nine-tails having been inflicted on him by order of the officer commanding at Boyle, he diſcovered the whole plot, and thoſe who were aſſociated with him. The information having been ſent to Mr. Neligan, he was aſtoniſhed at the number and reſpectability of the perſons concerned in it; however, the events which took place in the courſe of the rebellion verified his allegations; for the perſons whom he charged were the moſt dangerous and deſperate in it.

From the very critical ſtate of the country, it would have been very dangerous to attempt the arreſt of ſo many perſons of the before mentioned deſcription; for there was no military in the country, except a ſmall detachment of the carabineers, a troop of yeomen cavalry, and a company of yeomen infantry; and above one half of the latter, according to Reynolds's evidence, were united Iriſhmen, having, regardleſs of their oath of allegiance, enliſted merely for the purpoſe of procuring arms, and joining the French when they ſhould land; an event which was ſtrongly and earneſtly expected. It was then thought prudent to diſſemble, and conceal a knowledge of the buſineſs, and to arreſt but a few of the leaders, which might caſt a damp on the ſpirit of the party. Eight only then were taken up, and among theſe two of the name of Walſh, who were ſent to general Taylor at Sligo † for examination; but they were diſcharged by the interceſſion of ſome gentlemen and magiſtrates of the neighbourhood, who aſſured him of their upright characters, their loyal

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* Plate X. 5.

† Ibid. 1.

loyal and peaceable deportment, though it was declared upon oath, that they were the principal perſons to whom the rebels in the barony of Tyrawly were to look up to for advice and inſtruction. Two of theſe magiſtrates had ſoon reaſon to retract their opinions of their liberated friends; for the elder, dreading the puniſhment due to his crimes, fled to America, after having defrauded one of the magiſtrates at whoſe inſtance he was liberated. The younger Walſh was apprehended in the houſe of the other gentleman, who had been his encomiaſt, with a predatory party in arms, ready to eſtabliſh liberty and equality, at the expenſe of his benefactor.

This fact affords a perſuaſive leſſon to men of property and influence, with what caution they ſhould interpoſe between the criminal and the laws of his country, particularly when their interference is intended, not to elucidate the innocence of the accuſed on his trial, but to reſcue him before it takes place from the hands of juſtice.

From the following circumſtances, which preceded the arrival of the French, no perſon can doubt but that they were expected by the rebels of Mayo and Sligo:

They had an immenſe quantity of pikes in readineſs: To inflame the Romaniſts againſt the proteſtants, they ſpread the uſual reports about orangemen and their ſanguinary deſigns; and their prieſts and their congregations were very eager to take oaths of allegiance, in imitation of thoſe of the county of Wexford, to put the magiſtrates off their guard, and to prevent the introduction of troops into the country.

As ſome of the Romiſh clergy and their flocks in the county of Mayo expreſſed a deſire of teſtifying their allegiance by taking oaths for that purpoſe, doctor Stock, the biſhop, and ſome of the magiſtrates, deſirous of encouraging ſo laudable a deſire in them, ſuppoſing that it would tend to keep the common people quiet and ſteady to the government, held a meeting at Ballina, early in the month of June, 1798, entered into reſolutions, and formed a committee for carrying their intentions into effect.

An active and intelligent magiſtrate of my acquaintance entertained a very different opinion of that meaſure, well knowing that treaſon was then hatching among the people, and that it would ſoon burſt forth into action; and therefore he abſented himſelf from the meeting, though he had been appointed one of the committee, as he had ſtrong reaſons to doubt the ſincerity of the Roman catholicks.

According to the plan adopted, the magiſtrates divided the country into diſtricts; and in order to accommodate the lower claſs of people, they attended at the popiſh chapels on ſucceſſive Sundays, where the prieſts were directed to have their flocks aſſembled, and where they had the oath ſolemnly adminiſtered to them, beginning with the prieſt, and going through the whole of his congregation. By theſe means, (aided alſo by the ſeveral landlords who took care to bring their tenants forward) almoſt the whole of the inhabitants, clergy and laity, had the oath adminiſtered to them. The magiſtrate, to whom I alluded, would not attend, becauſe he had many documents to prove, and was even informed by one of their own perſuaſion, that they meditated the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and that the favourite toaſt at their convivial meetings was, "A total extirpation of the proteſtants!"

Similar perfidy, but ſtill ſtronger, took place in a yeoman corps, commanded by captain Jones, of Ballina. The magiſtrate whom I mentioned, received poſitive information, that about thirty of them, who were Roman catholicks, had all been united men, and had been ſworn to join the French on their landing, which he communicated to their commander, but he could not be prevailed on to give credit to it. He, however, having mentioned it to them, they ſeemed very much hurt, and propoſed that a very ſtrong teſt, in addition to the oath of allegiance which they had ſworn, ſhould be framed and adminiſtered to them; and captain Jones having complied, they all took it with the greateſt readineſs. This ſerved as a maſk to their treachery for the preſent, but which they ſoon threw off, when an opportunity was afforded them of joining the French, which they all did, except three, adding deſertion, perfidy and perjury, to the crime of treaſon.

There are two prieſts in the neighbourhood of Ballina, who have not been taken up or put on their trial. One of theſe conſtantly viſited the French and rebel generals at Killala, and gave directions and orders to them; and when an alarm was given one day, while he was celebrating maſs, that the king's troops were approaching, he ordered every man who had arms, and was able to march, to repair without delay to the French ſtandard to oppoſe them. The other lived in a pariſh the moſt notorious for diſaffection in the county of Sligo, and a letter from him was diſcovered, written to a rebel commander at Killala, communicating the ſtate of the country, and mentioning the neceſſity of ſending a quantity of ſpirituous liquors to keep up the courage of his people, and to make them ready for ſervice.

There were at leaſt a dozen Romiſh prieſts who went to pay their reſpects to the French, and lived in habits of intimacy with them at Killala, and other places, eating, drinking, and making merry with them, on the ſpoils of the unfortunate proteſtants who had either fled or had been impriſoned; whilſt none of the Romiſh perſuaſion, though reputed loyal, were known to fly the country, through apprehenſion of danger, or to join the king's troops, or the armed loyaliſts.

It was not uncommon to ſee ſome of theſe ſpiritual guides introducing into the court-yard of Killala ſome of their half-naked raggamuffins, taking cloaths out of the ſtores, which were kept there for that purpoſe, and arraying them for actual ſervice. There were two, however, of this claſs, who could not be induced, either through fear or promiſes, to partake with their flocks in the rebellion, but ſtrongly exhorted them to continue in their allegiance, and to attend to their induſtry, forewarning them of the conſequences of their diſloyalty. One of theſe was Mr. Conway, prieſt of Ardagh; the other, Mr. Grady, prieſt of Rathrea; of whom the latter was treated with great ſeverity, and dragged from the altar by his rebellious flock, becauſe he refuſed to partake in their wickedneſs, and accompany them to Killala. He had even the boldneſs to denounce vengeance on their guilty heads, ſhould they perſevere in their treaſonable ſchemes.

The perſecution levelled againſt the proteſtant clergymen, was not confined to the impriſonment of their perſons, joined to the inſults and menaces offered to them, and the deſtruction of their houſes and property, but was extended even to the demolition of their churches, which they gutted of all the timber and carpenter's work, and moſt wantonly and inſultingly abuſed and tore the books which they found in them.

Amongſt the churches moſt damaged were thoſe of Lackan, Eaſky, Killmactige, and Enniſcrone, in the pariſh of Killglaſs, and county of Sligo. Of the latter they tore up the floors, demoliſhed the pews and the communion table, rifled the tombs with great indecency, and inſulted the remains of the reverend Mr. Valentine, who had been vicar of and reſident in that pariſh, fifty-three years, and who died in the year 1765, in his ninetieth year, noted and univerſally revered for his humane and charitable diſpoſition. He left 600l. for the ſupport of the widows of the clergy of the dioceſe, and 400l. for maintaining a charity ſchool in the pariſh, and for apprenticing the children who were inſtructed in it. Doctor William Cecil, biſhop of Killala, had a monument erected to him, on which his virtues and good qualities were inſcribed, as an example to his ſucceſſors.

The meeting-houſe belonging to the diſſenting congregation of the Moy Water, near Ballina, fell a prey to their deſtructive rage. This was a colony brought there by ſir Arthur Gore, from the North, near one hundred years ago; and from their preſerving their primitive manners and dialect, and not holding much intercourſe with the common people of the country, they were more odious to the Roman catholicks than the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, and were treated with great ſeverity. They were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Albanaugh.*

The treatment which Mr. Little, vicar of Lackan, met with from theſe ſavages, deſerves particular notice: This gentleman reſided conſtantly at his glebe-houſe, and a great part of his time was employed in enquiring into, and relieving the wants of his poor pariſhioners, of every religious perſuaſion. He applied himſelf very much to the ſtudy of phyſick, and went to no ſmall expenſe in purchaſing medicine for their relief, which he beſtowed liberally on them. The Roman catholicks (who, from their numbers and poverty, were moſt likely to be the objects of his bounty) ſoon forgot the kind offices conferred on them, and requited his benevolence with unrelenting cruelty. Though he and Mrs. Little were in a very feeble and declining ſtate of health, they forced them from their houſe without a horſe to carry them, and ſcarcely cloaths to cover them, and then plundered them of every thing worth taking, wantonly deſtroying a valuable library, and every other article which they could find no uſe for; and joined to all this, they demoliſhed his church.

The reverend Mr. Neligan, of Ballina, a gentleman of elegant taſte and extenſive learning, and an active and intelligent magiſtrate, narrowly eſcaped from that town with ſome more loyaliſts; and after having paſſed through a country infeſted by banditti, who were roaming in queſt of proteſtants,† and after much peril and difficulty, arrived at Seaview, the ſeat of Mr. Hillas, in the county of Sligo. On his arrival there, ſome of the popiſh ſervants of Mrs. Hillas informed her, that ſhe would run a great riſk of having her houſe demoliſhed by harbouring a proteſtant clergyman.

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* This is much of the ſame import with Saſſinagh, which ſignifies equally Proteſtant and Engliſhman; but alludes more particularly to the Scotch.

At length, the event ſo eagerly wiſhed for by the Mayo and Sligo rebels arrived; for on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, 1798, three French frigates appeared in the bay of Killala,* a ſmall town in the county of Mayo, which is the reſidence of the biſhop; and as they had Engliſh colours, meſſieurs Edwin and Arthur Stock, the biſhop's ſons, and Mr. James Rutledge, the port ſurveyor, were tempted to viſit them, and were not undeceived till they were made priſoners.

As the biſhop held a viſitation at that time, and the town afforded but very bad accommodation for ſtrangers, his lordſhip had a very numerous company in his houſe. Soon after dinner, a meſſenger arrived in the utmoſt conſternation to announce that three hundred French troops had landed about a mile from the town, and were marching towards it.

Two carabineer officers, who dined there, rode off inſtantly to their quarters at Ballina, to convey intelligence of their landing, and to tranſmit it to Caſtlebar.

The prince of Wales's fencibles, and the yeomen of the town, in all about fifty, reſiſted them for ſome time; but as they would ſoon have been overpowered by the great ſuperiority of numbers, they retired into the caſtle,‡ but not until Mr. Kirkwood, who commanded the yeomanry, after ſtanding many ſhots, had fallen into their hands, and two of his corps had been killed.

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† This practice prevailed as much in Mayo and Sligo as in Wexford.

* Plate X. 3.

‡ The biſhop's palace is ſo called.

The reverend doctor Elliſon, of Caſtlebar, one of the biſhop's gueſts, with great gallantry, appeared in the ranks, with a muſket, and received a wound in the heel from a ſpent ball.

Mr. Edwin Stock, and many other priſoners, appeared at the gate, following general Humbert. The enemy entered the court yard of the caſtle, and made priſoners captain Cills and a party of the prince of Wales's fencibles, but not without a very ſpirited reſiſtance on the part of the captain, who wounded, in two places, the officer who led them on, and then ſhut the gate. After having entered the yard, they called for the biſhop; and on his lordſhip's appearing, the general declared, that he came to give them liberty, and to free them from the Engliſh yoke.

They put in requiſition all his lordſhip's horſes, and ſome of his cows and ſheep, ſaying, at the ſame time, that he ſhould be paid for them by the Iriſh directory, which would be immediately eſtabliſhed in Connaught.

The French officers gave the following account of the expedition: That about eighteen days before, one thouſand five hundred men, ſome of whom had ſerved under Bonaparte in Italy, the reſt had been of the army of the Rhine, embarked on board three frigates at Rochelle, and of a very dark night eluded (beyond their expectation) the vigilance of the Engliſh fleet, which was cloſe behind them. Two of them had forty-four guns, eighteen pounders, the other thirty-eight guns, twelve pounders. They ſaid alſo that they brought nine pieces of cannon, and arms for one hundred thouſand men; but this was a French gaſconade, as they had arms only for five thouſand five hundred men, and but two four-pounders. The meagre perſons, and the wan and ſallow countenances of theſe troops, whoſe numbers did not exceed one thouſand and ſixty rank and file, and ſeventy officers, ſtrongly indicated the ſevere hardſhips which they muſt have undergone.

They hoiſted a green flag in front of the caſtle, with the Iriſh words, "Erin go bragh!" inſcribed on it, which ſignifies in Engliſh, "Ireland for ever!" and they invited the people to join them, having aſſured them, that they would enjoy freedom and happineſs by doing ſo.

The firſt day they paſſed in landing their arms and ammunition; the ſecond in clothing and arming the natives, of whom great multitudes flocked to their ſtandard, and in granting commiſſions to Iriſh officers.

Every perſon endued with any degree of wiſdom and virtue muſt lament the ſtate of the popiſh multitude, who were ſo perverted in principle, and blinded by fanaticiſm, as to join a ferocious foreign enemy againſt their king and country; though the paucity of their numbers precluded the moſt diſtant hope of being able, with their aſſiſtance, to ſubvert the government; and it is aſtoniſhing that their clergy, who had more improved intellects, ſhould have incited and ſtimulated them to do ſo, as it muſt have terminated in their inevitable deſtruction.

General Humbert, commander in chief, ſent captain Cills and the prince of Wales's fencibles on board ſhip, and detained the yeomen two days, but afterwards liberated the latter on their parole, having on all occaſions made a ſtriking difference between the native Iriſh and the Engliſh, from a ſuppoſition, that the former without diſtinction hated the latter, and wiſhed to ſeparate Ireland from England.

The arms taken from the fencibles were delivered to the rebels, who ſaid on receiving them, that they would kill every Engliſhman and orangeman in Ireland.

General Humbert told the biſhop that the object of this invaſion was, to reſcue Ireland from the tyranny of England, and to give her a free conſtitution under the protection of France; and that he had not a doubt but that it would be accompliſhed in the ſpace of one month, as another very powerful armament would ſoon arrive from France, to ſecond his operations.

He informed his lordſhip, that a directory would ſhortly be eſtabliſhed in Connaught, and ſaid, that he ſhould be glad to avail himſelf of his lordſhip's talents and conſequence, to preſide over that important department; but he excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that he was bound to the king by repeated oaths of allegiance, which he could by no means think of violating.

General Humbert deſired the biſhop to iſſue his edict, to have all the horſes and cars in the country collected, to convey his cannon, ammunition and baggage to Caſtlebar. His lordſhip aſſured him, that he had been but a ſhort time reſident in the country, and had not ſufficient power and authority to effectuate his deſires, but that he would do his utmoſt to ſerve him.

Next morning, Humbert finding that no cars or horſes had been procured, became furious, uttered a torrent of vulgar abuſe, preſented a piſtol at the biſhop's eldeſt ſon, and declared he would puniſh his lordſhip's diſobedience, by ſending him to France; and accordingly he ſent him off towards the ſhore, under a corporal's guard. When he had advanced about half a mile, the general ſent an expreſs on horſeback to recall him, and at his return, he made him an apology, and pleaded neceſſity for what he had done.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, a ſmall detachment of the French marched from Killala to Ballina, but meeting with a more ſpirited oppoſition than they expected, from a party of the carabineers and yeomen infantry, commanded by major Kerr, they returned the ſame day.

In the evening, major Kerr, having received conſiderable reinforcements, advanced towards Killala, but was obliged to retire, after an unſucceſsful ſkirmiſh, in which two dragoons were wounded, one mortally; and the reverend Mr. Forteſcue, rector of Ballina, and nephew of the earl of Clermont, received a ball in his groin, of which he died in a few days, in excruciating pain.

In one point, the Iriſh rebels were very much diſappointed, for they imagined that the invaders were to commence their career with the ſlaughter of the proteſtants, and the deſtruction of their property; that the popiſh religion was to be eſtabliſhed with the utmoſt ſplendor, on the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed church; and that the eſtates, which had been forfeited in former rebellions, were to be reſtored to the old Iriſh families. But their aſtoniſhment was great on being informed by the French, that their object was to give them a new conſtitution ſimilar to that of France; that they would not ſuffer any perſon to be perſecuted for religious opinions; and as they conſidered both religions as ridiculous and abſurd, they laughed at thoſe who contended about them.

On Sunday the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, the main body marched towards Ballina, with a prodigious number of the native Iriſh, whom they had armed and clothed; but they left behind them two hundred privates, and ſix officers, for the purpoſe, as the general ſaid, to protect the proteſtant inhabitants from the ſanguinary ſpirit of the popiſh multitude; but it is preſumed they had alſo another object in contemplation, that of guarding a large quantity of ammunition, which they left at Killala, and of ſecuring a retreat. They took five hoſtages with them, of whom Mr. Edwin Stock, the biſhop's ſon, and the reverend Mr. Nickſon, were two.

When the French approached Ballina, they blindfolded the hoſtages, and led them to the houſe of colonel King, in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe of pikemen, who inſulted and reproached them as hereticks in the moſt opprobrious language. They paſſed the night under the protection of four Frenchmen, but were expoſed to the invectives of ſome hundreds of the rebels, who threatened to force the guard, and put them to death.

As their horſes could not be found next day, general Humbert at his departure permitted them to return.

On ſetting out for Caſtlebar, he left one Truc, a French officer, of a ſavage diſpoſition and vulgar manners, to keep poſſeſſion of Ballina.

Our troops, before they left that town, hanged a man of the name of Walſh, whom they found in the act of recruiting for the French, a commiſſion from whom they found in his pocket. This was Walſh the younger, who had been charged at Sligo, before general Taylor, with treaſonable practices, but whom he liberated in conſequence of the excellent character given of him by ſome magiſtrates and others.

The French officers having found his body ſuſpended when they entered the town, each of them gave it the fraternal embrace, and bedewed it with tears of ſympathetic civiſm ; and after having expoſed it ſome time in the ſtreet, to excite the indignation of the populace againſt the loyaliſts, it was carried to the Romiſh chapel, where it lay in ſtate with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been the greateſt hero or patriot of the age.

On the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, Mr. Richard Burke was brought a priſoner from Ballina, where he had been haranguing the populace, and inciting them to murder the proteſtants, which they had been but too well inclined to do before.

The French were very much aſtoniſhed at finding that no proteſtants would join them ; for not a ſingle perſon in the whole country of the eſtabliſhed church could be found to do ſo, except two drunken vagabonds at Killala, who in reality were deſtitute of all religious principle, though they paſſed for proteſtants; and they went through the ceremony of conforming to popery, and were baptized, thinking that it would recommend them to the French.

The biſhop might have made his eſcape before the French arrived at his palace, but with laudable fortitude he reſolved on remaining, by which he materially aſſiſted the French officers in maintaining ſocial order, and in preſerving the lives and properties of the proteſtant inhabitants.

The popiſh prieſts very ſoon diſplayed an ardent zeal to promote the intereſt of the French. Father Thomas Munnelly lived in a place called the Backs, where he officiated as curate in a pariſh which belongs to the popiſh biſhop, doctor Bellew. Soon after the invaſion he repaired to Killala, and offered his ſervices to the French, who gladly received them, well knowing the unbounded influence of the prieſts over the popiſh rabble.

He was employed in carrying them recruits, in equipping them with arms and clothes, and in ſearching for orangemen, as the proteſtants were indiſcriminately called. Having heard that Mr. Knox of Bartra, brother to counſellor Francis Knox, a gentleman of good property, had ſtill continued to defend his houſe, he voluntarily offered his ſervice to viſit him, and to carry him a priſoner to the French. His offer having been accepted, he put himſelf at the head of a party of armed rebels, marched to Bartra, entered it by ſurpriſe, and with a piſtol in his hand, forgetful of his allegiance, and of the ſacredneſs and reſpectability of the ſacerdotal character, he deſcended to the meanneſs of a common robber, and obliged Mr. Knox to deliver his purſe, conſiſting of a few guineas, and then conveyed him, tied, as a priſoner, to the quarters of his new allies.

This villain defrauded the gallows of its due, for, after abſconding ſome time, he ſurrendered himſelf under the proclamation, and has been tranſported with many culprits of notoriety.

Father Sweeny lived near Weſtport, in the county of Mayo, and enrolled himſelf in the ſervice of the French, ſoon after they landed. He repaired to the biſhop's palace, and, though uninvited, ſtationed himſelf there at bed and board, ſuppoſing that his new allies would be deſirous of availing themſelves of his influence over the popiſh rabble.

He ſaid to the French officers, " As every thing belonging to the proteſtants will be confiſcated, I ſhould be obliged to monſieur Charoſt, if he would let me have the biſhop's library, as I am fond of reading;" but Charoſt, turning from him with contempt, ſaid, " The biſhop's library is as much his own now as ever it was."

This man took uncommon pains to prevail on the pariſhioners of Mr. Conway, a loyal prieſt, in the neighbourhood of Ballina, to take a part in the rebellion, in which he was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the other, who conſtantly preached up the duties they owed their king and country, in which he had conſiderable ſucceſs.

Sweeny was apprehended and tried by a court-martial at Caſtlebar, where he was convicted on the moſt unqueſtionable evidence; and the teſtimony of the before-mentioned loyal prieſt tended much to bring him to the ſhameful and well-merited death which he there ſuffered, having been hanged for his crimes.

From the very great contempt which the French ſhewed for the bigotry of the common Iriſh papiſts, and the ſtrong oppoſition which they gave to their deſire of maſſacring and plundering proteſtants, it is aſtoniſhing that they flocked to them in ſuch numbers. The officers were filled with amazement on hearing the Iriſh recruits ſay, when they offered their ſervice, that they came to take arms for France and the bleſſed Virgin!

It is aſtoniſhing alſo, that the prieſts ſhould have been ſo zealous for them, as they manifeſted the moſt ſtriking diſlike, mingled with contempt, towards them; though common policy required that they ſhould uſe every art to conciliate them, as they had unbounded influence over their flocks; and as many of them had a ſmattering of French, they ſerved them as interpreters.

Monſieur Charoſt ſaid, "That they had juſt driven the pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him ſo ſuddenly in Ireland."

James Conroy, pariſh prieſt of Adergool, in the barony of Tyrawly and county of Mayo, a few weeks before the invaſion of the French, took the oath of allegiance, in his own chapel, and in the preſence of ſome hundreds of his flock, who followed his example; and he exhorted them from the altar to be loyal to the king and obedient to the laws, in a long ſpeech, conceived in ſuch forcible language, that the magiſtrate, who adminiſtered the oath, was convinced of his ſincerity; and yet, in violation of it, he repaired to Killala, which was twenty miles diſtant, as ſoon as the French landed there, embarked warmly in their intereſt, and was the firſt perſon who ſhewed them the practicability of marching to Caſtlebar, by Barnageehy, inſtead of the uſual road by Foxford. *

As his houſe was in their route, he entertained the French and rebel officers: He converted his chapel into a guard-houſe for them, his manſion was their banqueting-houſe, and the oxen which they took from his neighbours were ſlaughtered in one of his out-offices.

It has been ſince diſcovered, that a meſſenger had been diſpatched to general Hutchinſon, to inform him that the French were advancing towards Caſtlebar, by Croſſmalina, inſtead of Foxford; but Conroy and his coadjutor ſtopped him, made him ſwear the united Iriſhmen's oath, and enrolled him in the rebel ranks.

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* Plate X. 5.

ranks. His name was William Burke. He was afterwards hanged at Caſtlebar. The ſtopping him was the occaſion of many calamities to this kingdom.

Conroy, conſcious of his guilt, and fearing that he ſhould be arreſted, kept guards conſtantly round his houſe, after the arrival of our troops at Killala; but a party detached by general Trench ſurpriſed his videttes, killed two of them, wounded a third, and took the fourth priſoner. They were all in French arms and uniforms. They found in his houſe a French carabine, and ſome cartridges; a printed proclamation of the French, offering liberty to the people of Ireland; and the entire correſpondence which had taken place between him and one Maguire of Croſſmalina, * a noted rebel leader.

He was hanged at Caſtlebar, without either confeſſing or denying his guilt; and though he was ſure of eternal ſalvation for having oppoſed an heretical ſtate in ſupport of the true faith, he had ſcarce ſufficient ſtrength to aſcend the fatal ſtep.

On the firſt of September, lieutenant-colonel Charoſt received orders from general Humbert, to ſend off all the French troops to Caſtlebar, but that he ſhould remain at Killala, as commandant of it, with another French officer of the name of Ponſon.

This intelligence filled all the proteſtants with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions, leſt the authority of the commandant would not be ſufficient to protect them from that ſanguinary ſpirit which the lower claſs of people had ſo often manifeſted; and they dreaded the fate of the proteſtant ſufferers at Wexford-bridge, Vinegar-hill, and Scullabogue.

Charoſt, a man of ſenſe and honour, and naturally benevolent, ſhewed great horror at the bigotry of the Romaniſts, ſympathiſed moſt tenderly with the proteſtants, and uſed the moſt unremitting exertions to protect them from its baneful effects. He had two hundred Iriſh recruits under his command, but the

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* Plate X. 4.

the envenomed hatred which they had already ſhewn towards all loyal ſubjects, proved that they could not place much reliance on their protection. The commandant, wiſhing to adopt meaſures for ſecuring the lives and property of the inhabitants of the town and the adjacent country againſt robbers, invited them without any diſtinction of religion or party, to accept of arms, but on condition that they would return them when called for. The inhabitants of the town, and eſpecially the proteſtants, embraced the offer with alacrity, and the diſtribution took place on the evening of September the firſt.

The rebels objected ſtrongly againſt ſupplying the proteſtants with arms, as they ſaid that they would turn them againſt the French and their allies, as ſoon as an Engliſh army appeared; and two of their officers, of the name of Mulheeran and Maguire, who were ſpokeſmen on the occaſion, became clamorous and vehement, the former having manifeſted his diſguſt ſo much as to lay down his arms.

The proteſtants, intimidated by the menaces of the rebel ſoldiers, reſolved to ſurrender their arms, and to reſt their defence on the fidelity of the Iriſh recruits.

As the rebels continued their murmurs and complaints, and haraſſed the proteſtants with domiciliary viſits, in ſearch of arms, the commandant, at the inſtance of the latter, iſſued a proclamation, requiring that no perſon ſhould appear in arms, except recruits for the French ſervice.

In addition to the terror of being deprived of their arms, the proteſtants were very much alarmed at the accounts which were conſtantly received of depredations committed on the houſes of perſons of the eſtabliſhed church, in all the adjacent country. Every night ſome houſe was plundered; and ſcarce an hour paſſed, in which the biſhop was not importuned to redreſs ſome grievance, or to obtain from the commandant protection for ſome houſe againſt the rapacity of banditti.

Deal Caſtle, the elegant ſeat of lord Tyrawly, was made a perfect wreck of. The commandant, therefore, iſſued a proclamation for dividing the country into departments, and appointed a civil magiſtrate, aided by a certain number of rebel ſoldiers over each. Mr. James Devitt, a Roman catholick tradeſman, of good ſenſe and moderation, was appointed to preſide over the town, and had one hundred and fifty men under his command.

About twenty men mounted guard in the caſtle, which was conſidered as the head quarters of the allied army. This inſtitution afforded in ſome degree peace and protection to the town; but the moſt ſhocking depredations continued to be committed on the houſes of proteſtants in all the adjacent country, by thoſe very rebel guards who had been appointed to protect them.

This is not ſurpriſing, as the rebels were elate on the arrival of the French, with the hope of being allowed to indulge their ſanguinary rage againſt proteſtants, and to plunder their property with impunity; and they were much vexed and diſappointed when it was given out in publick orders, that any depredations committed on private property ſhould be puniſhed with death; and the rebel leaders ſubmitted to ſuch orders with the utmoſt reluctance, for they were in many inſtances little better in point of moral character than the ſemi-barbarous rabble whom they headed.

At Ballina, and in its vicinity, any miſcreant who could influence forty or fifty ruffians, became captain of a company of pikemen, and obtained a commiſſion from Truc the commandant; and the firſt act by which he ſignalized himſelf was, by dragging in orangemen, by which they meant proteſtants, and by plundering their houſes.

Before I proceed to deſcribe the operations of the main body of the French army at Caſtlebar, I will give the reader a ſketch of the characters of ſome of the moſt conſpicuous rebel leaders in the neighbourhood of Ballina and Killala.

Henry O'Keon was the ſon of a cow-herd of lord Tyrawly, and was born at Kilcomin, within three miles of Killala. Having acquired a ſmattering of Latin at a hedge ſchool, he repaired to Nantz in France, where he ſtudied divinity, and received holy orders in the year 1788.* On the abolition of his order in France, he enliſted in the ſervice as a private ſoldier, and was gradually advanced to the rank of a captain of grenadiers.†

The following commiſſion, found among his papers, proves that he came as an interpreter to the French, and that their expedition was intended for the place where they landed:

"Army of expedition. } Liberty! - - - Equality!

"General Humbert, on account of the civiſm of citizen Henry O'Keon, has choſen him to be employed in quality of an interpreter, and he ſhall be conſidered amongſt the number of the ſtaff. Citizen O'Keon will embark on board the Franchiſe frigate, with adjutant-general Fontaine, and ſhall be admitted in the number of the ſtaff of general Humbert, commander in chief of the expedition.

"HUMBERT."

O'Keon, well knowing the ſuperſtitious credulity and the fanaticiſm of the popiſh multitude, aſſembled a vaſt concourſe of them in the ſtreet of Ballina, and having mounted the roſtrum, he related the following ſtory to them in his native tongue, which he ſpoke better than French or Engliſh; "That he dreamt one night in France, that the virgin Mary viſited him, and informed him that her votaries in Ireland were ſuffering the moſt grievous perſecution, and ſhe recommended to him to go to their relief. As he regarded it merely as an idle dream, ſhe made him a ſecond viſit, and bemoaned, in the moſt doleful accents, the ſtate of her friends in Ireland, and repeated her former advice; but as he ſhewed no regard to it, ſhe made him a third viſit, and gave him a violent box on the ear. Convinced by this that her Holineſs was ſerious, he repaired to the French directory, and perſuaded them to undertake this expedition; and he aſſured them that there could not be a doubt of its ſucceſs, as it was undertaken by the advice, and under the ſanction of the bleſſed Virgin." The beſotted multitude, perſuaded of the truth of what he ſaid, teſtified their joy and their approbation of it by vociferous acclamation.

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* His teſtimonium was found among his papers and produced on his trial.

† His commiſſion was alſo produced.

O'Keon was humane, having upon all occaſions oppoſed the blood-thirſty diſpoſition of the popiſh multitude.

Father Prendergaſt lived near Weſtport, and was of the order of mendicant friars, who ſupport themſelves by the voluntary donations of ſuch perſons in their neighbourhood as can afford to exerciſe acts of liberality; but he, like many others of his order, extorted very large contributions from the bigoted herd of papiſts, who have an extraordinary ſuperſtitious reverence for their ſacerdotal guides of every deſcription.

Such was father Prendergaſt, a ſtout, ſturdy, well-fed prieſt, who battened on the fat of the land, Epicuri de grege porcus, without giving himſelf any trouble about his ſpiritual concerns, except when he could turn them to profit.

The moſt fruitful ſource of lucre which his vocation afforded him, was the ſale of ſcapulars, of which he often ſold a baſket at fairs or patrons.

He alſo dealt in charms and prophecies. One of the former, of which I give the reader a copy, was found on the perſon of one Prendergaſt, a farmer, who obtained it from this holy friar in the year

1798, by a very reſpectable magiſtrate in the county of Mayo, near Weſtport. I have given one of them found on a rebel in the county of Wexford; and a ſimilar piece of ſuperſtitious trumpery is to be found in doctor Bernard's hiſtory of the ſiege of Drogheda, written in the ſeventeenth century.

" Jeſus I H S Maria
" Truſt ⊿ Thee."

" This is meaſured of the wounds of the ſide of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was brought from Conſtantinople unto the emperor Charles, within a gold cheſt, as a relief moſt precious, to that effect, that no evil or any thing might take him who reads it, hears it, wears it, cannot be hurted by any tempeſt, fire, water, knife, ſword, lance, or bullet; neither the devil ſhall hurt him. He ſhall be victorious, and never die an untimely death, and it ſhall be a ſure ſafety to women with child. Amen, ſo be it." To Pat. Prendergaſt.

As ſoon as the French landed, father Prendergaſt attached himſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner to them, and was very ſucceſsful in promoting their intereſt, from the great influence he had over the lower claſs of people. When the king's troops again took poſſeſſion of the country, he, with many others, fled to the mountains, where for ſome months he endured much from want, anxiety and diſeaſe.

A party of the king's troops, who went in ſearch of a banditti which infeſted the country, found this holy friar a moſt miſerable inſtance of the uncertainty of human affairs, lying in a wretched hut, almoſt conſumed by that moſt dreadful and loathſome diſorder called morbus pediculoſus,* of which he died ſoon after; and ſuch were the putrid effluvia which iſſued from his body, that it was both dangerous and offenſive to approach it for the purpoſe of interring it.

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* The louſy diſorder.

Father Owen Cowley was the ſon of a poor peaſant, who lived in the pariſh of Caſtlecomer, and county of Sligo, within about four miles of Ballina. At a hedge-ſchool he acquired a competent ſhare of Latin to read the maſs, and received holy orders, having been ſanctified by the impoſition of doctor Bellew's hands. One of the crimes charged againſt Jeroboam was, "That he made of the loweſt of the people prieſts of the high places: Whoſoever would, he conſecrated him, and he became one of the prieſts of the high places. And this became ſin unto the houſe of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and to deſtroy it from off the face of the earth." *

The ſame practice prevails among the Roman catholick biſhops of Ireland, as they commonly recruit from the loweſt claſs of the people, to fill the vacancies in the eccleſiaſtical ranks; and when ſuch perſons are ſelected to preach the goſpel, it is not ſurpriſing that vice and immorality are ſo prevalent, or that the popiſh clergy are found at the bottom of plots and conſpiracies, and that many of them are the moſt active incendiaries, and foremoſt in the ranks of rebellion.

Father Cowley, having finiſhed his Iriſh education, repaired to France, to complete himſelf in humanity and divinity.

When the French republicans were exerciſing a cruel and ſanguinary ſpirit againſt miniſters of the goſpel, he retired to his native country; yet ſuch was his diſaffection to a proteſtant king, and a proteſtant ſtate, that he offered his ſervices to thoſe very republicans, though they were the avowed enemies of chriſtianity, as ſoon as they landed in Ireland.

Truc, the French commandant at Ballina, employed him as an interpreter, an office which he abuſed very much, having poiſoned his mind againſt the proteſtants, whom he repreſented as peſtilent hereticks, and as enemies to French liberty; and he aſſured him, that

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* 1 Kings, xiii. 33, 34.

that their complete extirpation was eſſentially neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of the new conſtitution offered by France.

Truc, though ſavage and ferocious, refuſed to accede to his propoſal, from motives of policy; but Cowley having repreſented, that they were conſtantly conveying ſecret intelligence to the king's troops, obtained permiſſion to arreſt and impriſon them. He, therefore, in imitation of the Wexford rebels, ſent out gangs of banditti, to ſearch the country for proteſtants, and they fulfilled the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of their ſavage employer; as they ſeized a great many perſons of the eſtabliſhed church, and committed them to the houſe of the honourable colonel King at Ballina, where father Cowley daily vilified and inſulted them as hereticks, and denounced death againſt them in various terrifick forms.

At one time, he was heard to declare that he would burn them alive in a kiln; another time with tar barrels; and when he deſpaired of procuring them, he ſaid, that his purpoſe could be effected by tying flax round their bodies, and by ſetting fire to it. Death was preſented to their imaginations another time by the ruthleſs pikemen, of whom ſome thouſands daily paſſed by the windows of the houſe where they were confined. This villain had the temerity to inform the rebels (who were panting for the blood of the proteſtants) that he had procured them permiſſion to aſſaſſinate them; and his diabolical deſign would probably have been carried into execution that night, but for the interference of Mr. Barrett, ſon of doctor Barrett, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel; and his diſcovery and communication of it to Truc was near proving fatal to him; for the pikemen, indignant at their diſappointment, in not being allowed to riot in the blood of their heretical enemies, attempted to wreak their vengeance on Barrett's head, from which the ſpirit and activity of his horſe alone preſerved him, when ſurrounded by a wood of pikes.

His addreſs to the priſoners was often in theſe words: "Ye damnable hereticks—ye ſcum of hell—ye breed of the devil—your time is but ſhort—ye have but this night to live, and to-morrow ye ſhall ſuffer for your crimes."

This happened in the time of tranquillity, when the country was in the hands of the French, without interruption; but in the hour of danger his ſanguinary rage againſt them did not abate, for when the rebels were ordered to march towards Coloony to reinforce the French, he ſolicited and obtained permiſſion to march the proteſtants with them, under pretext that they would eſcape for want of guards, but in reality with an intention of having them cut off. Thus ſurrounded by a numerous body of pikemen, theſe unfortunate people were marched off thirty miles, many of them barefoot, and almoſt naked, as the rebels, when they arreſted them, ſtripped them of their clothes, after the example of their Wexford friends.

During the engagement at Coloony, the priſoners were ſtationed near the church, expecting to be put to death if the king's troops were victorious; but after the battle, the guards being engaged in plundering and revelling, the priſoners made their eſcape, but were afterwards taken and reconducted to their former priſon.

Though this wretch eſcaped the gallows, he ſuffered a more ſevere and painful death. Having wandered about the mountains for ſome months, ſuffering all the miſeries of hunger, thirſt, watching, and fear, his friends formed a ſubterraneous cavern for him, under a corn field, of which the aperture was covered with a large ſtone, ſo as to elude the obſervation of his purſuers, who often paſſed cloſe to it. His proviſions were let down to him by a rope. At laſt, he was found dead in his den, and his death was imputed to ſuffocation from coals, which his friends ſupplied him with, to correct the humidity of his cavern. His funeral obſequies were performed at midnight by a number of prieſts, who, it is ſaid, were ordered to attend them by doctor Bellew, the popiſh biſhop. I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XXI. 7, for a proof of the brutal treatment which ſome of the priſoners received from this ferocious monſter.

General Bellew was deſcended from an ancient and reſpectable family in the county of Galway, and was nearly allied to ſir Patrick Bellew.

He was brother to doctor Bellew, Roman catholick biſhop of Killala, and when that gentleman was at Rome, ſtudying divinity, their father ſent out his ſecond ſon Matthew, to have him educated for the prieſthood under his brother. He ſubmitted for ſome years, though reluctantly, to the courſe of ſtudy neceſſary to qualify him for the paſtoral office; but being of a lively, volatile diſpoſition, and having formed an acquaintance at Rome with ſome Auſtrian officers, who encouraged him to join them, he entered into the Imperial ſervice, and was ſoon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant; but not finding ſufficient employment for the activity of his mind and body at that time in Germany, he entered into the Ruſſian ſervice, where he found ſufficient occupation for the energies of both, in the bloody war which broke out between the Ruſſians and Turks. Here his courage and conduct were ſo conſpicuous, that he was ſoon advanced to the rank of major in a regiment of infantry. His rapid career in military fame, of which he ever ſeemed immoderately fond, was ſuddenly checked by an unforeſeen accident.

At the ſiege of Iſmail the enemy ſprung a mine, which blew up part of the works, and buried in their ruins our unfortunate hero and a great many Ruſſian ſoldiers. Happy had he been to have been numbered with the dead, and to have finiſhed his life like a ſoldier, as he had begun it! but Providence reſerved him for a more ignominious fate, and exemplified in him the uncertainty of human affairs. In his early days he ſought for glory in a foreign land, and fought with courage the battles of alien princes. In his maturer years, he incurred diſgrace and infamy at home, and took up arms againſt his lawful ſovereign and his native country. When extricated from the ruins, he had but few ſymptoms of life: He languiſhed a long time under his wounds, and his intellects were ſo much impaired, that he was found unfit for ſervice. It was thought adviſable then to give him a long leave of abſence, and to let him return to his friends, in hopes that tranquillity and his native air would reſtore him.

Freſh misfortunes awaited him on his return to Ireland. As he had no fortune, he lived with his friends and his brother, on whom he had great dependence; but when the gloſs of novelty wore away, they grew tired of him, and manifeſted by their conduct that they conſidered him a troubleſome and unwelcome gueſt. This drove him into low company, and a habit which he had acquired of drinking ſpirits encreaſed his derangement, and made him diſagreeable and offenſive. His brother, having quarreled with him, refuſed to admit him into his houſe, and uſed to billet him among his prieſts month about; a ſituation very diſagreeable to him, as he diſliked the principles, and was diſguſted with the ignorance and vulgarity of his hoſts, which in his gayer hours were a ſubject of merriment and ridicule to him. By the death of an uncle, he became entitled to 600 l. which he frequently ſolicited, to carry him back to Ruſſia; but, notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing ſolicitations, he could not obtain it from his brother, who tranſacted the affairs of the deceaſed. He was frequently invited to the tables of the genteel and reſpectable families at Ballina, particularly by the reverend Mr. Neligan, who was much entertained with the narrative of his adventures; but, from the want of clothes and cleanlineſs, and the filth and ſqualidneſs of his perſon, he ſoon became unfit for ſociety.

Being in this ſtate of miſery and wretchedneſs on the arrival of the French, he had not firmneſs and fortitude enough to reſiſt the temptations which they offered him to enter into their ſervice. His firſt offer, however, was to his king and country; and, juſt as the enemy were about to enter Ballina, he earneſtly entreated Mr. Neligan and Mr. Weſt to ſupply him with arms and a horſe, declaring, that he was ready to accompany them and to ſhare their fortune. With this requeſt, it was impoſſible at that time to comply: He was left then with no other reſource, but to fly or to join the enemy, and he embraced the latter. The French were happy to find a man who could ſpeak their language well, and who was likely to be uſeful to them, from his long experience in the military line; they therefore conferred on him the rank and dignity of general in the army of the Iriſh republick. But, as he continued to give way to his former habits of diſſipation and drunkenneſs, they found him rather an incumbrance than a benefit.

Incenſed againſt his brother for the indignities and ſlights which he had formerly received from him, he plundered his houſe of whatever he wanted; but the doctor, having been appointed by the French commandant preſident of the municipal government of the town, had intereſt enough to get the general removed and ſtationed at Killala.

Mindful of former kindneſſes conferred on him, he, previous to his departure from Ballina, poſted a notice on the houſe of Mr. Neligan, denouncing vengeance againſt any perſon who ſhould moleſt it; but his authority ceaſing with his preſence, the demolition of it ſoon took place.

It was uſual with him to levy ſmall contributions on the people in the neighbourhood, to purchaſe whiſkey and tobacco, of which he was immoderately fond; but in no other inſtance did he offer any violation to the perſons or property of the loyaliſts; and contenting himſelf with the pleaſures ariſing from his glaſs and his pipe, he ſeemed perfectly indifferent about the iſſue of the war.

At the approach of the king's troops to Killala, he refuſed to take up arms, or to march againſt them, though ſurrounded by a hoſt of pikemen. He was taken in the town, tried next day by a court-martial, and hanged. His dejection on his trial was ſuch, that he was incapable of making any rational defence. He was a man of quick lively parts, very ſhrewd in his remarks on men and manners, and had much ſincerity and ingenuouſneſs in his conduct and converſation. He knew the French, Italian, German, and Sclavonian languages well, and ſpoke the firſt three with fluency and accuracy. It is much to be lamented, that a man, who might have been a benefit and an ornament to ſociety, ſhould, by a train of misfortunes to which he was not acceſſary, be reduced to ſuch a ſtate of debaſement, and be finally driven to make ſo ignominious an exit.

Father Mc. Gowen, a fellow of very low extraction, and a noted drunkard, lived at Croſſmalina; but having a diſpute with the Maguire family, who made a conſpicuous figure in the rebellion, he was obliged to change his reſidence. Though deeply concerned in treaſon and rebellion, the loyaliſts could not obtain ſufficient evidence to convict him; but, though he eſcaped the gallows, juſtice overtook him in another way. Soon after the ſurrender of the French at Ballynamuck, a report having reached him, that they had made another deſcent, while he was revelling at a chriſtening, he, elate at the pleaſing intelligence, indulged in the joys of Bacchus to ſuch an exceſs, that, returning to his own houſe at a late hour of the night, he fell from his horſe, and broke his neck within a few paces of it.

Many circumſtances conſpired to favour the deſcent and the progreſs of the French in the county of Mayo, and to make it difficult for government to oppoſe them with effect. The oaths of allegiance taken by the popiſh clergy and their congregations, like thoſe of Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare, for the purpoſe of impoſing on the government and the magiſtracy, lulled the vigilance and baniſhed the ſuſpicion of both; and the inhabitants of that county were, in appearance, but feebly organized, and did not break out into any open acts of outrage; and fore but very ſmall parties of the military were quartered in it.

There was a large army ſtationed in Munſter, as an inſurrection was to be apprehended there, and becauſe it was more likely to be invaded by the French than any other part of the kingdom. As the landing of the French in Ireland ſuddenly occaſioned a ſtrong and viſible ſenſation, not only in the diſaffected inhabitants of Dublin, but in thoſe of every county which had previouſly ſhewn any ſymptoms of diſloyalty, and as ſtrong indications of an intended inſurrection appeared in them, it would have been very perilous to have marched the troops out of ſuch diſtricts.

Major-general Hutchinſon, who commanded in the province of Connaught, and who, with major-general Trench, was in the town of Galway,* on receiving intelligence of the enemy's deſcent, reſolved on marching towards the counties of Mayo and Sligo with whatever troops he could collect; but, from the ſlender force under his command, this could not be effected without leaving the counties of Leitrim and Roſcommon, notoriouſly diſaffected, liable to inſurrection, and the bridges on the upper part of the Shannon without protection. The troops, with which he moved towards Caſtlebar,† were the Kerry militia from Galway, a detachment of the Fraſer fencibles from Tuam,‡ the Kilkenny militia from Loughrea, the Longford from Gort, a detachment of lord Roden's fencible dragoons, four ſix-pounders, and a howitzer from Athenry. * Theſe troops were afterwards joined by the ſkeleton of the 6th regiment, about one hundred men, from Galway; which afterwards continued to be garriſoned by a few corps of yeomanry only.

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* Plate X. 10.

† Ibid. 6.

‡ Plate X. 8.

The diſpoſition of the country ſeemed at firſt favourable, which was by no means the caſe in the counties of Leitrim and Roſcommon, Cavan and Weſtmeath, in which there were conſiderable movements of the people, and the blackſmiths were buſily employed in making pikes.

Brigadier-general Barnet ordered the city of Limerick regiment of militia to march from Athlone † to Carrick-on-Shannon. §

In the mean time reports were received from general Dundas, who commanded in the county of Kildare, that there were ſtrong apprehenſions that a general inſurrection would take place there, as notices had been circulated by the diſaffected, inciting the people to riſe; and, as many of the inhabitants had left their houſes, he was under the neceſſity of detaining part of the reinforcements intended for Connaught.

The marquis of Cornwallis, having received intelligence the twenty-fourth of Auguſt of the landing of the French, ordered lieutenant-general Lake to proceed to Galway, to take the command of the troops aſſembling in Connaught, his excellency intending in perſon to collect the troops that could be ſpared from Leinſter at Athlone, or Carrick-on-Shannon, and to act in concert with the other general officers, as circumſtances ſhould require. He arrived at Philipſtown on the twenty-ſixth, with the 100th regiment, the firſt and ſecond battalions of light infantry, the flank companies of the Bucks and Warwick militia, and on the twenty-ſeventh proceeded

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* Plate X. 10. † Ibid. 9. § Ibid. 5.

ceeded to Kilbeggan;* the troops having made a progreſs of forty-four Iriſh miles in two days.

Major-general Hutchinſon arrived at Caſtlebar on the twenty-fifth, and made proper diſpoſitions to receive the enemy. Two roads led from Ballina to Caſtlebar; one to the eaſt of Loughconn, by Foxford,† a village eleven miles from Caſtlebar, and ſituated on the river Moy, which is broad and deep, and is croſſed by a bridge of many arches. As this is by far the beſt road, general Hutchinſon detached the Kerry regiment, with their battalion guns, to defend that paſs; and brigadier-general Taylor arrived there alſo, with a detachment of regular troops and yeomanry. As there is a very ſtrong paſs, called Barnageehy, on the other road,§ to the weſt of Loughconn, and as it is far leſs practicable, and therefore much leſs frequented than the road by Foxford, it was univerſally believed, and it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the French would make their approach by the latter; and it is moſt certain that general Humbert, openly and ſeduloſly announced, ſome hours before he marched, that he would proceed by Foxford, intelligence of which was conveyed to generals Hutchinſon and Trench; and the better to deceive them, he marched part of the road towards Foxford, and then turning ſuddenly to the right, he proceeded by Loughconn, where a narrow paſs, called Barnageehy, through a defile in a high range of mountains, is ſo ſtrong by nature, that one company with a battalion gun poſted there would have checked the progreſs of the French. But for the reaſons which I have aſſigned, generals Hutchinſon and Trench could not have the moſt remote ſuſpicion that the French would advance by that road.

At the hour of three o'clock in the morning, a yeoman, who had been viſiting his farm near Barnageehy,

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* Plate I. 7.

† Plate X. 4, 5.

§ Ibid.

geehy, arrived, and informed general Trench that he had ſeen a large body of men in blue clothes advancing that way; on which the general proceeded to reconnoitre, attended by a few dragoons; but when he had advanced about three miles from Caſtlebar, he was fired on by the advanced guard of the French. He then returned with the utmoſt ſpeed, and marched the garriſon to a riſing ground outſide the town, which he had fixed on the preceding day as an alarm poſt, ſhould the enemy advance to attack them. It was on a hill at the north-weſt extremity of the town, running from eaſt to weſt, and commanding a riſing ground oppoſite to it, over which the French muſt neceſſarily paſs, and at the diſtance of about one thouſand yards.

Our line was drawn up in the following order: The Kilkenny militia, the ſkeleton of the 6th regiment of foot, and a ſubaltern's detachment of the prince of Wales's fencibles, formed the firſt line. The Fraſer fencibles, with a ſmall corps of Galway yeomen infantry, formed a ſecond line; but both drawn up in irregular lines, ſo as to occupy the ſummits of the heights they were deſtined to defend. The four companies of the Longford were drawn up in a valley in the rear, and a little on the left of the main body of the Kilkenny. The cavalry, conſiſting of the 1ſt fencibles, and a part of the 6th dragoon guards, were ſtationed in the rear of the firſt line, ſome piquets excepted, who had been previouſly ſent out, and ſome yeomen cavalry, who were poſted in different quarters.

Captain Shortall, who commanded the artillery, took poſt with two curricle guns in front of the firſt line, conſiſting of the 6th infantry and the Kilkenny, who were a little to his right, to ſupport that flank; the two battalion guns attached to the Kilkenny militia being on his left, ſeparated by the road, but parallel to him. He left the two other curricle guns in the centre of the town, in an open ſpace, under lieutenant Blundel of the artillery.

They remained in this ſituation till near eight o'clock, when the enemy appeared in columns, advancing over the riſing ground in front. When the French general viewed our line, he covered his column deep with rebels, dreſſed in French uniforms, to draw the fire on them, and from his own men. A numerous rabble, who were all plunderers, attended them alſo.

When they had nearly gained the ſummit of the hill, a round ſhot from captain Shortall's right gun ſtruck the head of their column, and nearly divided it in two parts. This made them fall back, ſeemingly in confuſion; but in ſome time advancing again, a ſhot from the ſecond gun ſtruck them with the ſame effect as the firſt, with this difference, that the part of the column on the right of where the ſhot entered ruſhed forward (about fifty yards) to the cover of a houſe, on which the captain found it neceſſary to direct his fire againſt the main body, and ſoon ſucceeded in driving them back. After this the enemy diſappeared for a few minutes, when they advanced a third time in the ſame direction, but endeavouring to deſtroy the effect of the ſhot, by forcing ſome cattle into their front. In this attempt they were alſo fruſtrated, and obliged to retire under cover of the hill. In a ſhort time they were perceived deploying from the centre, which was performed in a quick and maſterly ſtyle, with the files very open. In this manner their line advanced, until it was contiguous to the place from whence their column had been previouſly obliged to retire. Here it was that our infantry committed a fatal miſtake, in beginning to fire at ſo great a diſtance, that it could produce no effect, which the enemy imputing to panick, or the want of judgment, ruſhed rapidly forward to ſome hedges immediately in our front, under cover of which they continued to advance in detached parties, and without preſerving any regular line, and at the ſame time extending their wings with an evident deſign of outflanking us. In this ſituation they did not reſiſt him ſufficiently with their muſketry; and in a very ſhort time after, the detachment, which was poſted for the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting the guns, retired, leaving behind them the gallant major Alcock, of the Kilkenny, who was wounded.

It was ſtill hoped that they would have rallied in rear of the guns, when they perceived the execution made by the caniſter ſhot; but they ran off; and captain Shortall had only time to fire three rounds, when the enemy ruſhed in on his right, and would certainly have put him and all his men to death, but that it is ſuppoſed their ammunition was expended. While captain Shortall was at the britchin of his gun, he was cloſed by a French officer, who having fired a piſtol at him, and miſſed him, was on the point of drawing his ſword, but the captain knocked him down with his fiſt, and then retreated.

In juſtice to the earls of Ormond and Longford, I think it proper to obſerve, that they did their utmoſt to rally their regiments.

The earl of Granard, major Thompſon, captains Chambers and Armſtrong rallied ſome ſoldiers of the Longford, and ſome ſtragglers of other corps, and covered the retreat of our troops, by maintaining, as they retired, a well-directed fire from behind hedges and walls on the enemy as they advanced. Theſe officers then took poſt on the bridge with their ſmall party and a curricle gun, well ſerved and directed by corporal Gibſon of the Royal Iriſh artillery, and with great gallantry and good judgment defended that paſs for above half an hour againſt the main body of the enemy. At the ſame time, lieutenant Blundel, with the other gun in the ſtreet, uſed the utmoſt exertion to oppoſe them.

The party who defended the bridge, conſiſting of the before-mentioned officers, ſome of the Longford, a few of the Kilkenny and Fraſer's, ſuffered moſt ſeverely, as it was expoſed to a croſs fire, both from the roads leading to it, and from the houſes on each ſide. The men often fell back and were rallied by their officers. At length, moſt of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who worked the gun, having been killed or wounded, it became uſeleſs; and the enemy were able to puſh forward a body of cavalry, whoſe charge was however repulſed by this ſmall party, and two of the foremoſt huſſars were killed in our ranks. By this charge, however, our numbers were much reduced; and having loſt the aſſiſtance of one captain and one ſubaltern, who were deſperately wounded, they were obliged to retreat, after having loſt near one half of their party.

Captain Chambers fell, covered with wounds; and when down, a Frenchman, enraged at the ſpirited defence which he and his ſmall party had made, drove a bayonet into his mouth, and the ſavage rebel women leaped on his body, and yet he ſtill ſurvives; but ſo impaired in his health, being completely exhauſted and debilitated by the number of wounds which he received, and the great effuſion of blood which enſued, as to be but the ſhadow of what he was: But it is to be hoped, that ſome ſubſtantial rewards will one day await that ſignal valour which he diſplayed in the ſervice of his country, and which renders him an honour to it.

Many of the French officers aſſured me, that they never ſaw guns better ſerved or more deſtructive than thoſe of our artillery; and that the action would have terminated in our favour, if the infantry had ſtood their ground, and ſupported them for ten minutes longer.

The French approached the new gaol to break it open: It was guarded by a highland Fraſer centinel, whom his friends had deſired to retreat with them; but he heroically refuſed to quit his poſt, which was elevated, with ſome ſteps leading to it. He charged and fired five times ſucceſſively, and killed a Frenchman at every ſhot; but before he could charge the ſixth time, they ruſhed on him, beat out his brains, and threw him down the ſteps, and the ſentry box on his body.

A party of French dragoons purſued our retreating army above a mile from the town, and took a piece of cannon, which they were on the point of turning on our rear; but a party of lord Roden's fencibles reſcued the gun, and killed five of them.

A reſpectable inhabitant of Caſtlebar gives the following account of five French ſoldiers who reſided in his houſe, and of ſome other particulars: "When they entered my houſe, I implored them to ſpare the lives of me and my wife: They raiſed us from our knees, and ſaid, "Vive!" They demanded bread, beef, wine and beer, and by ſupplying them with thoſe articles, as far as my purſe went, I obtained their good will. The rebels who accompanied them at firſt plundered us of various articles; but one day when they reviſited us, I alarmed my foreign inmates, who expelled and chaſtiſed them ſeverely. One of them, by name Philip Sheers, was from Holland; I gave him my watch, but he kindly returned it. Another, Bartholomew Baillie, from Paris, was mild, learned, and rather ſilent; he had been a prieſt, but on the overthrow of his order, became a ſoldier: He denied a future exiſtence. One Balliſceau, a Spaniard, was as intrepid as Hannibal: Since the age of fifteen, he had followed the profeſſion of a ſoldier: He had been a priſoner in Pruſſia, in Paris, and in London: He had been confined in a dungeon at Conſtantinople:* He croſſed the Alps with Bonaparte, and fought under him in Italy: His body, head and face were covered with wounds:

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* Taken priſoner when in the Imperial ſervice.

He was a hard drinker, a great ſwearer, and mocked religion; and yet he was very fond of children, and never entered my apartment without conſtantly enquiring for my wife, who was on the point of lying-in. The fourth was from Rochelle, and the fifth from Toulon.

" As ſoon as the French learned that lord Cornwallis was arrived at Hollymount, which was but fourteen miles off, the Pariſian came to me at midnight, and ſaid, with diſtreſs painted in his countenance, " We muſt depart, for the Engliſh, headed by a great general, are approaching."

Every perſon poſſeſſed of moral ſentiment muſt contemplate with horror, mingled with pity, the depraved and degraded ſtate of a people in a revolutionary ſtate like the French; for, devoid of every tie, human and divine, accuſtomed to idleneſs, and unacquainted with the arts of induſtry, their only occupation and reſource is to plunder and deſolate the territories of their neighbours.

On the night of the battle at Caſtlebar, bonfires were lighted on all the high grounds near it, particularly towards Weſtport and Newport, for the purpoſe of inciting the common people to riſe, and which it occaſioned moſt effectually. A numerous mob of ſavages entered the former, and plundered and almoſt demoliſhed the houſes of the proteſtants, but did not injure one belonging to a Roman catholick. All the loyaliſts were obliged to fly to Caſtlebar to preſerve their lives.

Though lord Altamont and his family had evinced a very ſtrong partiality for the Roman catholicks, and had on all occaſions given to government the warmeſt aſſurances of their loyalty, their property was not ſpared. They carried off his lordſhip's horſes, cows, and ſheep, drank all the liquor in his cellars, broke ſome of the doors and windows in his houſe, which they would have demoliſhed, but that James Joſeph Mc. Donnell, accompanied by a French officer, took poſſeſſion of it as his own manſion. They told lord Altamont's French cook that they would not injure him, as he was a Frenchman and a Roman catholick.

Mount Browne, the houſe of the honourable Mr. Denis Browne, his lordſhip's brother, and member for the county, they plundered and deſtroyed beyond precedent, where fire was not uſed; though on all occaſions he had been unremittingly the warm advocate of the Roman catholicks in parliament. They carried off all his horſes, cows and ſheep, and cut down many ornamental trees in his demeſne to make pikes. In ſhort, the ſavages plundered the houſes of every proteſtant in the country which was not defended, but in no inſtance the property of a Roman catholick was injured.

The perſons, who took the lead in the rebellion in that country, were James Joſeph Mc. Donnell, a barriſter, ſon to Mr. Joſeph Mc. Donnell, a magiſtrate, and a man of good property; the whole country was organized by him: John Gibbons, formerly agent to lord Altamont, and for whom his lordſhip had a very warm friendſhip; he was the chief director of the pike manufactory, and was far advanced in years: Thomas Gibbons, his brother, and Edward Gibbons, his ſon, Valentine Jordan, a very opulent farmer, and the reverend Miles Prendergaſt, a friar, all papiſts. Not a ſingle proteſtant was concerned in it.

The entrance of the ſavage natives into Caſtlebar was truly terrifick, as they made dreadful yells, and were as rapacious and deſtructive as a flock of locuſts. They bore flags, having on them a harp without the crown, and the words, "Erin go braugh!"*

Soon after the French had gained the town, the popiſh ſavages attacked and defiled the church, making obſcene figures on ſome of the pews, and deſtroying others. They were ſo prophane, as to pollute with the greateſt indecency the bible, which they called the devil's book. They urged father Egan, the pariſh prieſt, to ſay high maſs in it, and he conſulted doctor Elliſon on the propriety of doing ſo, but he diſſuaded him from it. They plundered moſt of the proteſtant houſes, and whenever the French endeavoured to reſtrain them, they would ſay, "Sure it is only the houſe of a proteſtant!" ſuppoſing that the French harboured the ſame fanatical hatred againſt that ſect of chriſtians which they did.

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* Ireland for ever!

Though lord Lucan had been always humane and charitable, and a very good landlord, they made a perfect wreck of his houſe, breaking the chimney-pieces, and deſtroying every article which they could not carry off. They ſerved the houſe of the reverend doctor Elliſon, his lordſhip's agent, in the ſame manner, though a gentleman univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed.

Some of the ſavages expreſſed great ſurpriſe and horror at ſeeing ſome of the French eat meat of a Friday; but they treated them with contempt mingled with irony.

They debated in lord Lucan's lawn on maſſacring the proteſtants; but the French officers oppoſed it vehemently, and they were joined by Bartholomew Teeling and Henry O'Keon, who, though papiſts, were free from the ſanguinary ſpirit which actuated the common herd. The latter ſaid, "Gentlemen, when you were in the power of the proteſtants, they did not ſhed your blood; and when your friends were taken in Wexford, moſt of them were pardoned, and but few were put to death * though they were in actual rebellion: You ſhould alſo conſider, that you yourſelves may ſoon be in the power of the government; but if you will maſſacre the proteſtants, put me to death with them."

The French eat the beſt of meat and bread, drank wine, beer and coffee, and ſlept on good beds. They compelled

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* See a liſt of them in Appendix, No. XXI. 4.

compelled the rebels to eat potatoes, drink whiſkey, and ſleep on ſtraw; they beat and abuſed them like dogs, in the name of liberty, equality, fraternity and unity. A volume would not contain an account of the brutal actions of the rebels; and the women, who were worſe than the men, carried off hides, tallow, beef, cloth and various other articles.

The following ſhort journal of a perſon who travelled from the county of Galway to Caſtlebar, while the French were in poſſeſſion of it, will ſhew the reader how univerſally the ſpirit of diſaffection pervaded the popiſh multitude, and how much their minds were debaſed and perverted by ſuperſtition; "Left Monivea, within ſix miles of Tuam,* the thirtieth of Auguſt, and found the people idling about the ditches, and eager for news reſpecting the ſtate of his majeſty's forces. They rejoiced much at hearing of their defeat at Caſtlebar, and their retreat from it, ſaying, it was quite conſonant to the various prophecies,† importing, that the day was come, when proteſtants would be completely extirpated, and that their property, (a long time uſurped by them) would be reſtored to Roman catholicks, who were the only juſt and rightful owners of it; that it was all the work of God, who had enabled a handful of Frenchmen to beat a large army of hereticks.

"When I arrived within five miles of Hollymount, § I found the roads much crowded by people who were very inquiſitive about news relative to the army, and of what form pikes ſhould be made. I entered a houſe to refreſh myſelf, and was ſoon after followed by a ſervant of Mr. L——, and the ſteward of Mr. R——, who was a United Iriſhman, and who ſaid that I was a ſpy. They detained me as a priſoner all night. Next morning I arrived at Newbrook, the ſeat of Mr. Bingham, which was completely plundered by his tenants, who carried off and ſlaughtered all his bullocks and ſheep; declaring, that none of his heretick family ſhould enjoy any part of his property, which ſhould be given to Roman catholicks, the original and rightful owners of it."

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* Plate X. 8.

† The popiſh prieſts in moſt places fabricated prophecies, as if made by eminent ſaints ſome centuries before, predicting, that hereticks would be expelled from Ireland, with the aid of the French; and the popiſh rabble really believed that it would be accompliſhed at that time.

§ Plate X. 7.

The biſhop of Killala often ſolicited the French to permit doctor Elliſon to go to ſee his family at Caſtlebar, but they would not comply, till they had got poſſeſſion of it; becauſe, from his influence as the pariſh miniſter, and a magiſtrate, he might have injured them materially; but when that event took place, they permitted him to go there, accompanied by monſieur Touſſaint.

The French were on the point of levying a very heavy contribution in money and proviſions on the town, but the doctor diſſuaded them from it, by aſſuring them that they would alienate thoſe who were attached to them, and rouſe the indignation of the Engliſh government, by any act of ſeverity or oppreſſion. On the whole he acted with ſingular ſpirit and good ſenſe.

While the French were at Caſtlebar, doctor Crump, a popiſh phyſician, went to general Humbert's lodgings, at the head of a numerous party, and implored him to give the Roman catholicks one hour's revenge againſt the proteſtants, for a hundred years of cruelty and oppreſſion. Fifty-three of the Longford militia, who were taken priſoners, voluntarily entered into the ſervice of the French; but ſome of the carabineers, and the Galway yeomen, refuſed to do ſo, though meſſieurs Teeling and Roche threatened them with inſtant death, unleſs they complied.

A perſon, who joined the French at Caſtlebar, gave me the following account of the occurrences there: "On my arrival I was introduced to Teeling, who conducted and preſented me to general Humbert, who was very inquiſitive. Having informed him that I had been recently in Dublin, and had attended the trials of the Sheares's, M'Can, Byrne, and Bond, he aſked me many queſtions relative to them, and invited me to ſup with him, which I accordingly did, in company with many of his officers. There was a prieſt there of the name of Gannon, whoſe ignorance could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry. He deſired Teeling to make me ſwear whether I was a proteſtant and an orangeman; but on his declining, the prieſt ſwore me. Numbers of people, all Iriſh, were brought in priſoners, under a charge of committing depradations; but they excuſed themſelves, by ſaying that it was only proteſtants that they had plundered.

Michael Gannon, a popiſh prieſt, conſtantly attended general Humbert and his ſtaff, and was active and uſeful to the French. He had been domeſtick chaplain to the duke of Crillon in France, who being killed on the abolition of his order, Gannon continued in the ſame capacity to his ducheſs; and he uſed often to boaſt, when he drank freely, that he was curator, not only of her ſoul, but her body. On the extirpation of the prieſthood in France, Gannon narrowly eſcaped by flight, and came to his native country, where he made a moſt fantaſtick appearance, having a large fierce cocked hat, à la militaire, and ſilk clothes made in a curious faſhion, all the property of the late duke. From the window of Humbert's lodgings, he addreſſed a large body of rebels who were in the ſtreet, in the following words: "That though he wiſhed well to their cauſe, he could not think of taking any military command, but that he would both pray for their ſucceſs, and march in their ranks; and at the ſame time pulling out his oil ſtock,* he told them, "that he would heal their wounds with his holy oil."

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* What the popiſh prieſts carry their holy oil in.

One Roche, who was an officer in Humbert's army, aſſured a perſon of veracity of my acquaintance, that he was ſworn an United Iriſhman at Paris, by O'Coigly, or Quigly, the prieſt, who was hanged at Maidſtone, ſo early as the year 1796.

While the French were at Caſtlebar, Francis French of Cottage, in the county of Mayo, a Roman catholick gentleman, of an antient and reſpectable family, ſent a letter to one Roche, or La Roche, etat major to general Humbert, containing, among others, the following paragraphs: "The enemy are coming forward on both ſides, and intend to put you between two fires; Plunket is ready with two thouſand men whenever he is ordered." La Roche, after reading the letter to Humbert, wrote in anſwer, "That he was ſurpriſed gentlemen ſhould wait for orders to march, knowing they were there; that they ſhould aſſiſt them with as many men, horſes, cars, and as much ammunition and proviſions as they could; and that by the co-operation of the inhabitants they would ſoon be able to wreſt Ireland from her uſurpers." Mr. French was hanged. Plunket, to whom I preſume he alluded, was his relation.

Mr. O'Doude, who was one of the oldeſt families in the county of Mayo, and of the popiſh religion, joined the French, and was taken and hanged after the battle of Ballynamuck, when the French finally ſurrendered.

On the night of the third of September, general Humbert ſent off his baggage and cannon, with part of his troops, towards Sligo, and about ſeven o'clock next morning he ſet out with the remainder, about four hundred in number. The French found their Iriſh recruits ſo prone to deſert, that they placed a guard in their front and their rear as they marched.

The ſame day he ſent doctor Elliſon with eighty priſoners to lord Cornwallis, as they were but an incumbrance to him. The doctor in his way met colonel Crawford, with a detachment of the Hompeſchers, and lord Roden's fencibles. He returned with them, and arrived at Caſtlebar, about nine o'clock at night, and on entering the town, he announced aloud, that lord Cornwallis was coming, and he even beſpoke a bed for his excellency; which intimidated the rebels who were left in the town ſo much, that they fled, and the French officers immediately ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. Soon after they arrived, they ſent for Mr. Moore, whom the French had appointed preſident of Connaught. He was preſſed to inform them of the plans of the French and what route they had taken, but he declared his ignorance of them. On which colonel Crawford ordered one of Hompeſch's dragoons to draw his ſword and cut his head off. Having made ſome flouriſhes over his head, as if they really meant to decapitate him, he ſhrieked and roared, and was in ſuch conſternation from fear, that he produced his commiſſion of preſident, by which he criminated himſelf. He was in a ſtate of intoxication, which alone could account for ſo egregious an act of folly. In extenuation of his conduct, he ſaid, that he waited on the French, and accepted the commiſſion of preſident, merely to preſerve the property of his father, a Roman catholick gentleman, who had an eſtate of 4000 l. a year in the county of Mayo. The firſt act of his office was to iſſue aſſignats; I give the reader a copy of one of them:

"No. 20.

"In the name of the French government, good for half a guinea to be raiſed of the province of Connaught.

3d September, 1798. JOHN MOORE."

Next morning colonel Crawford purſued the French, hung on their rear, kept them in a conſtant ſtate of alarm, and killed many of them and their rebel allies. There is not a doubt, but that general Humbert had not determined the route which he ſhould take till the day before his departure, becauſe a perſon of the name of Jourdan, who, at the inſtance of Mr. James Joſeph M'Donnell, had acted as a ſpy for the French, was ſent out to learn what part of the country there was the leaſt probability of meeting our troops, and he reported that the ſafeſt and beſt courſe they could take was towards Sligo.

The French at their departure from Caſtlebar were about nine hundred, including officers, and they had a great mob of rebels, who were conſtantly deſerting, notwithſtanding their utmoſt vigilance to prevent them. They did not halt till they arrived at Barley-field, the ſeat of Mr. M'Manus, whither ſome of the French officers went to order proviſions to be ſent thence for their uſe to Swineford.* They arrived there about ſeven in the evening, halted about two hours, and refreſhed the troops. General Humbert continued all the time in the field, where he eat his dinner, which had been dreſſed at the houſe of a Mr. Brabazon.

From Swineford they proceeded towards Ballahy, having halted the army about two miles from that village, to which they ſent an advance-guard. Thence they proceeded towards Tubbercurry, and they halted within two miles of it.

The Corranliney and Coolavin yeomen cavalry, ſtationed there as a picquet, under the command of captain O'Hara, member for the county, having advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, had a ſkirmiſh with them, in which lieutenant Knott was taken priſoner, and his only ſon was killed.

Captain O'Hara then ſent intelligence to colonel Vereker, at Sligo, that the French were advancing.

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* Plate X. 5.

Captain Ruſſel, of the prince of Wales's fencibles, was taken priſoner at Tubbercurry. and though as ſuch he was entitled to the protection of the French, a ruthleſs aſſaſſin among the rebels ſhot him in the back, and dying a few days after, in his ſeventieth year, he terminated a life which had been devoted to the ſervice of his king and country for above fifty years.

Beſides the rebels who marched from Caſtlebar with the French, a conſiderable body of them was ſent from Ballina acroſs the mountains, to meet them at Tubbercurry, with eighty proteſtant priſoners, whom they intended to get rid of, by putting them in the front rank, having inſultingly told them ſo; but their diſtreſs for food was ſo great, that they ſent them back under a rebel guard.

Thoſe ſtationed at Ballina being incenſed with their brethren at Killala for not putting their heretick priſoners to death, three hundred of them ſet out with a deſign of compelling them to do ſo; but they were purſued by O'Keon, who prevented them, though not without difficulty.

Henry O'Keon more than once prevented the rebels from murdering their proteſtant priſoners.

The following practice took place in Mayo, as well as in the county of Wexford: A popiſh banditti was ſent about in every part of it, to collect proteſtants, whom they impriſoned, and intended afterwards to maſſacre. In Wexford the rebels endeavourto extirpate the proteſtants, becauſe they had the county entirely at their devotion, and really believed for ſome days that the entire kingdom was ſo; but they did not proceed to ſuch lengths in Mayo, becauſe there was a large body of the king's troops in it, and their ſanguinary ſpirit was reſtrained by the French officers.

From Tubbercurry * they proceeded to Coloony,† and in their way the pikemen plundered the houſe of Mr.

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* Plate X. 4.

† Ibid. 3.

Mr. Perceval, of Temple-houſe, becauſe he was a noted loyaliſt, and had been active againſt the United Iriſhmen.

I think it neceſſary to deſcribe here the circumſtances which preceded an action which took place between the French and a detachment of the city of Limerick regiment, and a few yeomen commanded by colonel Vereker, at Coloony, one of the moſt brilliant which took place during the rebellion.

When the French arrived at that village, which is about five miles from Sligo,* the inhabitants of the latter, who amount to about fourteen thouſand, were in the utmoſt conſternation, as nobody doubted but that their deſign was to have plundered it, and it contained property to the amount of at leaſt 200,000l.; there were in its harbour a good many ſhips, and twelve well furniſhed bleach-yards in its vicinity. The ſmall force ſtationed there, not more than ſix hundred effective men, was ordered to evacuate it; however, colonel Vereker, with a detachment of the city of Limerick militia and a few yeomen, in the whole not exceeding two hundred and eighty-ſix men, and two curricle guns, marched out, engaged the French and the rebels, and gave them ſo ſevere a check, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority of numbers, as to deter them from approaching Sligo, and made them proceed towards Drumahair. The French had about nine hundred men, about two hundred and fifty of the Longford and Kilkenny militia who had deſerted, and a numerous body of rebels. Colonel Vereker's right was covered by a riſing ground, on which he poſted a few men; his left, by a river. They outflanked and forced in his men on the hill, and attacked his rear, on which he was obliged to retreat over a river. The action began at half paſt two, and laſted one hour and thirty-eight minutes. Of the French twenty-eight were killed, and a great many wounded: they left behind them at Coloony eighteen of their men, who were deſperately wounded.

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* Plate X. 2, 3.

After the action, the grenadiers repreſented to general Humbert, that it would be uſeleſs and cruel to compel them to endure the calamities of war any longer, as the rebels would not ſupport them, and were deſerting from them in great numbers; but the general ſaid, he could not think of ſurrendering to ſo ſmall an army.

About three o'clock ſome diſaffected people entered Sligo, and announced, that our army had been beaten, and that the French were advancing; on which many proteſtant women, and ſome men who could not bear arms, embarked in the ſhips, fearing more the popiſh inhabitants than the French; but thoſe who were capable of doing ſo, to the number of three hundred, marched round the town in arms, and reſolved to die in its defence. They were joined by a number of methodiſts, ſinging hymns, who were headed by their preacher, Albert Bleſt, a man of great piety, and noted for humanity and charity.

The king's troops, who remained behind under the command of colonel Sparrow, occupied the moſt advantageous poſts in the avenues leading to the town. Thus they continued under arms all night.

The ſpirit of popiſh diſaffection and fanaticiſm appeared no where ſo ſtrong as in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, particularly in the barony of Tireragh, ſituated in the latter. It is ſeparated from Ballina and Killala by the river Moy,* which forms a bay at the latter, not three miles over; and at low water it is eaſily croſſed by a ferry. The proteſtant inhabitants of that barony, dreading not only the approach of the French, but the cruelty of the rebels, and there being no forces of any kind in the line from Ballina or Killala to Sligo, they fled to the latter for protection.

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* Plate X. 3.

Many reſpectable proteſtant farmers were ſeen retreating on foot, driving their cattle and ſheep before them, and conveying on cars their wives and children, their beds and their wearing apparel. All the proteſtant clergy were alſo obliged to fly precipitately.

The popiſh inhabitants, aided by the Mayo rebels, plundered all their houſes, and even demoliſhed ſome of them. The principal ſufferers were Mr. Neſbitt of Scurmore, Mr. Fenton of Eſky, Mr. Brown of Fortland, Mr. Grove, pariſh miniſter of Kilmeckſhalgan, meſſieurs Charles and Robert Jones, the meſſieurs Woods, and in ſhort every other gentleman, and even the lower claſs of proteſtants, all of whom were obliged to fly to ſave their lives. Nothing could equal the deſtructive rage of the popiſh rabble, for they tore up the floors of Mr. Fenton's houſe, pulled down the ceilings of Mr. Grove's, and danced on his daughter's piano forte; in ſhort, they deſtroyed in every houſe ſuch furniture as they could not carry off.

Some proteſtants on the ſea-coaſt went to ſea in boats, to avoid the vengeance of the rebels; and on coming on ſhore for food, ſome of them were taken priſoners and conveyed to Ballina. Some fled to the mountains, and hid in caves, others in corn fields, and were almoſt ſtarved.

Conry, the domeſtick chaplain and boſom friend of doctor Bellew, the popiſh biſhop, and who had recently obtained the pariſh of Adergold from him, father M'Donnel, of Eſky, and father O'Donnel, of Kilmeckſhalgan, and Mangan, his coadjutor, made it a practice of compelling proteſtants to be chriſtened by a prieſt, to which they ſubmitted to ſave their lives and their property.

Mr. Hillas, of Seaview, who had adminiſtered oaths of allegiance to father O'Donnel and his flock, at their particular deſire, in the month of April, 1798, aſked many of them how they came to violate them; and they anſwered, "How could we go againſt our "prieſts?"

That prieſt uſed to contend on the following grounds: That the houſe of Brunſwick had no right to the crown of England: That all monarchies were elective or hereditary: That no election could be perfect unleſs the majority of the people gave their aſſent to it: That the Roman catholicks of Ireland had not conſented to the acceſſion of George I. and that he had no hereditary claim, as he deſcended from a younger branch of the houſe of Stewart.

A private in the Tireragh infantry happened to fall into the hands of the rebels, who conveyed him to their head-quarters at Ballina, where father Cowley commanded. Being a proteſtant, they proceeded to try him by a court-martial, of which Cowley was preſident. He was accuſed and convicted of being an orangeman, and was to have been hanged next morning; but having inſinuated to one of the French, that he was a yeoman, and that puniſhing him would be followed by retaliation, he was diſcharged.

Very great diſaffection took place in the popiſh yeomen of the counties of Mayo and Sligo.

The ſcapulars, a piece of ſuperſtitious trumpery, which I have before deſcribed, were found on the bodies of many rebels killed in theſe counties.

For about a month before the French landed, the papiſts ſhewed a great unwillingneſs to pay any thing they owed, which proves that they expected the invaſion.

Father Owen Cowley had one hundred and twenty proteſtant priſoners at Ballina, whom he mocked, and told inſultingly that they ſhould be executed next day; but early in the morning ſome of the priſoners perceived an expreſs arrive, about whom the reverend father and ſome of his friends flocked, and interrogated with much earneſtneſs. Soon after, he approached the priſon with a dejected countenance, and, inſtead of contumely, he addreſſed the priſoners with mildneſs and complaiſance, and told them they might go wherever they choſe. The intelligence which the reverend father received was, that our troops were victorious at Ballynamuck, and that the French had ſurrendered to them.

From the following circumſtance, we cannot be ſurpriſed at the active part which the popiſh prieſts took in the rebellion in the counties of Mayo and Sligo: Captain Nicholas Ormſby, of the Tireragh yeomen cavalry, was quartered with his corps at Eſky, in the county of Sligo, ſoon after the French landed. Having been informed that numbers of the lower claſs of people had aſſembled at ſome diſtance from his quarters, and had collected a large quantity of cattle for the uſe of the French, he proceeded to the ſpot where that event took place, and reſcued the cattle and diſperſed the people. When he was on the point of returning, a woman told him, that father Deaſe, a popiſh prieſt, was at a ſhort diſtance, enliſting for the French; and having advanced a little farther, he ſaw a great number of people ready to join them. Three of his corps were far before the main body: One of them who preceded the reſt galloped by father Deaſe, who ſnapped a piſtol at him. The next yeoman who came up, galloped ſwiftly by Deaſe, and fired a piſtol at him, but miſſed him. Deaſe was cocking his piſtol to fire at the third yeoman, who was coming up, but Mr. Jeremiah Fury, a gentleman of fortune, though a private, ſeized his arm before he could effect it, and made a priſoner of him. When captain Ormſby arrived, they were on the point of hanging him; but as he fell on his knees, implored mercy, and promiſed to make a full confeſſion of what he knew, they ſpared his life. He then declared, what he afterwards ſolemnly and deliberately confirmed by information, ſworn before a magiſtrate, that doctor Bellew, the titular biſhop of the dioceſe, encouraged his dioceſan clergy, at a general meeting of them, to riſe on the preſent occaſion; and that it was at his inſtigation that they were ſo active in aſſiſting the French. The piſtols which they found in Deaſe's poſſeſſion were French.

One Atkins, of Rathurliſh, in the barony of Tireragh, was bred a proteſtant, but having married a papiſt, he conformed to popery, and became a ſanguinary fanatick. He was to have headed five hundred of his own ſect, and to have maſſacred every proteſtant from Ballina to Sligo. He owned this to numbers whom he ſolicited to aſſiſt him in perpetrating his bloody purpoſe, and to his uncle and aunt, a worthy old couple, and both proteſtants, whom, he ſaid, he would ſave; but that he could not protect their grand-children. He declared openly, that he would ſpare none, from the cradle to the crutch. The day was fixed for the maſſacre, but the event of the battle of Ballynamuck deterred him from his ſanguinary deſign.

I ſhall now ſay ſomething of the movements of our armies, between whom it was impoſſible to keep up any communication, but by ſtrong patroles, as all the natives were inimical. Lieutenant-general Lake was ordered by the lord lieutenant to proceed from Tuam on the fourth day of September, to which he had retreated after the battle of Caſtlebar, with the Rea fencible infantry, the Armagh militia, with their battalion guns, a detachment of the Roxborough fencible cavalry, and to take command of brigadier-general Taylor's brigade, whom he joined at Ballyhadirreen.* He ſent thence the honourable lieutenant-colonel Meade, about one o'clock, P. M. N. with a party of dragoons, to learn whether the enemy had left Caſtlebar, and what route they had taken.

After advancing about four miles to a place between Ballahy and Ballyhadirreen, he was informed by a rebel, taken by an advanced patrole, that the enemy had left Caſtlebar, and had paſſed through Ballahy towards Coloony, which intelligence he communicated by a dragoon to general Lake, who came to him, and ordered him to communicate it to lord Cornwallis, ſuppoſed to be at Hollymount, which he accordingly did.

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* Plate X. 5.

When on his way, about fifteen miles from Caſtlebar, he perceived on the adjacent hills about three thouſand rebels, of whom ſome were near him in a bog. Part of his dragoons charged, purſued, and killed ſome rebels who were on a bridge, but contrary to his orders and his wiſhes, as it might have brought on a conflict, and have impeded or even defeated his miſſion to lord Cornwallis. Having made ſigns to them, that he would receive them in a friendly manner, a good many of them came to him, and ſurrendered about ſixty French muſkets; and probably the remainder would have done ſo, if he could have remained there long enough. At Swineford * he perceived great numbers of them in the adjacent fields. All theſe deluded wretches whom he met in his progreſs had deſerted from the French. He overtook lord Cornwallis between Clare and Ballyhannis, † where he remained that night.

Colonel Meade was ſent a ſecond time to reconnoitre the French, whom he ſaw paſs the Shannon at Ballintra, ‡ over the bridge, which they endeavoured to make impaſſable, by blowing up one of the abutments.

He was ſent a ſecond time to lord Cornwallis, who was at Carrick-on-Shannon, || to communicate the motions of the French to him.

His excellency, by croſſing the Shannon at Carrick, kept to the ſouth of the enemy, ſo as to intercept them, ſhould general Lake, who purſued them with an army of about two thouſand men, fail in overtaking or defeating them, which was a moſt judicious movement; and for the ſame reaſon his excellency advanced with rapidity from Carrick to St. Johnſtown. §

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* Plate X. 5. † Ibid. 6, 7. ‡ Ibid. 4. || Ibid. 5.
§ Ibid. 6.

As a farther ſecurity for the capital, he ordered the brigade of guards to Mullingar * and Kilbeggan, where they muſt have ultimately defeated the enemy's deſign of approaching it; and at the ſame time they were at a convenient diſtance from the metropolis to awe the diſaffected who meditated an inſurrection there.

The firſt day general Lake arrived at Ballinlough; the ſecond at Ballyhadirreen. † Thence he proceeded with theſe corps, united, to Ballahy, through which, he was informed, the French had paſſed the preceding evening, about ſeven o'clock, more than fourteen hours before him.

He reached Tubbercurry about ſeven o'clock that evening, where he encamped and remained till two o'clock next morning. He was joined there by colonel Crawford, who formed his advanced guard.

General Lake marched from Tubbercurry to Coloony, about eight miles diſtant, heard there of the action, and found a number of French killed, and ſome wounded under the care of a French ſurgeon.

At Coloony, a Longford deſerter was recogniſed by ſome of the advanced guards, and ſhot; the whole army marched over his body with indifference; a ſtrong inſtance of the calamities of war, and how much they obtund the feelings of humanity!

Numbers of the rebels were found all along the road dead or dying, having been killed by colonel Crawford's corps of light dragoons, who formed the advanced guard, and, hanging on the enemy's rear, haraſſed them moſt effectually.

Between Drumſhambo and Carrigan, he received orders from lord Cornwallis at nine o'clock, to march at that hour for Cloone. He croſſed the river at Ballintra, where the bridge was repaired. The enemy were ſo hard preſſed in the purſuit, that they left two pieces of cannon on the road, about a mile from

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* Plate I. 6, 7. † Plate X. 5.

from Colooñy, and threw five into the river at Drumahair.

General Lake encamped on the night of the ſeventh at Ballintogher, between Drumahair and Coloony. He was under the neceſſity of conſtantly ſending accounts of his movements and thoſe of the enemy to lord Cornwallis, which was diſtreſſing, as it could not be effected but by ſtrong patroles. He marched to the ſouth of Drumſhambo, halted there about three hours, and proceeded to Cloone, four miles from Ballynamuck; where a little after ſun-riſe, on the eighth of September, he ſaw the rear of the French army, whom, with about one hundred and fifty light infantry, mounted behind as many cavalry, he endeavoured to haraſs as much as poſſible.

Before day, on the eighth of September, general Lake ſent major Hardy to appriſe lord Cornwallis of his brigade being near the village of Cloone, where the French had halted the preceding night, and where it was intended to have ſurpriſed them; but, from the darkneſs of the night, ſome diviſions miſſed their route. The French were leaving the village as major Hardy entered it, of which he informed lord Cornwallis, whom he met at Mohill, and who ordered general Lake to hang as cloſe as poſſible upon their rear, and ſaid that he would keep in a parallel direction towards Granard, near enough to afford him aſſiſtance, if neceſſary.

He came up with them about half a mile before they reached Ballynamuck,* when monſieur Sarraſin, who commanded them, ſurrendered.

General Taylor having reported to general Lake that the French army had yielded, general Cradock and admiral Packenham rode forward to the main body of them, who were halted on the road at Ballynamuck, when a French officer informed them that they would be fired on, unleſs they withdrew; but before they could retreat, a volley was fired, by which general Cradock was wounded.

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* Plate X. 5.

Previous to this, the French had poſted a body of markſmen on the brow of a hill, about a quarter of a mile from where Sarraſin had ſurrendered, in order to take our troops on the left flank as they paſſed. General Lake, whoſe ſpirit and vigilance are well known, being conſiderably in front of our light infantry and cavalry, very fortunately diſcovered them in time to prevent them from doing us any injury. He ordered the light infantry and cavalry to aſcend the hill, whoſe top intervening, prevented them from perceiving each other till they were within a hundred yards. After a few diſcharges, our light infantry and cavalry charged, on which the French threw down their arms, and the rebels who attended them fled into an adjacent bog. The Frenchmen continued firing their cannon till the markſmen had ſurrendered, which, if they had been well ſerved, muſt have done very great miſchief, as our troops moved down a hill from the place where Sarraſin had ſurrendered, which expoſed them to the enemy's fire.

The following circumſtance attended the ſurrender of the French : The earl of Roden and colonel Crawford, who led on the advanced guard, conſiſting of his lordſhip's fencibles, perceiving an officer who ſeemed deſirous to communicate with them, lord Roden ordered his trumpet to ſound, which was anſwered by the French, when his lordſhip advanced into the French lines. The officer politely aſked them what their wiſhes were ? they anſwered, to ſave the effuſion of blood, and deſired them to ſurrender. The officer ſaid, that he did not command, but that he would go to general Humbert, which he accordingly did. Humbert came up, aſked the ſame queſtion, and received a ſimilar anſwer. He then demanded half an hour to give a final anſwer, which was granted, on condition that he halted his troops; to which he made no reply, but retreated with precipitation. Lord Roden then ordered his trumpet to ſound the advance, and came up to the firſt and ſecond brigade of the French army, who ſurrendered to about three hundred cavalry, under his lordſhip and colonel Crawford. After this they advanced with about twenty dragoons and took poſſeſſion of three French guns.

Shortly after, Humbert rallied his grenadiers, the only part of the army, except the chaſſeurs, that had not ſurrendered, and conſiſted of about four hundred men, who ſurrounded lord Roden and his twenty dragoons. They were given in charge to the huſſars. While they were their priſoners, which laſted about fifteen minutes, the French officers loaded the United Iriſhmen, their allies, with execrations, for having deceived and diſappointed them, by inviting them to undertake a fruitleſs expedition. They alſo declared, that the common people of Ireland were the moſt treacherous and cowardly they ever knew.

Lord Roden continued a priſoner till his regiment of fencibles advanced in queſt of their colonel, which the French huſſars perceiving, requeſted that his lordſhip would deſire them to halt, as they meant to ſurrender, and by doing ſo, he prevented them from being cut to pieces.

General Humbert ſurrendered to general Lake, and was afterwards conducted to lord Cornwallis, who was about ſix miles off.

Our troops made dreadful havock among the rebels, who were moſtly dreſſed in French uniforms. Three of their leaders were taken, among whom was Mr. Blake of Galway, a popiſh gentleman, who was hanged. As our army purſued the French they found all the houſes on the road deſerted, their inmates having joined the French.

I muſt not paſs over in ſilence the ſpirited and zealous exertions of the army under general Lake, who advanced ſo rapidly in the purſuit of the French, as to overtake them, though they were fifteen hours before them; and though the farmers and peaſants ſupplied the enemy with a great number of horſes, on which the infantry rode in turn, and whenever they halted, with plenty of proviſions, for which our troops were very much diſtreſſed; for their movements were ſo rapid, that the heavy baggage could not keep up with them. The French and rebels in their progreſs deſtroyed every kind of proviſions, and our brave ſoldiers were obliged to ſcour the country for cattle, and before they could kill them and cook their meat, they were ordered to renew their march; ſo that potatoes, which they dug and boiled themſelves, were their principal ſubſiſtence.

When the French changed their route from Coloony towards the metropolis, the moſt active exertions were uſed in all the intervening counties, viz. Leitrim, Longford, Monaghan, Roſcommon, Cavan, Weſtmeath, and Meath, to raiſe the maſs of the people to join them; and ſome conſiderable and alarming movements were perceived among the diſaffected even in Dublin and its vicinity.

A numerous body of inſurgents, ſuppoſed to be not leſs than ſix thouſand, having collected near Granard, on the fifth of September, ſeveral yeomen corps, under the command of captain Cottingham, engaged, beat, and diſperſed them, after having killed about one hundred and fifty.

Many Roman catholicks of conſideration urged on and headed the inſurgents in the county of Longford, and a well-digeſted plan of co-operation had been concerted with the Monaghan chiefs; but the latter were not to move unleſs the operations of their Longford brethren proved ſucceſsful. At the head of theſe were the two Denniſtons, the O'Haras, O'Connells, Farrell, and one O'Reilly, who appeared in arms on the fifth of September, 1798, and led on the attack on Granard; but the iſſue of that affair diſconcerted the plan of the Monaghan chiefs, and prevented the Cavan leaders from attacking the different garriſons in their county, which they had meditated. The two Denniſtons and Farrell were members of the Maſtrim yeomen cavalry, ſeveral of whom fought with the rebels on that day. The elder Denniſton was firſt lieutenant of it.

The popiſh multitude in the county of Roſcommon, univerſally diſaffected, were on the point of riſing, and waited for nothing but a hint from certain leaders in their reſpective diſtricts.

A reſpectable magiſtrate of my acquaintance, who had a ſtrong regard for a popiſh gentleman who meant to have headed a numerous body of rebels, obtained a private interview with him for the purpoſe of diſſuading him from ſo raſh an attempt, which he aſſured him would terminate in the ruin of him and his family. This chieftain ſpurned at the advice of his friend, and expreſſed a downright conviction that his party muſt ſucceed, as the maſs of the people in every part of Ireland were engaged in it; that as they would riſe at the ſame time, the government muſt be overturned, and that ſuch perſons as reſiſted them would loſe their lives and property; and he even went ſo far as to adviſe this magiſtrate to be very moderate in the part he took, leſt his intemperate zeal might mark him for the vengeance of the inſurgents. So ſure were the diſaffected of their party's ſucceſs, though with the aid of but one thouſand French!

After an interview of two hours, he left him determined to perſevere in his raſh deſign; but at the inſtance of another perſon of high rank, who uſed the moſt perſuaſive eloquence on the occaſion, he yielded, on condition of his obtaining for him a ſpeedy trial. By the wiſe and ſeaſonable exertions of this perſon, the property and the lives of the proteſtants of the county of Roſcommon were preſerved from the rapacity of the deluded multitude, who were on the point of riſing, and only waited for a ſignal from this leader.

I think it right to mention, that this very important ſervice was rendered by doctor Law, biſhop of Elphin, who ſhewed great magnanimity in maintaining his poſt; for, inſtead of flying to the metropolis for protection, he fortified his palace, and bid defiance to the rebels, by which he ſet a good example to country gentlemen.

I cannot paſs over in ſilence the laudable fortitude of doctor Percy, biſhop of Dromore, who alſo remained in his palace, while the rebellion exiſted in the counties of Down and Antrim. His lordſhip alſo contributed liberally to the formation of a yeoman corps of one hundred men at Dromore, who completely kept in awe ſome ill-diſpoſed perſons in the neighbourhood, who had been infected by the Ballynahinch rebels.

On Tueſday the fourth of September, a man on horſeback went about the county of Weſtmeath, proclaiming that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks, and burning their houſes. In conſequence of it, numbers of people, armed with pikes and other weapons, aſſembled in lord Sunderlin's park at Baronſtown. His lordſhip approached them with about twelve of his corps, and aſked them, Why they aſſembled in ſo hoſtile a manner? They anſwered, that they were afraid of the orangemen, who were armed, and were determined to murder all the Roman catholicks. * His lordſhip aſſured them, that their fears were groundleſs, as no ſuch perſons ever were in the country; and he promiſed them protection, if they could point them out; but they perſiſted in feigning fears and prejudices.

About two miles further on the road towards Mullingar, his lordſhip met another body of pikemen, with whom he reaſoned in the ſame manner, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, one of them knocked down his lordſhip's trumpeter, and wounded him; and ſoon after ſerved a yeoman and one of his ſervants

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* As Mr. George Cooper, whom I have mentioned, has uttered the vileſt ſlander of the orangemen, I think it right to mention, that a member of the Iriſh directory acknowledged, while in priſon, that the alarming reports about them were invented by them merely as a device to ſtimulate the maſs of the papiſts againſt the proteſtants, and that the prieſts eagerly adopted it for that purpoſe.

vants in the ſame manner; on which his lordſhip and his few yeomen retreated to Mullingar, and in their way ſaw great numbers of inſurgents aſſembling.

In the courſe of a few hours they collected in great numbers, and attacked Wilſon's hoſpital, a charitable foundation, for the purpoſe of ſeizing the arms in it and of deſtroying it, becauſe it was a proteſtant inſtitution, eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of maintaining old men, and educating children. They ruſhed into it with hideous yells, broke open ſome doors, and carried off arms and other articles. They gave the reverend Mr. Radcliffe, the chaplain, two wounds: However, as he ſhewed the moſt undaunted courage, and ſeemed determined not to ſurrender his arms, they quitted the houſe; but they ſent him a meſſage about eleven o'clock at night, that they would level it next morning at three o'clock, unleſs he gave up his arms. But as that propoſal was treated with contempt, they next day, about eight o'clock, to the number of five thouſand, forcibly entered the hoſpital, plundered it of arms and every valuable article, proviſions, and houſhold furniture; took Mr. Radcliffe priſoner, carried him to the town of Multifarnham, declaring, they would keep him till Mr. Latten Fitzgerald, confined at Mullingar as a ſtate priſoner, was diſcharged; however Mr. Radcliffe was ſo fortunate as to eſcape.

Next day they returned to the hoſpital, converted it into a barrack, ſeized the cows and ſheep, and killed moſt of them. In ſhort, they left the hoſpital a perfect wreck. After committing all theſe atrocities, they had maſs celebrated for them by a popiſh prieſt.

They had twenty-ſeven proteſtant priſoners in an office belonging to the hoſpital, whom they intended to have put to death by the moſt cruel torture, had they not been relieved by a party of the army and yeomanry, under the command of lord Longford, who routed the rebels with conſiderable ſlaughter.

Some of the rebels propoſed to put the boys (who were all proteſtants) to death, after having plundered them of their clothes. The labourers, and the popiſh ſervants of the hoſpital, were the leaders in this nefarious buſineſs, and ſeemed to exult in it.

A moſt ſanguinary denunciation was poſted on a church in the county of Weſtmeath, ſoon after the French left Caſtlebar, which the reader will ſee in Appendix, No. XXI. 8.

The evening before the attack on Granard, a body of rebels entered Edgeworthſtown, and plundered and almoſt demoliſhed every proteſtant houſe in it, except thoſe of Mr. Edgeworth, Mr. William Bond, the captain of the Maſtrim yeomanry, and Mr. Alexander Bond, poſt-maſter; but they did not injure the houſe or property of a Roman catholick.

For a day or two before, reports had been induſtriouſly propagated, that the orangemen were deſtroying all the neighbouring country, and had burnt the preceding night Street and ſome other adjacent villages. This, which was the watch word and ſignal for inſurrection, ſpread like a conflagration, and had the deſired effect on the popiſh multitude.

A reſpectable gentleman, an inhabitant of Edgeworthſtown, gave me the following account of his ſituation, and of the events which occurred there: "On my going into that village, all ſeemed to be alarm and confuſion. The yeomanry determined, as one of their officers in perſon informed me, to defend at leaſt the barracks, if attacked by the rebels; but ſome events occurred in the courſe of the day, which induced them to evacuate the place and march to Longford. On hearing this unexpected misfortune, I immediately ſent off my wife and family, and once more walked through Edgeworthſtown, examining every countenance, and converſing for a few minutes with the two or three laſt proteſtants whom I met indignantly retreating. I ſoon returned to my houſe, wiſhing, if poſſible, not to deſert what I deemed my poſt, and yet, not knowing what to do in ſuch an emergency; but I was ſoon rouſed from this uncertainty, by intelligence from my ſervant, that the rebels in a very numerous body were marching to Edgeworthſtown, by the Granard and not the Dublin road, which would bring them within one hundred yards of my door. Before their arrival, I concealed myſelf in a little plantation on my lawn, where divine Providence protected me till morning. I ſaw almoſt a foreſt of pikes nearly oppoſite my houſe. Some rebels on horſeback paſſed within about thirty yards of me, and about three times that diſtance, a proteſtant, my next neighbour, who had juſt ſought an aſylum in a ſhady part of my lawn, received a ſtroke of a pike in the head, which, though partially broken by the branches, cut him ſeverely, and almoſt covered him with blood. I was "all ear" in my place of concealment, and ſtunned with the diſcord and confuſion of martial muſick, firing, ſhouting, craſhing of windows, and furniture, and ſuch clamorous exultation as might be ſuppoſed to iſſue from a numerous mob in ſo new a ſituation, eager to practiſe republican virtues. It was late in the evening, and juſt as the greater body of the rebels had retired, a detachment of lord Oxmantown's yeomanry, being accidentally near the town, and hearing of the outrages committed by the rebels, made a rapid charge through the ſtreet, and ſhot a few of the ſtragglers without any loſs on their part, except one yeoman wounded in the face with a pike. Of the particulars of this tranſaction I was ignorant till next morning; for only once in the night I ventured to walk by my houſe, and, perceiving the windows broken, I again returned to conceal myſelf in the ſhrubbery till morning."

A man mounted on a white horſe rode about the country contiguous to Longford on the fourth of September, and propagated a report that the orangemen were murdering the Roman catholicks, and burning their houſes from Edgeworthſtown to Carrickboy. To counteract this malignant deſign, lord Oxmantown, who, with his corps, was on permanent duty at Longford, rode about the country, and by his exhortations and aſſurances of protection to the lower claſs of people, prevented the inſurrection from being general, and induced numbers to return to their homes. The ſame attempts were made in the counties of Meath and Cavan.

The rebels ſhewed a diſpoſition to riſe in the country round Belturbet, in the latter county; but it abounds ſo much with proteſtants, who were well armed, that they would not venture to do ſo, but repaired to the mountains of Ballynamore, about ſix miles off, where they aſſembled in conſiderable numbers. For the ſame reaſon they did not venture to riſe in the county of Fermanagh, where there were ſix thouſand proteſtants well armed. From the battle of Caſtlebar to the ſurrender of the French, the blackſmiths were employed in making pikes, in the counties of Monaghan, Leitrim, Longford, Roſcommon, Mayo, Sligo, Meath, Weſtmeath and Dublin.

The landing of the French was known by the rebels in the county of Kildare, the Queen's county, and part of the county of Tipperary; and the maſs of the people in them ſhewed ſuddenly a ſtrong ſenſation and a ſpirit of combination, even before the loyal ſubjects were acquainted with that event.

I ſhall now proceed to relate the defeat of the rebels at Killala, the relief of the ſuffering loyaliſts there, and ſome of the circumſtances which preceded it.

The fourteenth of September, the commandant loſt his authority ſo much, that little regard was paid to his protections; proteſtants who had obtained them were committed, and their houſes were plundered as orangemen.

On the fifteenth of September, the French officers entertained ſtrong fears that the town would be attacked by pikemen, and they declared that they wiſhed for the arrival of the king's troops. The biſhop and his friends, who had been twenty-ſeven days priſoners, fell into great deſpondency on the ſeventeenth of September, as they expected every night that the caſtle would be attacked. Twenty perſons in arms ſlept in it beſides the ordinary guard of eighteen; but the latter, being Iriſh recruits, were not to be depended on. There were conſtantly alarming reports of the ſanguinary deſigns of the pikemen, who were encamped cloſe to the town.

On the eighteenth of September, one of the rebel leaders came to the caſtle, and propoſed to the commandant to impriſon every proteſtant in the church, as hoſtages for their own ſecurity, ſhould the king's army arrive; and it was diſcovered that they meant to have blown them up; but no other anſwer was given by the proteſtants, than that they were ready for them. The commandant generouſly declared that he would lead on the Iriſh againſt the king's troops, and that he would alſo head the proteſtants againſt the former, if any attempt was made againſt their perſons or property. On the eighteenth, the guard and all the rebel ſoldiers murmured very much at a report which had prevailed, that their friends at Caſtlebar were in cloſe confinement, and were uſed very ill; and at laſt they grew very vehement. To do away the ill effects of it, the biſhop propoſed to ſend dean Thompſon, and one of their friends, with a flag of truce, and a letter to general Trench, to repreſent the dangerous ſituation of the proteſtants, ſhould the rebel priſoners be ill-treated.

Dean Thompſon, and one Roger Maguire, ſet out for Caſtlebar, the twentieth of September: They were frequently ſtopped and interrogated by parties of the rebels, who would have committed violence on dean Thompſon, but that he was protected by Maguire. They returned next day, with the moſt unqueſtionable teſtimony that their friends were treated with humanity. Mr. Bourke, of Summer-hill, with fifteen armed men, bravely defended his houſe againſt the fury and rapacity of the rebels; which enraged thoſe at Killala ſo much, that they reſolved to attack it; but Charoſt aſſured them, if they perſiſted in their deſign, that he would follow and fire on them.

On the twenty-firſt of September, a body of pikemen having marched through the town in preſence of Charoſt, he, with indignation mingled with contempt, deſired them to go to attend their harveſt, as he had men enough to guard the town, and he would not be troubled with a pack of robbers; and Ponſon, another French officer, vilified and abuſed them in the groſſeſt manner. This was alarming to the proteſtants, as the rebels murmured and uttered ſome menaces againſt them, and complained of the ſtrong partiality of the French for them.

Alarming accounts were received that the rebels, in ſpite of the French, would enter and plunder the town; and, had they done ſo, there is not a doubt but that they would have maſſacred every proteſtant. To encourage them in their ſanguinary deſigns, which they had conſtantly manifeſted, a prieſt, of the name of M'Donnell, rode into the town on the twenty-firſt of September, and announced that the orangemen were maſſacring the Roman catholicks in all the adjacent country. On the morning of that day a report of cannon and ſmall arms was heard towards Ballina, and ſome time after intelligence was received that the king's troops were within four miles of the town.

Truc, the French officer, and Henry O'Keon, arrived from Ballina, where the former had been commandant, and where he had a narrow eſcape of being taken priſoner by one of our officers. He abuſed, in the groſſeſt manner, his allies, the Iriſh, for having fled at Croſſmalina, without ſtriking a ſtroke.

By a preconcerted plan it was agreed between general French and lord Portarlington, that they ſhould attack Killala at the ſame time; the former approaching it on the ſouth, the latter on the north-eaſt ſide. His lordſhip marched from Sligo on the twenty-firſt of September, with his own, the Queen's county regiment, a detachment of the twenty-fourth dragoons, the Tireragh yeomen infantry, commanded by captain Woods, and the Tireragh yeomen cavalry, under captain Ormſby, making in the whole, about eight hundred men, with two pieces of cannon. They halted the firſt night at Arkhill Lodge, where a number of rebels approached them, but on firing one cannon ſhot they diſperſed. Next night they halted at Scurmore, where they were attacked by a numerous body of them, commanded by Henry O'Keon and Mr. Barrett, ſon of doctor Barrett, who were ſoon routed with the loſs of about two hundred killed.

In this affair we have one calamity to lament, which left the ſtrongeſt ſenſations of grief in every loyal heart. Not far from the ſcene of action lies the village of Carrowcarden, where a few proteſtant families lived, who, from their peaceable demeanour and good conduct, poſſeſſed the regard of even the rebels; ſo that, partly by giving them entertainment and money as long as they were able, and partly by hiding themſelves in the bogs and corn fields, they had hitherto avoided the captivity which their brethren ſuffered.

On this day a rebel party, commanded by John M'Dunnough, otherwiſe Pitcher, on their march to attack the king's troops, were ordered to enter the village, and to force every man who was able to carry arms to join their party. They there met with ſome of thoſe poor proteſtants, ſome of them reaping their corn, others concealed in their houſes, all of whom they forced along with them at the peril of their lives, and even without arms to defend themſelves, and placed them in the front of the line.

When the rebel army gave way, theſe unfortunate men fled among the crowd towards their own homes; but having been overtaken by the advance guard, they fell in the indiſcriminate ſlaughter of the rebels. It was in vain that they endeavoured to explain the cauſe of their being there, or to juſtify their conduct; as the troops, elate with victory, and inflamed with revenge, had not time to examine the circumſtances of their ſituation.

The loyaliſts had ſoon after the gratification of ſeeing captain Pitcher taken priſoner; and having been convicted of that and other crimes, his life was forfeited to the vengeance of the law. This however was but a poor atonement to the community for the loſs of ſo many loyal, well-behaved, and induſtrious men; and no conſolation to the unfortunate widows and helpleſs orphans whom they left behind to deplore a loſs which can never be retrieved.

Next day the king's troops having been joined by general Trench and his brigade, they proceeded towards Killala.

In its defence about four thouſand rebels took poſt behind a ſtone wall, on a hill which commanded the road leading to it; and on which the Downſhire regiment advanced. Though the rebels maintained a conſtant fire on them from the time they firſt came in ſight, the Downſhire paid no regard to them, till they arrived at a bridge, which was but a ſhort diſtance from them. They then began a very heavy fire on the rebels, who fled from their ſtrong poſition, and joined the main body, except about forty of them, who took poſt in a grove, nearly forty yards from the palace, where ſome of them ranged themſelves behind trees, and others behind a ſtone wall. The Downſhire purſued them, and were followed by the Fraſer fencibles and the Queen's county militia. After about twenty minutes reſiſtance the rebels gave way and ran into the town, where they were charged by the Roxborough fencible cavalry; and though the rebels in the grove kept up a conſtant fire on them, their only loſs was one man badly wounded, but he afterwards recovered. Mr. Arthur Stock, the biſhop's ſon, a youth of ſixteen, was in the charge, dreſſed in a red jacket.

After the king's troops got poſſeſſion of the town, they killed great numbers of the rebels, whom they found concealed in the houſes, in the gardens, or in the ditches of the adjacent fields. It was to be lamented that our ſoldiers plundered what had been ſaved from the Iriſh ſavages by the active exertion of the biſhop and the French officers. In the firſt onſet it was impoſſible to reſtrain them, when they were elate with victory, and their vengeance was rouſed by oppoſition. Some time after, lord Cornwallis ſent two commiſſioners to enquire into the damages committed by the king's troops at Killala, and in March following, the demands of the ſufferers were diſcharged by an order on the bank.

Having related the events which took place in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, I ſhall give the reader the characters of ſome of the principal actors in them.

Colonel O'Doude was deſcended from a very ancient family of the ſame name, who formerly poſſeſſed a large tract of country in the counties of Sligo and Mayo, two baronies of which, namely, Tireragh and Tyrawly, had their names from two ſons of the original chieftain of the family, who divided his eſtate between them. On this extenſive eſtate they counted twenty-four caſtles, which were occupied by them and their adherents, and many of which are ſtill in exiſtence. O'Doude having been very active in the rebellion of 1641, this fine eſtate was confiſcated, and divided amongſt the followers of the conqueror; but a ſmall mountainous tract of land, called Bonneconclane, having been given by ſpecial favour to one of the family, was handed down to the late poſſeſſor James O'Doude.

The father of this man, whoſe name was Thady, being a younger brother, and having neither property nor employment at home, went out a volunteer to Germany, at the age of twenty-five years, and in the courſe of time was promoted in the Hungarian ſervice to the rank of captain, having previouſly married a German lady, ſiſter to baron Wipler, of whom James was the iſſue. He having been born and educated in the ſervice, found no great difficulty in arriving at the rank of lieutenant, in which ſtation he ſerved, when the death of his uncle David O'Doude, who poſſeſſed the family eſtate and died without iſſue, was announced to him. In conſequence of this event, he left the army, came to Ireland, and took poſſeſſion of the paternal property, which proved to be worth about 500l. a year, and which he applied himſelf to the cultivation of with great attention. He ſoon after married a miſs Fitzgerald, daughter to a gentleman of that name, an attorney, by whom he left children. Previous to the breaking-out of the rebellion, he had become a member of the Tyrawly cavalry, and was conſidered an attentive ſoldier, and very expert in the uſe of arms. On the landing of the French at Killala, this corps was, like many others, put to flight by the enemy, and O'Doude deſerted his poſt, and returned to his own houſe, where, by the ſolicitations of his wife, and the exertions of one Egan, a bigot, who lived with him, and who had acquired a complete aſcendency over his judgment, he was induced to declare for the cauſe of rebellion. Having aſſembled his tenantry and neighbours, he muſtered about one hundred men, and putting himſelf at their head, he marched to the French camp at Killala, where he received his commiſſion, and arms for his followers; while his wife, mounted on a good horſe, and decorated with green ribbons and a cockade, attended the proceſſion, and brought up the rear.

Their career of glory was but ſhort, and the hopes of regaining the antient eſtate ſoon vaniſhed into empty air. After the defeat at Ballinamuck, he attempted to eſcape, but was taken priſoner, and conducted to the camp of lord Cornwallis at St. Johnſtown; where, being identified, although he endeavoured to paſs himſelf for a French officer, he was condemned and executed. He pleaded guilty to the charges brought againſt him; but aſſured the court, that this was his firſt offence, and declared on his honour, if they would pardon this, that he never would be guilty of a ſimilar offence; but being informed that his requeſt could not be complied with, he begged to have a prieſt; but as there was not time for this ceremony, he was conſtrained to ſubmit to his fate, which he met, but not with that fortitude which might have been expected from a man who had ſpent ſo much of his life in active ſervice, and ſcenes of war.

To a great weakneſs of judgment, this unfortunate man added a high degree of vanity and bigotry, which laid him open to the deſigns of intereſted and ill-diſpoſed perſons. Conſidering himſelf the head of the clan or family, he deſpiſed taking a chriſtian name, and always ſubſcribed himſelf, O'Doude, Captain; and latterly he had the vanity to aſſume the title of baron, perhaps from his uncle, baron Wipler, in Germany.

He was ſo much under the control of the prieſts, that he ſubmitted to walk barefooted, and with his head ſhaved, to Loughderg, in the north of Ireland, to perform penance for his ſins, and became one of the order of the Scapularians. He took more pains in cultivating the friendſhip of this ignorant claſs of men, than that of gentlemen of worth or knowledge, and his table was ſeldom without one or more of them, on whom he never failed to laviſh the beſt meat and wine.

The idea of recovering his hereditary eſtate was ſtudiouſly infuſed into his mind by his wife and followers, who vainly imagined that a revolution would be accompliſhed, and that the deſcendants of the old Iriſh families would be ſhortly reinſtated in their former poſſeſſions and honours by the French. This family have a burying-place appropriated to them in the abbey of Moyne, where may be ſeen the gigantick bones of ſome of them, who have been very remarkable for their great ſtature, as one of them exceeded ſeven feet in height.

Colonel Mc. Donnel, a Roman catholick gentleman, was ſon to Joſeph Mc. Donnel, of Carnacun, in the county of Mayo, eſquire, and in the neighbourhood of Caſtlebar. His father being a wealthy man, and able to give him a capital to ſet him up in buſineſs, placed him with a merchant at Weſtport; but conſidering himſelf poſſeſſed of abilities ſufficient to ſhine in a learned profeſſion, he renounced the mercantile life, and went to the Temple, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with tolerable application, and along with a knowledge of the laws of his country, he acquired the ſeeds of thoſe deteſtable principles, which were afterwards matured and employed for the deſtruction of law, property and juſtice. There he became acquainted with the dangerous and ſeducing works of Paine and his diſciples, and was introduced into the correſponding ſocieties, of whoſe principles and practices he was a great admirer, and profited very much by their inſtructions. Having returned to Ireland, he was recogniſed as a champion for the Rights of Man, and choſen by his party as a delegate from Mayo to the catholick convention in Dublin, convened by Edward Byrne, where, by his inflammatory harangues and violent conduct in endeavouring to inſtigate that body to unwarrantable means of proſecuting their claims, he attracted the admiration of his friends, and at the ſame time ſtrongly excited the attention and ſuſpicion of government; inſomuch, that it was debated whether he ſhould be allowed to be called to the bar. He was, however, ſoon after called to it, and ſworn a barriſter, which added to his conſequence, and increaſed the influence which he was ambitious to exert among the Roman catholicks in Mayo. He ſpared no pains in propagating his dangerous democratick principles amongſt all ranks and orders of the people, and by corrupting their minds, prepared them for the rebellion, which was ſoon to follow. The magiſtrates of the county beheld his conduct with a very jealous eye, and had nearly determined to have him arreſted under a warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate. This, however, was deferred, through that miſtaken lenity by which delinquents are too frequently ſuffered to eſcape, and by which the late Rebellion was allowed to raiſe its baleful head. He was permitted to proeeed in his career until the invaſion, when a full and fair opportunity was afforded him of diſplaying both his principles and actions, which he did unequivocally, as ſoon as the French had made themſelves maſters of Caſtlebar, whither he immediately repaired, and was appointed a colonel in their ſervice.

He was attended by a large party of his followers, who had been taught to look for this event by his addreſſes and harangues, and with theſe he accompanied Humbert on his march to Ballinamuck; and after the ſurrender, he and colonel Blake concealed themſelves in a bog. Blake was taken priſoner, but he had the good fortune to effect his eſcape, and made his way from thence into the wild mountains of Cunnemara, and from thence embarked for Spain or France, with ſome other fugitives of his own deſcription.

Doctor Barrett, a Roman catholick, was a native of Irrus, in the county of Mayo, and deſcended from an ancient and reſpectable Iriſh family, who formerly poſſeſſed a large eſtate in that country, and of which he was not a little vain. Having got a competent knowledge of Latin, which he ſpoke tolerably correct and fluent, though in a vulgar manner, he ſerved a regular apprenticeſhip to an apothecary, and carried on the buſineſs for ſome years with much credit to himſelf and utility to the country. He alſo attended many of the genteel families in the neighbourhood of Ballina, (where he lived,) in the light of a phyſician, and was ſo much eſteemed by them, that they entered into a ſubſcription to ſupport him at Edinburgh, while he ſhould ſtudy phyſick there in a regular manner. His wife and children were alſo ſupported in the ſame manner at home, while he ſtudied in Scotland, and that excluſively by the proteſtant

gentlemen,

gentlemen, although he and his family were of the catholick perſuaſion.

In that country ſuch acts have not been uncommon; but I am ſorry to remark that the returns made to them have frequently been ungenerous and ungrateful, and they were notoriouſly ſo during the late rebellion.

Doctor Barrett having returned from his ſtudies, commenced the practice of phyſick under the ſame auſpices, in which, from his previous knowledge of medicine, and the ſkill he had acquired in diſeaſes, he made ſuch a progreſs, as to be in the receipt of 300l. a year, in a country more noted for liberality than riches, and where he had ſir William Boyde to contend with. Before he went to Scotland, the doctor was rather bigoted to his religion; but having frequently attended the preſbyterian form of worſhip, and converſed freely with well-informed men there, he became diſguſted with the tricks and ſuperſtition of his own perſuaſion, of which he often ſpoke with much ſeverity, and ſeldom, if ever, attended maſs or confeſſion from his return till his condemnation; and nothing but the prejudices which he had ſo ſtrongly imbibed, when young, and his pride, (of which, in common with the old Iriſh families, he poſſeſſed a large ſhare,) prevented him from abandoning entirely the catholick doctrines and worſhip. It is to be apprehended that his ſituation was ſimilar to that of many other well-informed Roman catholicks, who, unable to digeſt the monſtrous tenets preſcribed for their belief, and prevented by pride, ſhame, or prejudice, from embracing a religion more conformable to reaſon and good ſenſe, ſuffer themſelves to lapſe inſenſibly into a ſtate of infidelity.

As to the doctor's loyalty before the invaſion, it was unimpeachable, ſo far as was known to his moſt intimate friends; and, I firmly believe, he was totally unconnected with the leaders of rebellion before that period. On the approach of the French army, he and his family fled for ſafety to an iſland in Lough

Conn, where they continued for more than a week, but were afterwards induced, partly through want of proviſions, and partly through promiſes of protection, to come into the town, where, on account of their religion, they were not only protected, but amply ſupplied with every article of ſupport and comfort which the demeſnes, houſes and cellars of the proteſtant gentlemen, plundered by the rebels, could furniſh.

After the retaking of the town, the doctor was found peaceably at home, and ſeemed very happy to find his old acquaintances and benefactors returning in triumph, many of whom, as well as the officers of different regiments, he entertained very hoſpitably for ſome weeks, and ſeemed perfectly ſecure from any danger; and, what is ſomewhat odd, ſome months elapſed before he was apprehended.

It did not appear on his trial that he ever took up arms, or accompaind the enemy in any act of hoſtility, or behaved with ſeverity to the proteſtants who were in his power; but, on the contrary, that he ſhewed acts of kindneſs and indulgence to many of them. The chief matters proved againſt him, were, conſulting and adviſing with the French officers; directing the guards; ſigning paſſes in his ſon's name, (who was a rebel colonel); and forcing his ſon to take a command.

Before his trial an offer was made to him, that he and his whole family would be permitted to remove themſelves to America; but ſo confident was he that no act of treaſon or rebellion could be ſubſtantiated againſt him, that he rejected the propoſal; alleging, that if the gentlemen of the country could procure proof ſufficient to condemn him, they would not make him ſo lenient an offer. He was tried and condemned at Caſtlebar, by the ſentence of a court martial, and ſent to Ballina for execution. His ſeparation from an innocent virtuous wife, and ſeven children, whom he was about to leave unprotected, and without the moſt remote proſpect of ſupport, was a puniſhment far beyond that which the ſentence of the law had decreed, and produced the ſtrongeſt emotions of pity in thoſe who execrated the crime for which he was to ſuffer, and by which they had been ſuch great ſufferers themſelves.

He walked from the publick houſe to the fatal tree, and read, as he proceeded, a litany, attended by two prieſts, and met his fate with becoming propriety, and without emotion, having, in a few ſhort ſentences, called God to witneſs, whether he had been guilty of the crimes for which he was condemned. He had many good qualities, and was a very uſeful member of ſociety; but his having eſpouſed a cauſe, which was calculated to deſtroy the lives and properties of his ſupporters and benefactors, leaves a ſtain of ingratitude behind it which no time can efface.

Patrick Barrett, junior, a colonel in the rebel army, was ſon to doctor Barrett of Ballina, before mentioned, and received a tolerable ſchool education from his father, who intended to breed him to the profeſſion of an apothecary. Previous to the rebellion, he enrolled himſelf in the Tyrawly cavalry, where he was always amongſt the foremoſt to volunteer in any duty which required ſpirit or activity, and never failed to acquit himſelf like a good ſoldier and a loyal ſubject.

On the taking of Ballina by the French troops, this corps, with ſome others, were ordered to fall back on Caſtlebar, and being badly officered, and partaking in the general panick, with which the troops of the line, as well as the yeomanry, were ſtruck on that ſhameful occaſion, they divided into ſmall parties, and effected their retreat, ſome retiring home, others joining themſelves to different parties of the king's troops, where they could find them. Unfortunately for Barrett, it was his lot to be amongſt the former, and having come within a few miles of Ballina, he had an interview with his father, which ended in an acquieſcence on his part of coming

ing into the town, which was then occupied by a French commandant, and a large number of rebels. It is aſſerted, that the cauſe of his coming into town, was an expectation of procuring ſome money to enable him to return and join the king's troops; but in this hope he was diſappointed, and was committed a cloſe priſoner with the proteſtants, where he remained until he conſented to accept of a command in the rebel army, which he with great reluctance did, after his father had uſed all the authority of a parent, and even proceeded ſo far as to ſtrike him with a rattan, becauſe he refuſed ſo flattering an invitation. Being inveſted with the honour of a colonel's commiſſion, his time was more occupied in reſtraining the exceſſes of his ſavage and violent followers, than in training them to military diſcipline. Theſe worſt of barbarians, having received arms from the French, or furniſhed themſelves with pikes, were conſtantly employed in plundering houſes, driving in cattle, impriſoning the few proteſtants who remained in the country, or indulging themſelves in eating and drinking to exceſs, and then becoming unruly and riotous, ſo that Truc the commandant and young Barrett were frequently called upon to exert their authority and reſtore peace, which was the only duty that Barrett ſeemed to do with a good grace; and it was often remarked of him, that he was never ſeen to ſmile after he had been promoted to the rank of colonel, and ſeriouſly requeſted of his friends not to offend him with that appellation. He enlarged many of the priſoners from time to time, and ſhewed them as much indulgence and lenity as his limited and precarious ſituation enabled him to do. His exertions were not confined to the town, and he was frequently obliged to mount his horſe and gallop out to the country to protect private property.

As Mr. Knox's houſe at Rappa was in danger of being plundered, he went there with a party, and conveyed into town the plate and other valuable effects, which he ſecured at his father's houſe.

The reverend Mr. Neligan's houſe had early attracted the notice of the rebels, and every thing valuable in it had been either taken away or demoliſhed before Barrett came into power, except the papers and records of the regiſtry of the dioceſe, which were then in Mr. Neligan's care. Theſe, though trampled under foot, and many of them flung into the ſtreet, he carefully collected and depoſited in a place of ſafety, by which means the original wills and other records for near one hundred years back were preſerved.

His endeavours to ſave the proteſtants from the cruelty of prieſt Cowley were near coſting him his life. That villain, who was daily plotting their deſtruction, pretended that he had received orders from Truc to give them up to the fury of their enemies; but Barrett, ſuſpecting the order to be falſe, applied to Truc by another interpreter, and learned that his ſuſpicions were well-founded; whereupon he publickly abuſed Cowley, and accuſed him ſo ſharply of the falſehood, that one of his friends attempted with a pike to diſpatch Barrett, which he would have effected, had it not been for his vigilance and activity.

Notwithſtanding his attention and humanity to the loyaliſts when in his power, he was ready to draw his ſword againſt them when he met them in the field, and to acknowledge them, not as friends, but enemies. This he proved in two inſtances, the firſt in an attack made by him and Henry O'Keon on Caſtlebar, on the twelfth of September, when in the hands of the king's troops, at the head of a large body of rebels, where, by the bravery of captain Urquhart, a few of the Fraſer fencibles and the proteſtants of the town, he was repulſed and obliged to retreat to Ballina. The ſecond was a much bolder attempt, but attended with equally bad ſucceſs. When it was at length determined by the wiſdom of government, that the unfortunate inhabitants of that part of the country were to be relieved, ſome from their impriſonment, others from baniſhment, and that the few cowardly and half-armed rebels who had ſo long occupied the houſes and the properties of the loyaliſts were condemned to expulſion, two large detachments were put in motion for that purpoſe, the one from Caſtlebar, the other from Sligo. Barrett marched out to meet the latter with a motley crew of his countrymen, but was ſoon repulſed.

He afterwards concealed himſelf in the town, and although he was proclaimed, and a reward was offered for his apprehenſion, the recollection of his paſt kindneſs to the proteſtants prevented them from diſcovering his retreat, or bringing him to trial.

After remaining in a ſtate of dreadful ſuſpenſe for three months, he effected his eſcape to Sligo, where, in the diſguiſe of a ſailor, he entered on board a veſſel and ſailed for America.

There were many good traits in this young man's character, which would entitle him to a better fate. He was brave and generous, humane and grateful, and his perſon and manners beſpoke ſomething much beyond his education and expectations in life; and it is only to be regretted that his loyalty was not ſufficiently ſtrong to enable him to reſiſt the influence which was exerted to ſeduce him to join the enemies of his country.

Henry and John Sheares, two brothers, who had been arreſted the twenty-firſt of May, were tried in Dublin the twelfth of July, on charges of high treaſon, and were convicted on the cleareſt evidence of being deeply concerned in the conſpiracy, and of having harboured the moſt ſanguinary deſigns. They were the ſons of Mr. Sheares, a banker at Cork, who was eſteemed not only for his moral virtues, but reſpected for his mental accompliſhments and intellectual powers, having written eſſays and diſſertations on various ſubjects, which would not have diſgraced the pen of doctor Johnſon. Theſe men were at

Paris when the king and queen were put to death, and continued there during the tyranny of Roberſpierre; and at their return were heard to ſpeak with delight of the ſcenes of carnage which they had ſeen there. They were executed in front of Newgate, and in their laſt moments diſplayed that perturbation of mind, and that abject fear, which ſeldom fail to attend the guilty when they are about to depart from this life.

John M'Can, clerk to Henry Jackſon, was tried and convicted of the ſame crime on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, and was executed on the nineteenth, when he ſhewed a decent compoſure, and acknowledged the juſtice of his ſentence.

William M. Byrne, of the county of Wicklow, was tried and convicted of the ſame crime on the twentieth of July, and ſuffered on the twenty-firſt.

Oliver Bond, one of the principal leaders of the conſpiracy, at whoſe houſe the Leinſter delegates had been arreſted on the twelfth of March, was arraigned for high treaſon on July the twenty-third, and his trial laſted till ſeven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, when he was convicted. This man, who had made a conſiderable fortune as a woollen-draper, was the ſon of a preſbyterian miniſter of St. John's-town, nine miles from Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal. I have very good authority for ſaying that he was a confirmed deiſt, and that he had been active in diſſeminating the works of Tom Paine, of which he was a great admirer. I have been well aſſured that he was in indifferent circumſtances, till he and Simon Butler were committed to Newgate by the houſe of lords, in the year 1793; on which occaſion, being conſidered as a perſecuted patriot, his cuſtomers encreaſed ſo much, that he became opulent in the ſpace of four or five years.

The priſoners confined for high treaſon in the different gaols in Dublin, perceiving from the trials of the Sheares's, M'Can, Byrne and Bond, that they muſt fall a prey to the vengeance of the law, applied to counſellor Dobbs, M. P. to be their interceſſor with government, hoping through his mediation to obtain the royal mercy, on making a full diſcovery of the conſpiracy. In conſequence of his interference, the lord chancellor, lord Caſtlereagh, and Mr. ſecretary Cooke, inclining to do every thing that was merciful on the part of government, condeſcended to hold an interview with meſſieurs Arthur O’Connor, counſellor Emmet, and doctor M‘Nevin, whom all the ſtate priſoners delegated to repreſent them. Government, whoſe clemency and moderation were conſpicuous on all occaſions, agreed to the following terms: That the priſoners, about ſeventy in number, ſhould exile themſelves for life to ſuch country as ſhould be mutually agreed upon; that Oliver Bond, who had been condemned to die, ſhould be ſpared, and permitted to accompany them: And in return they were to diſcloſe the whole of the conſpiracy, and their intercourſe with France; but that in doing ſo, they were not to implicate any perſon whatſoever in their guilt.

As it was diſcovered that the leaders in this band of traitors abuſed the lenity of government, by endeavouring ſecretly to foment rebellion while in priſon, the following perſons were ſent to Fort George in Scotland, where the ſeverity of their confinement has been mitigated by the greateſt indulgence on the part of government;

Samuel Neilſon,
Thomas Ruſſell,
Arthur O’Connor,
Thomas Addis Emmett,
William James M‘Nevin,
Matthew Dowling,
John Sweetman,
Joſeph Cuthbert,
Roger O‘Connor,
John Sweeny,
Hugh Wilſon,
John Chambers,
Joſeph Cormick,
Edward Hudſon,
George Cumming,
William Dowdall,
Robert Hunter,
Robert Simms,
William Tennant,
Reverend Steele Dickſon, a preſbyterian miniſter.

Another ſtriking inſtance of the clemency of government was this: In the beginning of September, 1798, an act of general pardon, with but few exceptions, was paſſed, but it was not productive of as much benefit as might have been expected; for robbery and aſſaſſination continued to be perpetrated, the whole of that year, and till the end of the year 1799, in many parts of Leinſter; not only in that province, but in ſome parts of Munſter, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, treaſonable combinations continued to be formed, and a ſtrong ſpirit of inſurrection appeared. For near two years after the rebellion was ſuppoſed to be put down, the county of Limerick was infeſted by a banditti, who plundered houſes, and committed cold-blooded murders diſgraceful to human nature. It is to be lamented, that at this time the popiſh multitude are as much fraught with diſaffection as ever; though they are ſtill ſmarting from the former rebellion, and though the royal mercy has been extended to them in a very extraordinary degree.

It might be ſaid that I have gone far in expoſing the errors of popery, and have been ſevere upon them; but it ſhould be recollected, that the popiſh clergy never ceaſe to repreſent the proteſtant religion as a peſtilent hereſy, which brings the frowns of the Almighty on its votaries in this life, and dooms them to eternal damnation hereafter; and this not orally, but by various publications, ſome of which I ſhall mention.

One of them, entitled, "Fifty Reaſons, why the holy Roman catholick religion ought to be preferred to all the ſects in Chriſtendom," is printed by Wogan and Croſs in Bridge-ſtreet; and it is annually diſſeminated among the lower claſs of people by their prieſts. Every page of this wretched volume of fiction is replete with falſehood and bitter invectives againſt the eſtabliſhed religion, and cannot fail of making the lower claſs of people rebels to a proteſtant ſtate. I give the following extracts from it:

" Proteſtants cannot name ſo much as one perſon of ſanctity that was of their religion, page 36. Our adverſaries will confeſs, that during the firſt five ages there was no other religion" (meaning the popiſh) " to which nations were converted." Page 38.

" There is little or no inſtruction to be found among them" (proteſtants) " upon points of morality, or the obſervance of God's commandments; but every thing is allowed to the deſires and concupiſcence of depraved nature."

" Their parſons varniſh over the dangerous maxims of their own religion, and every thing that tends to the perdition of thoſe ſouls that are guided by them." Pages 96 and 97.

" They" (proteſtant miniſters) " are not prieſts, ſince they have not power to conſecrate in the Euchariſt, *nor to forgive ſins*, which is yet the main office of prieſtly dignity." Page 80.

" Hereticks themſelves confeſs, that Roman catholicks may be ſaved; whereas theſe maintain there is no ſalvation for ſuch as are out of the Roman catholick church. What madneſs then were it for any man not to go over to the Roman catholicks, who may be ſaved in the judgment of their adverſaries!" Pages 17 and 90. This infamous volume is frequently given to the lower claſs of proteſtants, for the purpoſe of converting them.

Every perſon endued with reaſon muſt recoil, on reading a treatiſe on the Scapular, a pitiful piece of ſuperſtitious nonſenſe, which is conſtantly peruſed by the beſotted wretches who are in that holy order; and they are very numerous.

Another piece of groſs ſuperſtition and impiety publiſhed by the ſame bookſellers, is " Funiculus Triplex," or the Triple Cord of St. Francis, which ſets forth the great indulgences to which the votaries of that order are entitled.

What can be expected from a rabble drenched with the inebriating poiſon of ſuch productions, but treaſon, robbery, and aſſaſſination!

A poem in four cantos, and in Hudibraſtic verſe, entitled, "England's Reformation, from the time of Henry VIII. was publiſhed by Peter Hoey, a popiſh bookſeller in Dublin, in the year 1791. It was written by one Thomas Ward, as a ſatire on the reformation, and it abounds with ridicule and invective on the illuſtrious characters who were the chief inſtruments in effecting that glorious revolution. This production contains no leſs than 468 pages.

In the year 1790, the tranſlation of a book entitled, "The general hiſtory of the chriſtian church, from her birth to her final triumphant ſtate in heaven," was printed in Dublin by James Mehain, a popiſh bookſeller. It was written originally at Rome, by a ſanguinary bigot of the name of Paſtorini. This writer defends and expreſſes his approbation of the maſſacres of proteſtants, which took place in France and Ireland; and he endeavours to ſhew, by falſe and tortuous expoſitions of the propheſies, that it has been poſitively decreed by the Almighty, that hereticks of every kind and in every country in Europe would be extirpated the beginning of this century. This piece of blaſphemy and folly, which is a large octavo volume of 502 pages, was publiſhed, it is believed, to encourage the maſs of the Iriſh papiſts to join in the conſpiracy which was framed ſo early, and in the maſſacre which was to ſucceed it in the year 1798, as if it was to be conducted under the divine ſanction; and yet, from the year 1791 to that period, the popiſh clergy and laity frequently aſſembled in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Dublin, expreſſed their zealous and unabated loyalty, and made publick and unequivocal renunciations of the ſanguinary and intolerant principles which ever characterized their church.*

It is moſt certain, that the great mildneſs and beneficence of the proteſtants of every rank towards the lower claſs of papiſts, would ſoon make converts of them,[†] but that their clergy never ceaſe to inſpire them with a fanatical hatred againſt the proteſtant ſtate and their fellow ſubjects of that perſuaſion. Doctor Huſſey's paſtoral letter is a ſtriking proof of this.

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* See this more fully mentioned in vol. i. under the head, "Origin of the Catholick committee."

We may form ſome idea of this from an oath found on board the Gladiator, by which the Iriſh traitors in the fleet bound each other, in the year 1798, to carry it into Breſt, " and afterwards to kill all proteſtants."[‡]

It appeared alſo on a trial on board the Cæſar, that Michael Butler, an Iriſh traitor, declared, that there ought to be a catholick government in Ireland; that the proteſtants ſhould be expelled from it; and that he ſhould not die eaſy till he ſwam in Engliſh blood.[||]

The following fact will prove, at how early an age theſe uncharitable prejudices are inſtilled into the minds of the lower claſs of people: The children of the Foundling Hoſpital are left with their popiſh nurſes till the age of ten years; and ſoon after their admiſſion into the hoſpital, they have been known to ſhew the greateſt averſion to children of the eſtabliſhed church, and to call them, with manifeſt ſigns of hatred, " Proteſtant dog!" Can loyalty or fidelity to the ſtate be expected from perſons ſo early impregnated with theſe principles?

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XV. for the woeful effects of fanaticiſm infuſed into the mind at ſo early a period, which appeared in the aſſaſſination of Mrs. Deale, near Athy, in the county of Kildare.

[†] The Roman catholicks of a pariſh frequently ſolicit proteſtant gentlemen for ground to build chapels on, and I never heard of the requeſt being refuſed; and in many caſes, they built them at their own expence. Whenever a popiſh chapel is to be built by ſubſcription, the proteſtants never fail, when ſolicited, to contribute largely to it.

[‡] Report of the ſecret committee of the Engliſh houſe of commons, publiſhed 5th of March, 1799, Appendix, No. XIX.

[||] Ibid.

An account of the ſums of money claimed by the ſuffering loyaliſts in the different counties of Ireland, for their loſſes ſuſtained in the rebellion of 1798, *and laid before the commiſſioners appointed by act of parliament for compenſating them.*

	£.	s.	d.
Antrim	17729	3	4½
Carlow	24854	14	7
Cavan	61	16	9
Cork	2501	14	11½
Clare	856	9	11½
Down	12129	—	8
Dublin	25829	16	—½
Galway	4814	—	3
Kerry	149	4	2½
Kildare	97090	2	11
Kilkenny	27352	8	9½
King's county	2461	19	7
Limerick	22	9	6
Londonderry	7	19	3
Leitrim	2316	19	1½
Longford	1046	14	10½
Mayo	120553	11	4½
Meath	14597	9	3½
Queen's county	1586	9	3½
Roſcommon	325	19	7
Sligo	15769	14	9½
Tipperary	1577	9	8
Waterford	1321	18	9
Weſtmeath	2808	13	4
Wexford	515191	8	5
Wicklow	130379	17	0
Total £	1023337	6	4

prieſt to baniſh him; but he ſaid that he could not venture to do ſo, though he highly diſapproved of ſuch perſons, for his ſubſiſtence depended on the will of the people; and as they had a ſtrong predilection for ſuch holy men, he ſhould incur their diſpleaſure by denouncing him; but he ſaid he would be glad that he was removed.

The conſpiracy in the county of Waterford in 1797 *and* 1798.

A ſlight ſketch of the ſtate of the conſpiracy in the counties of Waterford, Cork, and Tipperary, will anſwer to ſhew the leading principles of the rebels in the province of Munſter, and the deſigns by which they were actuated.—The informations are in the Crown-office.

IN the county of Waterford, the inhabitants of large diſtricts were ſworn, and the proteſtants in them were diſarmed, in the courſe of a few nights. The main object of the rebels, who were excluſively papiſts, was to join the French on their landing, to extirpate proteſtants, and even ſuch perſons of their own order as ſhould oppoſe them, to plunder perſons of wealth, and confiſcate landed property; but it could not be diſcovered, that they were headed by any perſons of education and fortune. The Roman catholick gentlemen, much to their honour, remained loyal; but from the paucity of their numbers, they muſt have yielded to the wiſhes of the multitude to preſerve their lives and fortunes, if the conſtitution had been ſubverted. It is moſt certain that a general inſurrection would have taken place in the county of Waterford, in the winter of 1797, but that a large body of troops was introduced into it, and divided into cantonments; and that many diſtricts were proclaimed on the fourth of December, 1797. However, ſuch was the infatuation of the people, that they would have riſen before theſe events took place, but for the following difficulty which occurred: The farmers were the leaders, and the peaſants, who were to be the immediate and efficient inſtruments in the buſineſs, objected at firſt to co-operate with them, becauſe they had no proſpect of being rewarded for the imminent danger which they ſhould incur; while the others were to enjoy in fee ſimple the farms which they rented. However, it is believed, that theſe difficulties were overcome; for plans were formed for murdering moſt of the gentlemen reſident in the country, and for deſtroying their houſes; and even nights were fixed on for that purpoſe. A numerous banditti aſſembled near Affane, the ſeat of Pierce Power, eſquire, in December, to deſtroy it, and murder him and his family; but the night was ſo rainy and tempeſtuous, that they diſperſed. It was remarkable that the conſpirators held the yeomanry in the greateſt deteſtation: The following anecdote will prove that, and the very depraved ſtate of the popiſh multitude:

Thomas Scammodin, a yeoman in the Cappoquin corps, juſt of age, was going on Sunday the twelfth of November, 1797, from that town to Claſhmore, about ten miles off; and as he paſſed through the village of Agliſs, when the popiſh congregation were leaving the chapel, his red uniform attracted their notice, and marked him for an object of their vengeance. Some of them invited him to drink in an alehouſe, to which all the traitors of the adjacent country had reſorted after maſs, in order to form their plots. They amuſed themſelves with his ſinging, (for he was a famous ſongſter) till it was dark; and then offered to adminiſter to him the United Iriſhman's oath; but he refuſed it, having ſaid, that he had taken an oath of allegiance a few days before. Finding that his loyalty was unſhaken, a party of them retired to another room, as a committee, and condemned him to die; and in obedience to the ſentence, two of his pot companions waylaid him, about half a mile out of the village, and murdered him, having perforated his body in eighteen different places with his own bayonet.

In the village of Agliſs, a noted rendezvous of the rebels, and where they formed their plans of organization, the rabble had often fierce diſputes about the diviſion and the appropriation of the neighbouring gentlemen's eſtates; and two ruffians had a violent conflict about Dromana, the ſeat of the earl of Grandiſon.

In the pariſh of Modeligo, a committee of aſſaſſination, conſiſting of twelve farmers in very good circumſtances, deliberately condemned one Thomas Curreen to die in the month of October, 1797, for no other reaſon, than that they ſuſpected he would not keep their ſecrets, for he was one of the united brotherhood. They then proceeded in the dead hour of the night, with a number of their aſſociates, and ſhot him; after which every one preſent was obliged to inflict a wound on the body. This atrocity was afterwards proved by the information of one of the party. When they called Curreen out of his houſe, and informed him that he muſt die for the good of the cauſe, he aſked permiſſion to have the aſſiſtance of a prieſt before he was put to death; but they ſaid, that they ſhould not have time for that purpoſe, and that they would ſay a prayer for his ſoul. They therefore

A P P E N D I X,

No. I.

1.

By one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county and city.

County of the city of Kilkenny, to wit.

THE information of Matthias O'Brien, of the city of Kilkenny, in ſaid county, popiſh prieſt, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, That the late tumultuous riſings of the whiteboys, which prevailed in the ſouthern parts of this kingdom, were ſet on foot for the ſole end and purpoſe, to informant's certain knowledge, in order to raiſe therein a ſpirit of ſedition and diſſatisfaction to his majeſty's perſon and government, which might be of uſe to ſupport a foreign invaſion, certainly intended againſt this kingdom at a convenient time, in favour of prince Charles, otherwiſe the Pretender to theſe realms: and that the cauſes commonly alleged for theſe riſings by the ſaid whiteboys, were but mere pretences, and calculated entirely to conceal the above ſecret deſigns. Informant depoſeth, that theſe diſorders were fomented originally by foreign agents, in conjunction with ſome popiſh biſhops, particularly doctor James Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, (in whoſe houſe, or chapel, there were papers of a treaſonable nature concealed,) and others of his clergy, aſſiſted by ſeveral principal gentlemen of the ſame perſuaſion. That informant was early apprized from his ſtation, then as coadjutor to the aforeſaid doctor Butler, of their dangerous ſchemes againſt his majeſty's crown, and the eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom, which they did at that time, and do ſtill, as he verily believes, mean to overturn, and which they would have long ſince more openly attempted to execute, but for the timely notice thereof he often from time to time gave to the reverend John Hewetſon, of Suirville, a juſtice of peace for ſaid county, and whoſe life he more than once ſaved in his chair of confeſſion, by diſſuading his determined and combined aſſaſſins from their bloody purpoſes againſt him. That informant is fully convinced upon different grounds, (but which, as being confided upon the ſolemnities of confeſſion from ſome of the inſurgents, and ſecreſy, he thinks he cannot, conſiſtent with his obligation as a prieſt, divulge,) that the above ſpirit of ſedition would have broke out long ſince to an open and armed rebellion, were it not for the zealous and indefatigable labours of the ſaid John Hewetſon, and William Bagenal, eſquire, who, by the ſpirit and activity they exerted in detecting, apprehending, and bringing to juſtice, ſome of the chief leaders of theſe inſurrections, checked and ſuſpended for a time their bad deſigns. And he depoſeth in the moſt ſolemn manner, that this ſame rebellious ſpirit ſtill ſubſiſts among thoſe deluded people, as it evidently appears from their frequent nocturnal meetings, held by informant's certain knowledge, within theſe eight or nine weeks paſt, in and about Callan, and other parts of this county, where informant ſaw ſome of the ſaid inſurgents clad in their white uniforms. Informant is alſo certain, that this ſame rebellious ſpirit will never ceaſe in this kingdom, among the aforeſaid inſurgents, if ſome ſpeedy and efficacious means be not uſed to prevent it. Informant ſaith, that his reaſon for knowing the ſaid ſchemes and deſigns to be true is, that the ſaid doctor Butler did ſolemnly bind him to the following oath: "To be true and faithful to the church of Rome, and to promote its good, and to be faithful to him the ſaid doctor Butler, his archbiſhop;" that after ſigning ſaid promiſe, in a book belonging to ſaid Butler, he was told by him, the ſaid Butler, that theſe riſings of the whiteboys were ſet on foot ſolely for the advancement of the Roman catholick faith, and the extirpation of hereſy in this kingdom; and that as there was but one God, there ſhould be but one religion: And, to reſtore the ſame vetus Hibernia, by making her faithful ſons to riſe in rebellion to ſupport France, or other countries, to eſtabliſh prince Charles on the Britiſh throne. And that he, the ſaid Butler, then toaſted his health in the company preſent, who were privy to the conſpiracy.

Informant ſaith, he hath no other motive for diſcovering ſaid conſpiracy, but to preſerve peace, and to prevent the effuſion of blood in this kingdom.

MATTHIAS O'BRIEN.

Sworn before me this 24th of January, 1768,
THOMAS BUTLER, *mayor of Kilkenny.*

In another information, Matthias O'Brien ſwore, that doctor Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, aſſured him, that the cauſe of the whiteboys was the cauſe of God, and their holy religion, undertaken to reſtore prince Charles to the throne of his anceſtors, and their ancient faith to its primitive purity. That informant knew that the late Nicholas Sheehy was chiefly ſupported by the ſaid Butler, and that large contributions were frequently made for him; informant, and the reſt of the popiſh clergy, having been taxed for that purpoſe by the ſaid Butler; which the reverend Mr. Magher, a convert to the proteſtant religion, can certify from his own knowledge. That informant ſaw and read a letter at the chapel of Thurles, ſaid to have been written and ſigned by count Taaffe, and addreſſed to doctor Fitzſimons, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, and tranſmitted to the ſaid James Butler, importing that a popiſh college ſhould ſoon be erected in Dublin. That the ſaid James Butler extorted a ſum of money from informant, and the reſt of his clergy, and from the reverend Mr. Magher, who afterwards became a convert to proteſtantiſm, under the pretext of eſtabliſhing ſaid popiſh ſeminary; but for the ſole purpoſe, as informant believes, of ſupporting the whiteboys. That informant was told by James Fogerty, of Thurles, merchant, that he brought from Dublin* a large ſum of money, which he delivered to ſaid James Butler; and that he underſtood from ſaid Fogerty, that the ſaid money was to promote the ſaid rebellious purpoſes. That informant, from his miniſterial functions as a prieſt theſe four years paſt, has full and ſufficient reaſons to be convinced that the grand ſcheme of all theſe inſurrections of the whiteboys, in theſe and the neighbouring counties, was to raiſe a general rebellion againſt his majeſty, and the eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom; and to maſſacre all the proteſtants therein at a certain hour.

By

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* The Catholick committee was ſitting there at that time.

2.

By one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county.

County of Kilkenny,
to wit.

THE information of David Landregin, late of Roxborough, in the county of Tipperary, but now of Agliſh, in the county of Kilkenny, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, That ſome time in the month of March, 1762, he was enliſted in the ſociety of whiteboys, at Newcaſtle, in the county of Tipperary, by Mr. Robert Keating, of Knocka, in ſaid county, gentleman, and ſworn by him at the ſame time, to take the following oath: " To be true and faithful to the king of France, and to the true king, prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his officers, and not to diſcloſe his ſecrets to any one, except to a Frenchman, or one of his own party." That he told informant that the object they had in view was, to collect an army together in this kingdom, ſufficient to raiſe a rebellion againſt an invaſion which they expected from France, with prince Charles, their rightful ſovereign, at their head; and, for whom, they were to conquer England, Ireland, and Scotland. And that he told informant they had powerful friends in England and Scotland, who would cauſe and foment riſings in ſaid kingdoms, for ſaid end. That a ſtrong French army would make a deſcent in theſe kingdoms, at the ſame time that they would invade Ireland. That therefore the whiteboys muſt keep well and faithfully together, againſt ſaid event. That informant made many expeditions by night on the lands of Drumlemon, Ardfinnan, and Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, under the command of ſaid Robert Keating, and others, who were mounted, armed, and dreſſed in white uniforms; together with the late Nicholas Sheehy,* Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, and James Farrell. That ſaid Robert Keating, and James Butler, drew out their troop, and diſciplined them at ſaid places. That ſome time after, informant was preſent at a meeting held at the houſe of Thomas Browne, of Clonmell, aleſeller, together with ſaid Robert Keating, James Butler, and one Patrick Gilbert, farmer, who all took an oath to put to death, the firſt time an opportunity offered, the earl of Carrick, ſir Thomas Maude, baronet, John Bagwell, eſquire, and the reverend John

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* The prieſt hanged at Clonmel.

Hewetſon, who were the only enemies they dreaded to their rebellious deſigns; and that informant took ſaid oath.† That at another meeting held at the houſe of one Ronan, innkeeper, at Ardſinnan, informant ſaw ſaid Nicholas Sheehy, Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrell, and many others, take the ſame oath. Informant ſaith, that the execution of ſaid Nicholas Sheehy, and the reſt of his friends, has been the means of ſaving the lives of the ſaid perſons whom they ſwore to aſſaſſinate. Informant ſaith, he was preſent at a meeting held at the race-courſe of Clogheen, on the night of the day that the earl of Drogheda came there, and that five hundred perſons, all in white uniforms, were preſent, and moſt of them were armed; and that ſaid meeting was held in the ſpring, ſometime before the French took Newfoundland. That at ſaid meeting it was propoſed to them, by ſaid Nicholas Sheehy, and others, to burn the ſaid town, and to maſſacre the ſaid earl, and the corps under his command, in order to get their arms, and to frighten the proteſtant gentlemen from purſuing them, or giving them any further hindrance in their future purpoſes. Informant ſaith, that they would have executed the ſaid deſign, but that John Doyle, popiſh prieſt of Ardfinnan, prevented them, by falling on his knees, and giving them his curſe, if they undertook what muſt occaſion their own ruin; for he ſaid, we are not ripe yet for ſuch a blow, nor can we 'till prince Charles and his friends from France land to our aſſiſtance: if you attempt it before that time, every proteſtant in Ireland will be up in arms againſt us, and give no quarter to man, woman, or child of our religion. Whereupon they deſiſted.

DAVID LANDREGIN.

Sworn before me the 15th of March, 1767,
JOHN HEWETSON.

Preſent, DANIEL OSBORNE.

3.

County of Kilkenny. THE information of Thomas Rawley, of Killenaul, in the county of Tipperary, farmer, who, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, and examined, depoſeth, That, ſome time in the year of our Lord 1763, he was enliſted among the whiteboys, by Mr. Edmond Quinn, of Myre, in ſaid county, farmer, and ſworn by the following oath: "To be true and faithful to the king of France and prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his commanding officers." That he, ſaid Quinn, then gave your informant half-a-guinea, and told him he was his colonel, and that their ſcheme was to raiſe a rebellion in Ireland, in order to ſupport a French invaſion, which they expected, with prince Charles, their right king, at their head, to relieve the Roman catholicks, and to make this kingdom their own.

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† This is ſimilar to the committee of aſſaſſination formed by the defenders, who bound each other by oath to commit murder.

That ſome ſhort time after he met ſaid Quinn in Thurles, and was conducted by him to the houſe of James Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, and into his company. That after being introduced to him, ſaid Butler, the ſervant was ſent out of the way, and then ſaid Butler took a book out of his pocket, and re-ſwore your informant as before; viz. to be true and faithful to the king of France, and his right king Charles; and to obey the orders of his commanding officers in all things. That he then gave your informant ſome claret, and afterwards diſmiſſed him with his bleſſing for that time. That your informant continued a twelvemonth after in the ſervice of the whiteboys, 'till he was apprehended, and lodged in Clonmell gaol, and brought to his trial for high treaſon and rebellion againſt his majeſty, for which, though guilty, he was publickly acquitted. That after his acquittal and enlargement, he went to ſee the aforeſaid James Butler, (by whom he was very kindly received, and alſo ſupported whilſt in confinement.) That after refreſhment given to him by ſaid Butler, he was ſent by him to the late Nicholas Sheehy, with a purſe of gold from him, ſaid Butler, with this meſſage, "That he had only received this money from Dublin the day before, elſe he would have ſent it to him ſooner." * Your informant further depoſeth, that the aforeſaid Butler did then aſſure him, that they ſoon ſhould have Ireland in their own hands, and that they would certainly be ſupported by an invaſion from France, with prince Charles at their head; and hereupon he diſmiſſed him upon his errand, firſt giving him an Engliſh crown to bear his expences. That he went directly thence to Nicholas Sheehy, and found him at his ſiſter's houſe

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* Large collections were made at that time from the popiſh multitude, and paid to treaſurers in Dublin.

houſe at Shanbally; and there he delivered to him ſaid Butler's letter and purſe of gold; which letter having read, he then turned immediately afterwards, in your informant's preſence, poured on the table ſaid gold, conſiſting of forty pieces, and guineas to the amount of about thirty. Your informant depoſeth further, that it was reſolved upon, at a meeting of the whiteboys at Myre aforeſaid, to burn the houſes of the proteſtants of Ireland, and to maſſacre them in one night, after a landing made by the French, as was expected. Your informant further depoſeth, he is thoroughly convinced ſaid maſſacre and rebellion are not yet over; becauſe he was very lately invited by the ſaid Edmond Quinn to join him and his friends in further intended riſings, for the above purpoſes, which he is certain are again ſet on foot, by means of the aforeſaid James Butler, John Kirkby of Ballyna near Killaloe, and Edmond Quinn, aforeſaid; and alſo by Daniel Cavenagh, of the county of Kilkenny, gentleman. Your informant depoſeth, that he is ſure the aforeſaid rebellion and maſſacre would have long ſince taken place but for the interpoſition of the earl of Carrick, and the reverend John Hewetſon.

THOMAS RAWLEY.

Sworn before me, March 7th, 1767,
JOHN HEWETSON.

4.

By one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county.

County of Kilkenny, to wit. THE information of Mary Butler, ſpinſter, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, and examined upon oath, depoſeth, That ſhe was at the houſe of one Philip Heneberry of Cahir, where her brother John Butler, was employed as a houſe-carpenter, on the twenty-eighth day of September, 1764, when ſhe was informed by her ſaid brother, that he was ſummoned by Nicholas Sheehy, popiſh prieſt, to aſſiſt the reſt of his men to ſave ſome priſoners, who were taken up as whiteboys, near Carrick, and to go the next day to the gaol of Kilkenny; that her brother ſent her before him to Clogheen; that on her way thither, ſhe met James Farrell, commonly called buck Farrell, who ſaluted her, and aſked her if ſhe heard any ſtrange news; and at the ſame time giving her the ſame account that her brother had done before, declared he muſt alſo go to reſcue the aforeſaid priſoners. That ſhe then went to Clogheen, where ſhe met Nicholas Sheehy aforeſaid, Michael Mahony, Edmund Prendergaſt, buck Farrell aforeſaid, Edmund Burke, of Tubrid, Edmund Meehan, Thomas Beer, as ſhe afterwards heard him called, with ſeveral others, whom ſhe cannot at preſent recollect, preparing for ſaid intended reſcue. That they all ſet out in three different companies, to avoid ſuſpicion, your informant riding behind Michael Mahony; that on the way ſhe heard Nicholas Sheehy propoſe a ſcheme of making a falſe coffin, with ſtraw, covered with a ſheet, to deceive and ſeize the guard that conducted the priſoners, in order to deliver them. That they all arrived at the village of Newmarket, in the county of Kilkenny, where having refreſhed themſelves in the houſe of George Reed, a publican, they prepared the aforeſaid coffin. That when this was finiſhed, the aforeſaid Nicholas Sheehy leaving them his bleſſing, departed from them, on his return home, as he then ſaid, to celebrate maſs at his own chapel the next day, to avoid ſuſpicion. That on the light horſe appearing before them, ſhe ſaw James Farrell, otherwiſe buck Farrell, with one piſtol in his hand, and the other in his pocket, together with Edmund Prendergaſt, Michael Mahony, and ſeveral others, ruſh out to meet them. That ſhe heard the ſerjeant of the guard, George Johnſton by name, challenged firſt by one Walſh, and then by James Farrell aforeſaid, to ſurrender up the priſoners, or that he ſhould loſe his life. That on his refuſal, ſhe ſaw them immediately attack him. That buck Farrell firſt knocked him down; and that a perſon, unknown to her, then drew his ſaid Johnſton's ſword, and thruſt it into his body. She depoſeth further, that ſhe ſaw one Dogherty, as ſhe heard him then called, aiding and aſſiſting in ſaid murder, as alſo Thomas Magrath, of Clogheen.*

her
MARY ⋈ BUTLER,
mark.

Sworn before me this 21ſt day of March,
1766, *but firſt read to the examinant,*
JOHN HEWETSON.

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* This alludes to the reſcue of ſome white boys, whom a party of dragoons was guarding to the gaol of Kilkenny; and in the attempt ſome of the military and many of the aſſailants were killed and wounded. It was planned by that notorious traitor, father Nicholas Sheehy.

County

5.

County of Tipperary, to wit. } THE information of Mr. James Farrell, of Rehill in ſaid county, gentleman, who being duly ſworn and examined upon oath, in the preſence of lieutenant colonel Harcourt, major Lyons, captain Thomas Walmſly, and Daniel Toler, eſquire, high ſheriff of ſaid county, declareth, That he was enliſted into the ſociety of whiteboys by the late Nicholas Sheehy,§ popiſh prieſt, under the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the king of France, and prince Charles; that he received his commiſſion as a major in their ſervice, ſigned by the French king, as he believeth, and alſo his pay regularly, in conſequence of ſaid commiſſion; that the real end and deſign for which ſaid ſociety was ſet on foot, was, as he was credibly informed, and now verily believes, to raiſe a rebellion in Ireland, in order to ſupport an invaſion from France, actually intended againſt theſe kingdoms, with a view to reſtore prince Charles to the throne of theſe realms, and to overturn the preſent conſtitution, both in church and ſtate; that the heads of ſaid rebellion are, James Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, Pierce Creagh, titular biſhop of Waterford, doctor Butler, titular biſhop of Cork, and doctor Fitzſimons, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, Heley, popiſh prieſt of Arraglin,† Doyle, popiſh prieſt of Ardſinnan, and ſeveral others of the popiſh clergy; together with Robert Keating, of Knocka, James Nagle, of Garrenavilla, Thomas Dogherty, of Ballynamona, Edmund Sheehy,‡ of the lodge, Martin Murphy, and Philip Long, of the city of Waterford, merchant, each of whom uſually ſupplied ſaid Nicholas Sheehy with money to pay ſaid whiteboys, and to ſupport their inſurrections: That informant frequently received money for ſaid purpoſe from ſaid Martin Murphy and Philip Long, particularly from the former, who was agent to lord Cahir, from whom informant held ſome land, and allowed him his rent regularly in part payment of his pay: That to informant's certain knowledge, ſeveral thouſand pounds were expended for the above purpoſe; and that particularly at one meeting held on the lands of Drumlemon, he ſaw two thouſand guineas diſtributed to the ſeveral perſons there aſſembled, which they had received from the above merchants, for the above purpoſe. That at ſaid meeting informant ſaw a bull produced by ſaid Nicholas Sheehy, which he ſaid came directly from the pope, and was read publickly by ſaid Sheehy; and that it granted a plenary pardon and indulgence to ſuch of the inſurgents as choſe to conform to the proteſtant religion, in order the better to carry on and execute their glorious enterprize, and to reſtore the pure and holy catholick religion in its full vigour and ſtrength in Ireland.* Informant ſaith, there are at preſent fifteen thouſand men embodied for the above purpoſe, from the muſter-roll of their numbers kept by informant; and that moſt of them are armed. Informant ſaith, he is thoroughly convinced that this ſpirit of inſurrection never will totally ceaſe in this kingdom, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual means are made uſe of by government to prevent the intended miſchief.

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§ He was hanged for inciting perſons to commit murder; and is revered as a ſaint by the popiſh rabble.

† It was always a neſt of traitors: Manſergh St George, eſquire, and Mr. Jaſper Uniacke were aſſaſſinated there.

‡ Known by the name of buck Sheehy: He was hanged for high treaſon.

JAMES FARRELL.

Sworn before me this 18*th day of April*, 1766,
JOHN HEWETSON.

6.

WE, the foreman and grand jury of the county of Dublin, at the aſſizes held at Kilmainham for ſaid county on the twenty-ninth day of April, 1767, being convinced, that the late riots and inſurrections in the ſouthern parts of this kingdom were fomented as well by the foreign as domeſtick enemies of our happy conſtitution in church and ſtate, in order to overturn the ſame; and that their pretences of tythes and other grievances, were only imaginary, and formed to cover their ſettled intention of riſing in actual rebellion againſt his majeſty's ſacred perſon and government; and having an utter abhorrence of ſuch treaſonable practices, think we ſhould be remiſs in our duty to our country, if we did not in the moſt publick manner expreſs our approbation of the actions of thoſe worthy magiſtrates and others, who daily hazarded their lives in defence of their country; and that it was, under God, owing to the care, conduct, and ſpirit exerted by thoſe magiſtrates, that this kingdom was not a ſcene of tumult and riot at this day, the conſequences of which ought to be dreaded by every lover of his country: For theſe reaſons, we, therefore, return our hearty thanks to the right honourable the earl of Carrick, ſir Thomas Maude, baronet, the reverend doctor Hewetſon, William Bagwell, eſquire, and John Bagnall, eſquire, for their zealous endeavours to bring thoſe delinquents to the puniſhment they deſerved, and for their unwearied pains to ſupport the laws of their country.

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* Sixtus V. granted ſuch a bull to the papiſts of England and Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth.

Richard Anderſon, *foreman*,
Richard Jones,
James Keating,
Daniel Bullen,
Anthony Murphy,
Robert Beaſley,
Francis Cunningham,
John Dawſon,
John Allen,
William Hickey,
Thomas Kennan,
William Siſſon,
Robert Hickey,
John Edkins,
Joſeph Litton,
Richard Burton,
James Wilſon,
John Bradley,
Thomas Kean,
George Davis,
Thomas Andrews,
Charles Smith,
Daniel Ebbs,
Richard Anderſon.

7.

By one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county.

County of Kilkenny, to wit. THE informations of John Twohy, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, That he knoweth one James Herbert, otherwiſe Thomas Fitzgerald, who calls himſelf a French officer; that he ſaw ſaid Herbert at four ſeveral times enliſt men in Kilfinnan, and Kilmallock in the county of Limerick, and ſhip them off at Bantry, in the county of Cork, for the French ſervice, in the year 1756. That he ſaw ſaid Herbert, on the lands of Ardfinnan, Drumlemmon, and elſewhere, at various times ſince, ſwear the whiteboys under the oath of fidelity and obligation to the French king, and exerciſe them under arms; that he ſaw ſaid Herbert alſo frequently pay them money, in the name and for the ſervice of the king of France; and that your deponent has often received it from him. That he heard ſaid Herbert frequently aſſure them, thus aſſembled, that they ſhould ſoon receive aſſiſtance from France, in order to conquer Ireland.

JOHN TWOHY.

Sworn before me this 30th day of March, 1766,
JOHN HEWETSON.

8.

William Abraham, of Bohereerd in the Queen's county, a farmer, and of the proteſtant religion, ſwore the following examination before Edward Ledwich, clerk, and juſtice of peace for ſaid county, on the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1774: That a report had prevailed ſome time that the white boys intended to carry off examinant the night of the fifteenth inſtant; that a party of them, blowing horns, and armed with muſkets, and dreſſed in white frocks and ſhirts, entered his houſe, and put him behind one of them on horſeback; that his wife, endeavouring to prevent their doing ſo, received a ſtroke of a muſket in the ſmall of the back. That before examinant was mounted, they gave him a violent blow in the head with the lock and hammer of a gun, which inflicted a deep wound thereon, and rendered him ſtupid and ſenſeleſs; they carried him off mounted behind one of them, with only his breeches, and a looſe great coat on; that in their progreſs, they beat, battered, and abuſed him with their guns, and the man behind whom he rode, wounded him ſeverely in the legs with long nails in his heels, commonly called heel ſpurs; they carried him ten miles off to a place near Ballyconra, where they held a conſultation, whether they ſhould cut out his tongue, or pull out his eyes; and at laſt agreed to cut off his ears, which they did with circumſtances of great barbarity; that after having adminiſtered to him many unlawful oaths, they buried him up to his chin, though mangled in a deplorable way, in a grave lined with furze.

No. II.

I, *A. B.* of my own free will and accord, do ſwear to be true to one another, will aſſiſt one another abroad and at home, and there are none to be admitted without the conſent of the committee appointed by the ſaid body; and they muſt in all things, be under ſubjection to the ſaid committee in all things that are lawful, and not otherwiſe; and all words and ſigns to be kept ſecret from all that are not concerned, or forfeit this oath; and we are to meet once a month where the committee thinks proper, and we are to ſpend what is agreeable to the company; and any perſon giving a lawful reaſon for his abſence he is not to be under cenſure; and all perſons entering muſt be under all rules and regulations appointed by the ſaid committee; and as in our former oath we are bound to his majeſty king George III. and his ſucceſſors to the crown, *ſo for this preſent year* 1789, we promiſe faithfully the ſame obedience, *and alſo while we live ſubject to the ſame government.*

RULES TO BE OBSERVED.

1ſt, There is no defender to ſtrike one another upon any account; or if they do, to be excluded the company as long as the committee thinks proper.

2d, There is no perſon to come to the monthly meeting drunk; or if they do, to pay ſix-pence, and to be excluded for three months.

3d, There is no perſon on any account to ſwear or ſpeak loud in the company; and for every oath they are to pay what the committee thinks proper.

4th, There is no perſon that formerly belonged to another body (that is to ſay, a ſtrange body) to be accepted without a line from the body he formerly belonged to.

5th, There is no perſon to let any one know who belongs to their body, but thoſe who went under the obligation.

6th, There is no body of men to go to a challenge without leave of three of the committee at leaſt.

7th, There is no body to get a copy of theſe without the leave of the grand maſter appointed by the general year's meeting, or deputies appointed by the ſaid grand maſter, or his committee.

8th, Let no perſon know the words or ſigns without being concerned; and they are not empowered to give or make known by either words or ſigns or tokens any that may hereafter come forth, or make it known to any company or body but ourſelves, or our body.

9th, There is no defender to make himſelf known as a defender after being excluded, under fear of perjury; and each man continuing ſix months from this day muſt find a gun and bayonet, with other neceſſary accoutrements, or be excluded at the option of the committee.

Given under our hands, the Grange committee to the committee of Carrickarnan body of defenders, No. 1, for the county of Louth.

We, the committee of No. 18, do certify the bearer, Michael Moor, that he has gone through the rules and obligations of a brother defender; and at his requeſt he deſires to be diſcharged that he may join your body.

Given under our hands at Drumbanagher, this 24th day of April, 1789,

EDWARD BRADLEY,
OWEN BRADLEY,
PATRICK LEES,
DANIEL M'GOVERAN, *ſec.*

N. B. Michael Moor's certificate was ſigned by fifty-one names in addition to the above, who were preſent and members of lodge No. 18. * †

No. III.

At a poſt-aſſembly of the right honourable the lord mayor, ſheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held at the Exhibition-houſe in William-ſtreet, on Tueſday the eleventh day of September, 1792, *purſuant to a requiſition for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration a letter circulated throughout this city and kingdom, ſigned,* "EDWARD BYRNE :"

A copy of ſaid letter, and alſo of the plan and obſervations mentioned to have been incloſed therein, having been read from a publick print, the aſſembly unanimouſly came to the following determination :

RESOLVED,

THAT a letter be addreſſed to the proteſtants of Ireland, to the following effect :

"COUNTRYMEN

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[*] This proſpectus of the defenders was found by Dr. Allott, dean of Raphoe, and was ſent to government in the adminiſtration of the marquis of Buckingham.

[†] Sobriety, ſecreſy, brotherly love, and the accumulation of arms, the leading characteriſticks and deſigns of all the ſubſequent defenders' lodges, were conſpicuous in this.

"COUNTRYMEN and FRIENDS!

"The firm and manly ſupport which we received from you when we ſtood forward in defence of the proteſtant aſcendancy, deſerves our warmeſt thanks. We hoped that the ſenſe of the proteſtants of Ireland, declared upon that occaſion, would have convinced our Roman catholick fellow ſubjects, that the purſuit of political power was for them a vain purſuit: For though the liberal and enlightened mind of the proteſtant receives pleaſure in ſeeing the catholick exerciſe his religion with freedom—enjoy his property in ſecurity—and poſſeſs the higheſt degree of perſonal liberty, yet experience has taught us, that without the ruin of the proteſtant eſtabliſhment the catholick cannot be allowed the ſmalleſt influence in the ſtate.

"For more than ten years the preſs has teemed with various writings, intended to prove that Roman catholicks have an equal claim with proteſtants to a participation in the exerciſe of political power in this kingdom; that ſuch a participation would not be injurious to proteſtants; that prejudice only prevents proteſtants from conceding this claim; and to complete the work, a letter has lately appeared, ſigned "*Edward Byrne*," in which the Roman catholicks are inſtructed to proceed upon the plan of the French democracy, to elect a repreſentation of their own, to which ſaid Byrne inſinuates that "the proteſtants *muſt* bend, as he has aſſurance from the higheſt authority."

"In anſwer to theſe charges, and theſe claims, we ſhall in a few lines briefly ſtate the caſe of the Proteſtants and Roman catholicks of Ireland, in doing which we ſhall not endeavour to add to our language any other ornament than the beautiful ſimplicity of truth.

"One hundred years are juſt elapſed ſince the queſtion was tried upon an appeal to Heaven—whether this country ſhould become a popiſh kingdom, governed by an arbitrary and unconſtitutional popiſh tyrant, and dependant upon France, or enjoy the bleſſings of a free proteſtant government—a proteſtant monarchy, limited by the conſtitution—and an intimate connection with the free empire of Britain? The great ruler of all things decided in favour of our anceſtors; he gave them victory, and Ireland became a proteſtant nation, enjoying a Britiſh conſtitution.

"But the conflict * had been neither ſhort nor trivial; and ſo many and ſo great were the efforts made by the

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* The Britiſh cabinet had no ſuſpicion at this time, that ſuch another conflict would take place in the year 1798.

Roman catholicks in ſupport of their popiſh king and French connections, that our anceſtors were obliged in their own defence, to deprive them of all political power, which they did by ſevere but neceſſary reſtrictive laws.

"Time draws the veil of oblivion over the virtues as well as the faults of men: In the lapſe of more than fourſcore years, the cauſes which induced the neceſſity of theſe laws were almoſt forgotten; while the generous proteſtant ſaw with pain his Roman catholick fellow-ſubject labouring under reſtrictions which, from his peaceable demeanour then, appeared no longer neceſſary; and he could ſcarcely refrain from charging his anceſtors with too much ſeverity. Seſſion after ſeſſion the reſtrictive laws were rapidly repealed, and the laſt ſeſſion of parliament left the Roman catholicks in no wiſe different from their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects—*ſave only in the exerciſe of political power.*

"But be it remembered, that from the moment the proteſtant began to make conceſſions, the Roman catholick began to extend his claims; at firſt a very little would have ſatisfied him—that little, and much more, was granted; more ſtill was claimed; and when every thing conſiſtent with proteſtant ſafety was conceded, inſtead of grateful acknowledgments and declarations of ſatisfaction, our ears have been dinned with exclamations of diſcontent, the ravings of political clubs, and the declamations of ſtate reformers.

"But we hope that the great body of the Roman catholicks are yet free from the influence of that dangerous ſpirit which has pervaded the clubs in this city: We hope they will reject Mr. Byrne's counſel, and be grateful for the indulgences they have received from proteſtants. To delude them from their tranquillity, they are told by Byrne, that he has "The firſt authority for aſſerting this application will "have infinite weight with our gracious ſovereign, and "with parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare "that it is the univerſal wiſh of every catholick in the "nation."—But we truſt it is unfounded; were it otherwiſe, we tell them that the proteſtants of Ireland would not be compelled by any authority whatever to abandon that political ſituation which their forefathers won with their ſwords, and which is therefore their birth-right; or to ſurrender their religion at the footſtool of popery.

"Every Iriſh proteſtant has an intereſt in the government of this kingdom; he is born a member of the ſtate, and with a capacity of filling its offices;—this capacity he derives from that conſtitution, which his anceſtors acquired when they overthrew the popiſh tyrant—it is guaranteed by that conſtitution—it is ſecured by the law—he is in poſſeſſion of it, and we know of no power under Heaven, authorized to alienate this, our moſt valuable inheritance.

"Having thus, countrymen and friends, ſpoken to you our ſentiments in the undiſguiſed language of truth, we ſhall intreat you to join with us in uſing every honeſt means of perſuading the Roman catholicks to reſt content with

The moſt perfect toleration of their religion,
The fulleſt ſecurity of their property—and
The moſt compleat perſonal liberty——

but by no means now, or hereafter, to attempt any interference in the government of the kingdom; as ſuch interference would be incompatible with the proteſtant aſcendancy, which we have reſolved *with our lives and fortunes to maintain.*

"And, that no doubt may remain of what we underſtand by the words "Proteſtant Aſcendancy," we have further reſolved, that we conſider the proteſtant aſcendancy to conſiſt in

A PROTESTANT KING OF IRELAND,
A PROTESTANT PARLIAMENT,
A PROTESTANT HIERARCHY,
PROTESTANT ELECTORS AND GOVERNMENT,
THE BENCHES OF JUSTICE,
THE ARMY AND THE REVENUE,
THROUGH ALL THEIR BRANCHES AND DETAILS,
PROTESTANT:
AND THIS SYSTEM SUPPORTED BY A CONNECTION WITH
THE PROTESTANT REALM OF BRITAIN."

RESOLVED,

That the foregoing letter be publiſhed in the Dublin Journal, and that copies thereof be tranſmitted to all the corporations, magiſtrates, and members of both houſes of parliament in this kingdom.

ALLEN AND GREENE, *town clerks.*

No. IV.

SIR,

BY an order of the ſub-committee, dated the fifteenth of January, I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general ſubſcription, which had for its object the raiſing a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expences incurred by the general committee in conducting the affairs of the catholicks of Ireland. As ſeveral miſtakes have occurred in the tranſmiſſion of theſe letters, owing to my ignorance of the addreſs of many of the delegates, I am directed to inform you, that ſuch a plan is now in forwardneſs throughout the kingdom; a meaſure ſo ſtrongly enforced by neceſſity, and ſo conſonant to juſtiee, cannot fail to attract your very ſerious attention! The committee, having the moſt perfect reliance on your zeal, are therefore confident that you will uſe your beſt exertions to carry this neceſſary buſineſs into full effect.

Dublin, February 5th, 1793.

Signed by the ſecretary of the ſub-committee.

P. S. It is hoped you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter; ſtating at the ſame time whatever progreſs has been made in your diſtrict.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED this day your favour of the eighth inſtant, encloſing the different papers reſpecting the buſineſs I wrote you. It is with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that, from the want of information on the ſubject-matter of the indictments, no preciſe opinion can be formed, whether the alleged offence is or is not bailable? The committee are conſequently in the dark as to the meaſures that ſhould be adopted, nor can your exertions accelerate (as it ſeems) that period until the aſſizes, when you will be able to obtain office-copies of the examinations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day truly diſconſolate, in not being able to effect ſomething towards the liberation of his kinſman; he however did his beſt in the affair.

I am, dear ſir,
your obedient ſervant,
JOHN SWEETMAN.

Dublin, 9th Auguſt, 1792.

P. S. If any new occurrence ſhould happen, be good enough to inform me of it.

No. V.

No. V.

To the loyal ſubjects of Ireland.

FROM the various attempts that have been made to poiſon the publick mind, and ſlander thoſe who have had the ſpirit to adhere to their king and conſtitution, and to maintain the laws:

We, the proteſtants of Dublin, aſſuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourſelves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the ſhafts of malevolence and diſaffection, but openly to avow thoſe principles, and declare to the world the objects of our inſtitution.

We have long obſerved with indignation the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom by the ſeditious, who have formed themſelves into ſocieties, under the ſpecious name of United Iriſhmen.

We have ſeen with pain the lower orders of our fellow ſubjects, forced or ſeduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

And we have viewed with horror the ſucceſsful exertions of miſcreants, to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of riſing into conſequence on the downfall of their country.

We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the Conſtitution, and there pledge ourſelves to each other, to maintain the laws, and ſupport our good king againſt all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country; and, by ſo doing, ſhew to the world, that there is a body of men in the iſland who are ready, in the hour of danger, to ſtand forward in defence of that grand palladium of our liberties, the conſtitution of Great Britian and Ireland, obtained and eſtabliſhed by the courage and loyalty of our anceſtors under the great king William.

Fellow-ſubjects, we are accuſed with being an *inſtitution*, founded on principles too ſhocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would ſhudder; but we caution you not to be led away by ſuch malevolent falſehoods; for we ſolemnly aſſure you, in the preſence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one, on account of his religious opinion, never entered into our hearts; we regard every loyal ſubject as our friend, be his religion what it may. We have no enmity but to the *enemies of our country.*

We further declare, that we are ready at all times to ſubmit ourſelves to the orders of thoſe in authority under his majeſty, and that we will chearfully undertake any duty which they ſhall think proper to point out for us, in caſe either a foreign enemy ſhall dare to invade our coaſts, or that a domeſtick foe ſhall preſume to raiſe the ſtandard of rebellion in the land. To theſe principles we are pledged, and in ſupport of them we are ready to ſhed the laſt drop of our blood.

THOMAS VERNER,
EDWARD BALL,
JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,
WILLIAM JAMES,
ISAAC DE JONCOURT.

No. VI.

Eagle, Euſtace-ſtreet, 9th of November, 1791.

At a meeting of the Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, the honorable Simon Butler in the chair, the following was agreed to:

WHEN we reflect how often the freemen and freeholders of Dublin have been convened, humbly to expreſs their grievances to parliament—how often they have ſolicited the enaction of good, and the repeal of bad laws—how often, for ſucceeding years, they have petitioned againſt the obnoxious and unconſtitutional police act—and how often all theſe applications have been treated with the moſt perfect contumacy and contempt: When theſe facts are brought to recollection, is there an honeſt man will ſay, that the houſe of commons have the ſmalleſt reſpect for the people, or believe themſelves their legitimate repreſentatives?---The fact is, that the great majority of that houſe conſider themſelves as the repreſentatives of their own money, or the hired ſervants of the Engliſh government, whoſe miniſter here is appointed for the ſole purpoſe of dealing out corruption to them—at the expence of Iriſh liberty, Iriſh commerce, and Iriſh improvement. This being the caſe, it naturally follows, that ſuch miniſter is not only the repreſentative of the Engliſh views againſt this country, but is alſo *the ſole repreſentative*

ſentative of the people of Ireland. To elucidate which aſſertion, it is only neceſſary to aſk, whether a ſingle queſtion in favour of this oppreſſed nation can be carried without *his* conſent?---and whether any meaſure, however inimical, may not through his influence be effected?

In this ſtate of abject ſlavery, no hope remains for us, but in the ſincere and hearty *union of all the people*, for a compleat and radical reform of parliament; becauſe it is obvious, that *one party alone* have been ever unable to obtain a ſingle bleſſing for their country; and the policy of our rulers has been always ſuch, as to keep the different ſects at variance, in which they have been but too well ſeconded by our own folly.

For the attainment then of this great and important object—for the removal of abſurd and ruinous diſtinctions—and for promoting a complete coalition of the people, a club has been formed, compoſed of all religious perſuaſions, who have adopted for their name, the Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, and have taken as their DECLARATION that of a ſimilar ſociety in Belfaſt, which is as follows:

" IN the preſent great æra of reform, when unjuſt governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious perſecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience; when the rights of men are aſcertained in theory, and that theory ſubſtantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend abſurd and oppreſſive forms againſt the common ſenſe and common intereſts of mankind; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be ſo far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our duty, as Iriſhmen, to come forward, and ſtate what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be our effectual remedy:

" We have no national government—we are ruled by Engliſhmen, and the ſervants of Engliſhmen; whoſe object is the intereſt of another country; whoſe inſtrument is corruption; whoſe ſtrength is the weakneſs of Ireland; and theſe men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to ſeduce and ſubdue the honeſty and ſpirit of her repreſentatives in the legiſlature. Such an extrinſic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently oppoſite to the true line of our obvious intereſts, can be reſiſted with effect ſolely by *unanimity, deciſion, and ſpirit in the people;* qualities which may be exerted moſt legally, conſtitutionally, and efficaciouſly, by that great meaſure eſſential to the proſperity and freedom of Ireland, an equal repreſentation of all the people in parliament.

"We do not here mention as grievances the rejection of a place-bill, of a penſion-bill, of a reſponſibility-bill; the ſale of peerages in one houſe; the corruption publickly avowed in the other; or the notorious infamy of borough traffick between both; not that we are inſenſible of their enormity, but that we conſider them as but ſymptoms of that mortal diſeaſe, which corrodes the vitals of our conſtitution, and leaves to the people in their own government but the ſhadow of a name.

"Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments we have agreed to form an aſſociation, to be called, the Society of United Iriſhmen; and we do pledge ourſelves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will ſteadily ſupport and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following reſolutions:

"I. Reſolved, That the weight of Engliſh influence, in the government of this country, is ſo great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is eſſential to the preſervation of our liberties, and the extenſion of our commerce.

"II. That the ſole conſtitutional mode by which this influence can be oppoſed, is by a complete and radical reform of the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

"III. That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or juſt, which ſhall not include Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion.

"Satisfied as we are, that the inteſtine diviſions among Iriſhmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt adminiſtrations, in meaſures which, but for theſe diviſions, they durſt not have attempted, we ſubmit our reſolutions to the nation, as the baſis of our political faith.

"We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil; we have ſtated what we conceive to be the remedy.—With a parliament thus reformed, every thing is eaſy; without it, nothing can be done. And we do call on, and moſt earneſtly exhort, our countrymen in general to follow our example, and form ſimilar ſocieties in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of conſtitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry and religion in politicks, and the equal diſtribution of the rights of man through all ſects and denominations of Iriſhmen.

"The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and ſecure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not arouſed by their preſent provocations to vindicate it, they deſerve to forfeit their pretenſions for ever."

ORDERED,

That the foregoing be printed for the uſe of the members.

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *ſecretary.*

"I, *A. B.* in the preſence of God, do pledge myſelf to "my country, that I will uſe all my abilities and influence "in the attainment of an impartial and adequate repreſenta-"tion of the Iriſh nation in parliament; and as a means of "abſolute and immediate neceſſity in the eſtabliſhment of "this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as "lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, "an identity of intereſts, a communion of rights, an union "of power, among Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions, with-"out which every reform in parliament muſt be partial, not "national, inadequate to the wants, deluſive to the wiſhes, "and inſufficient for the freedom and happineſs of this "country."

No. VII.

Conſtitution of the Society of United Iriſhmen of the city of Dublin, as firſt agreed upon.

THE ſociety is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of intereſts, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this ſociety are either ordinary or honorary.

Such perſons only are eligible as honorary members, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admiſſion into the ſociety, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, ſhall be propoſed by two ordinary members, who ſhall ſign a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a fit perſon to be admitted, that he has ſeen the teſt, and is willing to take it: This certificate, delivered to the ſecretary, ſhall be read from the chair, at the enſuing meeting of the ſociety; and on the next ſubſequent night of meeting the ſociety ſhall proceed to the election. The names and additions of the candidate, with the names of thoſe by whom he has been propoſed, ſhall be inſerted in the ſummons for the night of election. The election ſhall be conducted by ballot, and if one-fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate ſtands rejected. The election, with reſpect to an ordinary member, ſhall be void, if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unleſs he can plead ſome reaſonable excuſe for his abſence.

Every perſon elected a member of the ſociety, whether honorary or ordinary, ſhall, previous to his admiſſion, take and ſubſcribe the following teſt :

"I, *A. B.* in the preſence of God, do pledge myſelf to "my country, that I will uſe all my abilities and influence "in the attainment of an impartial and adequate repreſen-"tion of the Iriſh nation in parliament; and as a means of "abſolute and immediate neceſſity in the eſtabliſhment of "this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as "lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, "an identity of intereſts, a communion of rights, and an "union of power among Iriſhmen of all religious perſua-"ſions; without which every reform in parliament muſt "be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, de-"luſive to the wiſhes, and inſufficient for the freedom and "happineſs of this country."

A member of another Society of United Iriſhmen being introduced to the preſident by a member of this ſociety, ſhall, upon producing a certificate ſigned by the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſociety to which he belongs, and taking the beforementioned teſt, be thereupon admitted to attend the ſittings of this ſociety.

The officers of the ſociety ſhall conſiſt of a preſident, treaſurer, and ſecretary, who ſhall be ſeverally elected three months, videlicit, on every firſt night of meeting in the months of November, February, May, and Auguſt ; the election to be determined by each member preſent writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box. The majority of votes ſhall decide ; if the votes are equal, the preſident ſhall have a caſting voice. No perſon ſhall be capable of being re-elected to any office for the quarter next ſucceeding the determination of his office. In caſe of an occaſional vacancy in any office by death or otherwiſe, the ſociety ſhall, on the next night of meeting, elect a perſon to the ſame for the remainder of the quarter.

The ſociety ſhall meet on every ſecond Friday night, or oftener if neceſſary. The chair ſhall be taken at eight o'clock from twenty-ninth September, to twenty-fifth March; and at nine o'clock from twenty-fifth March, to twenty-ninth September. Fifteen members ſhall form a quorum; no new buſineſs ſhall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every reſpect and deference ſhall be paid to the preſident; his chair ſhall be raiſed three ſteps above the ſeats of the members; the treaſurer and ſecretary ſhall have ſeats under him, two ſteps above the ſeats of the members. On his riſing from his chair, and taking off his hat, there muſt be ſilence, and the members be ſeated; he ſhall be judge of order and propriety, be impowered to direct an apology, and to fine refractory members in any ſum not above one crown; if the member refuſe to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the ſociety.

There ſhall be a committee of conſtitution, of finance, of correſpondence, and of accommodation. The committee of conſtitution ſhall conſiſt of nine members, that of finance of ſeven members, that of correſpondence of five members; each committee ſhall, independent of occaſional reports, make general reports on every quarterly meeting. The treaſurer ſhall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the ſecretary under the direction of the committee of correſpondence; the election for committees ſhall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the neceſſary expences, and eſtabliſh a fund for the uſe of the ſociety, each ordinary member ſhall on his election pay to the treaſurer, by thoſe who propoſed him, one guinea admiſſion fee; and alſo one guinea annually, by half-yearly payments, on every firſt night of meeting in November and May; the firſt payment thereof to be on the firſt night of meeting in November, 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treaſury-book, ſhall be read from the chair. If any member, after the ſecond reading, neglect to pay his ſubſcription, he ſhall be excluded the ſociety, unleſs he can ſhew ſome reaſonable excuſe for his default.

The ſecretary ſhall be furniſhed with the following ſeal, videlicit, a harp; at the top, "*I am new ſtrung*;" at the bottom, "*I will be heard*;" and on the exergue, "*Society of united Iriſhmen of Dublin.*"

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the conſtitution ſhall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of ſuch motion ſhall be given fourteen days previous to thoſe meetings. If upon ſuch motion the ſociety ſhall ſee ground for the propoſed alteration or addition, the ſame ſhall be referred to the proper committee, with inſtructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinion thereon; and upon ſuch report the queſtion ſhall be decided by the ſociety.

No. VIII.

Extracts from the publications of United Iriſhmen.

Friday, 30*th December*, 1791.

Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin. The honourable Simon Butler in the chair.

Resolved unanimously,
That the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correſpondence, be adopted and printed:

THIS letter is addreſſed to you from the correſponding committee of the Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles which we have ſubſcribed, and the teſt which we have taken, as a ſocial and ſacred compact to bind us more cloſely together.

The object of this inſtitution is to make an united ſociety of the Iriſh nation; to make all Iriſhmen, citizens; all citizens, Iriſhmen: nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this criſis of Europe more ſeaſonable, than that thoſe who have common intereſts, and common enemies, who ſuffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common right, ſhould know each other and ſhould act together. In our opinion ignorance has been the demon of diſcord, which has ſo long deprived Iriſhmen, not only of the bleſſings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil ſociety. Peace in this iſland has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the conſequences of civil war. For a century paſt there has indeed been tranquillity, but to moſt of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately proſpered, it has been owing to the goodneſs of Providence,

vidence, and the ſtrong efforts of human nature reſiſting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miſerable adminiſtration.

To reſiſt this influence, which rules by diſcord and embroils by ſyſtem, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties; it becomes neceſſary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourſelves; the weakneſs of one and the ſtrength of many. Union, therefore, is power; it is wiſdom; it muſt prove liberty.

Our deſign, therefore, in forming this ſociety, is to give an example, which, when well followed, muſt collect the publick will, and concentrate the publick power into one ſolid maſs, the effect of which, once put in motion, muſt be rapid, momentous, and conſequential.

In thus aſſociating, we have thought little about our anceſtors, much of our poſterity. Are we for ever to walk like beaſts of prey, over fields which theſe anceſtors ſtained with blood? In looking back, we ſee nothing on the one part but ſavage force ſucceeded by ſavage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, "ſcattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We ſee a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the firſt moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to eſteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We ſee this, and are ſilent: but we gladly look forward to brighter proſpects, to a people united in the fellowſhip of freedom, to a parliament the expreſs image of the people, to a proſperity eſtabliſhed on civil, political, and religious liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious ſtillneſs of men brooding over their wrongs, but that ſtable tranquillity which reſts on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which theſe rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to thoſe things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts thoſe in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to aſſert them: If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this reſpect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the ſame; we agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whoſe happineſs can be eſtabliſhed on any foundation ſo rational and ſo ſolid, as on the happineſs of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the neceſſity of giving political value and ſtation to the great majority of the people; and we think that whoever deſires an amended conſtitution, without including the great body of the people, muſt on his own principles be convicted of political perſecution, and political monopoly. If the preſent electors be themſelves a morbid part of our conſtitution, where are we to recur for redreſs but to the whole community? "A more unjuſt and abſurd conſtitution cannot be deviſed, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual ſervitude, under the arbitrary dominion of ſtrangers and ſlaves."

We agree in thinking, that the firſt and moſt indiſpenſable condition of the laws in a free ſtate, is the aſſent of thoſe whoſe obedience they require, and for whoſe benefit only they are deſigned. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the community; we agree in declaring, we can have no conſtitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt or ſeen. The act of Iriſh ſovereignty has been merely toſſed out of the Engliſh houſes into the cabinet of the miniſter; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a ſervile majeſty and a ragged independence.

We call moſt earneſtly on every great and good man, who at the late æra ſpoke or acted for his country, to conſider leſs of what was done than of what there remains to do. We call upon their ſenatorial wiſdom to conſider the monſtrous and immeaſurable diſtance which ſeparates, in this iſland, the ranks of ſocial life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty deſpotiſm and publick miſery. We call upon their tutelar genius, to remember, that government is inſtituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unleſs the rights of the whole community be aſſerted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) muſt continue to prevail, when the ſtrong tyrannize, the rich oppreſs, and the maſs are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conſcience merely by toleration. If you raiſe up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees: Let the nation ſtand. Then will it caſt away the bad habit of ſervitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchiſe exerciſed, prove a ſeed of ſobriety, induſtry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free conſtitution.

This rapid expoſition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, muſt naturally ſuggeſt the wiſh of multiplying ſimilar ſocieties, and the propriety of addreſſing ſuch a deſire to you. Is it neceſſary for us to requeſt, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townſman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beſeech you to rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round a ſociety of this kind as a centre. Draw together your beſt and braveſt thoughts, your beſt and braveſt men. You will experience, as we have done, that theſe points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the aſſemblage of ſuch ſocieties, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulſe and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itſelf; ſpeaking with its voice, expreſſing its will, reſiſtleſs in its power. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form thoſe ſtable ſupports on which Ireland may reſt the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take thoſe ten. If there be but two, take thoſe two, and truſt with confidence to the ſincerity of your intention, the juſtice of your cauſe, and the ſupport of your country.

Two objects intereſt the nation, a plan of repreſentation, and the means of accompliſhing it. Theſe ſocieties will be a moſt powerful means; but a popular plan would itſelf be a means for its own accompliſhment. We have, therefore, to requeſt, that you will favour us with your ideas reſpecting the plan which appears to you moſt eligible and practicable, on the preſent more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people; at the ſame time giving your ſentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political ſtate and diſpoſition of the county or town where you reſide. We know what reſiſtance will be made to your patriotick efforts by thoſe who triumph in the diſunion and degradation of their country. The greater the neceſſity for reform, the greater probably will be the reſiſtance: We know that there is much ſpirit that requires being brought into maſs, as well as much maſſy body that muſt be refined into ſpirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible; we do not deſpiſe the enemies of the union, the liberty and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honeſt and honourable cauſe. In great undertakings, like the preſent, we declare that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accompliſh. The people of Ireland muſt perform all that they wiſh, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *ſec.*

No. IX.

Diſſenting miniſters in the counties of Down and Antrim, implicated in the rebellion 1798.

COUNTY DOWN.

Names.	*Abode.*	*Sentence.*
Porter,	Gray Abbey,	Hanged.
Warwick,	Kercubben,	Hanged.
Simpſon,	Newtownards,	Tranſported.
Sinclair,	Do.	Do.
Ward,	Kellurchy,	Do.
Birch,	Saintfield,	Do. to America.
Adair,	Cumber,	Proclaimed.
Hull,	Bangor,	Do.
Mc.Mahon,	Hollywood,	Do.
Dickſon,	Portaferry,	Confined Fort George.
Barber,	Rathfriland,	Two years impriſonment.

COUNTY ANTRIM.

Acheſon,	Glenarm,	Tried, acquitted.
Hill,	Ballynure,	Tried, partly guilty.
Mc.Neill,	Clogh,	Accuſed of being a leader, ſentenced to tranſport himſelf.
Glendy,	Mahera,	Accuſed, ordered to leave the kingdom.
Worte,	Larne,	Taken up, never tried.
Henry,	Connor,	Do.
Kelburne,	Belfaſt,	Do. diſcharged.

Outrages by the defenders in the year 1793.

I HAVE already ſtated that one hundred and eighty houſes were attacked by them in the year 1792, in the county of Louth alone.

On the twenty-ſecond of January, 1793, a numerous body of them, well armed, wantonly attacked a detachment of the forty-firſt regiment near Peterſville, in the county of Meath, and had a ſevere conflict with them; and on that occaſion the preſbyterians who live in that country aided the king's troops with great zeal, which ſhews that they were loyal at that time. About the ſame time the defenders in great numbers furiouſly aſſaulted a company of the ſame regiment, commanded by major Grey, when on their march, at Manor Hamilton, in the county of Leitrim, and deſtroyed their baggage, though they were ultimately repulſed; on that occaſion the defenders charged the ſoldiers, and wrenched their bayonets from their muſkets.

A proclamation iſſued on the thirteenth of February, 1793, againſt them, ſtating that outrages had been committed by them in the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Dublin, Monaghan, and the county of the town of Drogheda; and it alludes to enormities perpetrated by them in the preceding year.

In the ſame month a large mob of people aſſembled at Woodford, in the county of Galway, declaring they would pay no more taxes; and ſwore numbers of people to be true to them and their cauſe. They were incited to this by inflammatory hand-bills.

In the ſame month a detachment of the eighth regiment was attacked by a numerous body of them at Athboy, in the county of Meath, and two of the ſoldiers were killed.

In the ſame month a party of them attempted to carry off four pieces of cannon from Garretſtown in the county of Meath, but were prevented by the volunteers of Ardeath.

In the ſame month they committed dreadful outrages in the barony of Inniſhowen, in the county of Donegal; ſuch as burning houſes, deſtroying corn, houghing cattle, extorting money, and writing threatening letters. At laſt the proteſtant inhabitants aſſembled, and offered a reward of two hundred guineas to any perſon who would enable their committee to proſecute them.

In the ſame month, juſtice Graham ſeized eight of them near the Naul, and found on Joſeph Corbally, their leader, a liſt of ſixty-ſix perſons who had enrolled themſelves as defenders.

In the ſame month, a numerous body of them forcibly entered and plundered the houſe of Mr. Mark Caſſidy, of Derry, in the county of Monaghan, of arms, and other valuable articles.

The ſame month a party of them, well armed, attacked and fired on a body of the king's troops, near Ardee, who killed ſeven, and wounded a great number of them. For ſome time after the inhabitants of that town were ſo much afraid of being maſſacred, that they, headed by the magiſtrates, kept guard by night.

In the beginning of the year 1793, they often aſſembled in great numbers at Moneymore, in the county of Derry, and aſſumed the title of Green Cockade Men, becauſe they wore that badge in their hats; they paraded in arms, and exerciſed in a publick manner; and at laſt they became ſo formidable, that general White was ſent there with a body of troops to ſuppreſs them.

In the month of May, 1793, there was a general riſing of them in the counties of Sligo, Mayo, Leitrim, and Roſcommon; and they ſhewed great eagerneſs to procure the fire-arms of proteſtants. They deſtroyed ſeveral gentlemen's houſes; they plundered and demoliſhed Coalville, the ſeat of Mr. Tenniſon, valued at 6000l. Mr. Tenniſon, with a party of ſoldiers, took ſome of them priſoners; but the mob, ſuppoſed to be ſix thouſand, ruſhed on them, killed three of the ſoldiers, and reſcued the priſoners.

They robbed of arms and ammunition captain Ormſby's ſeat of Caſtle-dangan, Mr. Johnſon's, of Adderſaid, and his ſons, and captain Carter's, of Drumleaſe. Mercury, the ſeat of Mr. Cooper, member for the county of Sligo, they plundered of fifty muſkets, and various other articles, broke all his windows, and drank or ſpilled all the liquors in his cellars. Moſt of the gentlemen in that county were obliged to fly from their houſes.

In the month of June, a body of inſurgents burned the houſe of Mr. Wilſon, of Caſtlecomer, and aſſaſſinated Mrs. Wilſon, as ſhe endeavoured to eſcape from the flames.

This year we find them in a ſtate of inſurrection in the four quarters of the kingdom. Swearing the defenders oath took place very generally in the beginning of the year, 1793, in the county of Wexford.

In the month of July, a number of them aſſembled near Enniſcorthy, and after threatening to break open the gaol, they proceeded in immenſe numbers to Wexford, to liberate the priſoners confined there; and the brave major Vallaton, having led out a detachment of the fifty-ſixth regiment to oppoſe them, and while humanely expoſtulating with them, they gave him ſome deſperate wounds, of which he died ſoon after. Great numbers of the inſurgents were killed and wounded.

There was a dreadful ſpirit of inſurgency in various parts of the county of Limerick in the month of July, which laſted ſome days. Near Limerick, the inſurgents had an engagement with part of the thirty-eighth regiment, who killed and wounded ſome of them; however, the ſame party afterwards burned the houſe of Mr. Oliver, who narrowly eſcaped with his life.

At Bruff, in that county, they fired treacherouſly from the windows of that town, on a party of the king's troops, commanded by captain Forbes, which occaſioned a dreadful conflict, and in which ſome lives were loſt.

In the month of May 1793, a large body of them, after committing various outrages at Boyle, in the county of Roſcommon, attacked a party of the king's troops, who killed nineteen of them.

In the months of May and June, 1793, the county of Kerry was a good deal agitated; the pretext of the diſaffected was a determination to oppoſe the raiſing the militia; but it was ſoon diſcovered to ariſe from a deeper and more malignant ſource, as the inſurgents openly declared, that nothing would ſatisfy them but a diviſion of property, and an abolition of tythes and taxes.

Early in the month of June, they attacked and diſperſed the deputy governors, who had aſſembled at Dingle, to confer on raiſing the militia.

A week after, about four thouſand aſſembled and entered that town for the purpoſe of ſwearing the inhabitants to abide by their laws. The gentlemen of the county, having had notice of their intention, united, to the number of twenty-five; but found themſelves unable to withſtand ſo numerous a mob, of whom many were well appointed with arms. They therefore retreated to a houſe, and defended themſelves till night, when the inſurgents diſperſed.

A fortnight before St. John's day, the twenty-fourth of June, they proclaimed at their chapels, and by notices poſted in all publick places, that they would meet in great numbers on that day at Dingle, and carry all their plans into execution. In conſequence of their declaration, Mr. Mullins got ſeventy ſoldiers from Limerick, who marched into Dingle the day preceding the intended meeting; and he gave publick notice that he would oppoſe them: However, not deterred by the army, they entered the town in immenſe numbers, armed with guns, piſtols, ſwords, pikes, and ſcythes mounted on poles. Mr. Mullins, deſirous to prevent the effuſion of blood, remained in the barrack with the troops till three o'clock, though the inſurgents were two hours in poſſeſſion of the town; but when they began to commit acts of violence on the inhabitants, and their houſes, he marched out, when the mob fired on them, and pelted them with ſtones; on which, having ordered the troops to fire, they killed fourteen of the inſurgents, and wounded many of them; after which they diſperſed and fled, and did not ſtop until they arrived at ſome clifts over the ſea, which were ten miles off; and they would not return till they had made peace with the magiſtrates. Moſt of them gave information one againſt another; and they ſwore that their intention was to have killed all the proteſtant gentlemen, and to have confiſcated their eſtates. It was proved afterwards, that this plot was general in the county of Kerry; and that it extended even to the county of Limerick, for there were perſons ſtationed at Tralee, and Tarbert, and in the intervening ſpace, ready to convey the event of their attack on Dingle; that all the inhabitants of that immenſe tract of country might have riſen at the ſame moment, and have acted in concert with them. The exemplary puniſhment of theſe inſurgents has kept the county of Kerry peaceful ever ſince; for though it was organized in 1797, no outrages were committed but in one place. That ſalutary act of ſeverity probably ſaved many hundred lives afterwards.

Papers found at the meeting at Oliver Bond's on the twelfth of March.

Found on John Lynch at the meeting at Bond's; hand-writing of William Michael Byrne.

THE county W——w. C——— inform their conſtituents, that, by the advice they have received from the provincial, it appears that very flattering accounts have been received from abroad, which will, in a very days, be officially handed down. The provincial returns of men have only encreaſed a *few thouſands* ſince the laſt reports; as the new county members have not yet come in, in conſequence of the *new* elections, which each barony will take notice muſt be on or before the fifteenth of February next.

The county comm^e again earneſtly recommend it to their conſtituents, to pay no attention to any flying reports, as they know to a certainty, falſe emiſſaries are encouraged to diſſeminate ſuch news as may tend to diſunite or lead them aſtray.

The C. C. hear with regret the diſſatisfaction of the baronial committee of Newcaſtle, with reſpect to their not being as yet fully ſupplied with arms, &c. They aſſure them that every exertion has been uſed to that purpoſe, and that quantities of pikes are now ready manufactured for delivery; but would at the ſame time recommend to have as many made as poſſible in each barony, as they will thereby come infinitely cheaper.

The county committee cannot be accountable for any money in the hands of a baronial treaſurer; and of courſe cannot account for any, but ſuch as has been paid in to them, of which there appears a correct ſtatement in the returns.

They feel with concern the apathy of their fellow-citizens of the co. W. who refuſe ſo ſmall a pittance as *one penny* per man, to alleviate, in ſome degree, the diſtreſſes of their ſuffering brethren now in W. gaol, where there are many innocent cit. in want of the common neceſſaries of life; but who, though famiſhing, ſcorn to betray the *truſt* repoſed in them.

The county com^e inform their conſtituents, that, ſo far from having a fund in hands, they are now indebted to one of their members (No. 2.) who has kindly advanced 18l. 4s. 2d. for the relief of priſoners; the county members are therefore intreated to forward to *him*, without delay, as much money, as can be collected in their reſpective baronies; as there appears to be now in gaol, from Arklow barony *four*, from Shillelah *five*, from Ballinacoor *fourteen*, and *one* from Talbotſtown *fifteen*, and from Newcaſtle *two*, in all *forty-two*, without the ſmalleſt fund for the enſuing m°.

Reſolved, that a ſubſcription be inſtantly commenced, for the purpoſe of forming a fund, for the employing and retaining counſel, which ſhall be taken as a voluntary contribution, according to the circumſtances of individuals, to be lodged in the hands of a *treaſurer* choſen by the county c^{e}.

Reſolved, that it is requeſted that the next meeting may be *fully attended*, as there is buſineſs of the utmoſt importance to be taken into conſideration.

C. C. Jan^{y}. 22, 1798.

						Pd. priſoners.						
Tal.	2974	20	3	10	—					119	0	0
Low. D.	706	—			—	1ſt.	12	10	3	35	15	0
Ar.	2400	59	8	3	—	2d.	22	15	0	—		
Rd.	1200	17	0	0	5 0 0	3d.	37	19	3	83	5	0
N. C.	1800	35	15	0	—	N° 2.	12	6	5	162	3	4
W. B.	1800	13	15	0	—							
L. B.	840	8	2	0	—		85	10	11	245	4	8
Shil.	1080	7	19	3 $\frac{4}{6}$	—					85	10	11
						Reſt to province						
	12800	162	3	4						159	17	5
		73	4	6	88 18 10		73	4	6			

	G.	P.	S.	B.	Ps.	B. C.	B.	lb. P.
Tal.	181	78	66	134	321	3331	8315	75
Ar.	265	85	68	87	200	400	8050	500
N. C.	158	41	20	32	355	—	5965	169
R. D.	185	94	62	75	380	980	500	17
	789	298	216	328	1256	4711	22830	761
Ar.	210	75	62					
N. C.	100	0	0	} At				
R. D.	200	0	0					
	1299	373	278					

No. I.

No. I.

Papers found in the room at Bond's.

Hand-writing of John M'Can.

I, do ſolemnly declare, that I came duly elected.

No. II.

Hand-writing of John M'Can.

19*th February*, 1798.

Kildare	10863	In Treaſurer's hands	20	18	3
Wicklow	12095				
Dublin	3010		20	—	—
Do. City	2000				
Queen's co.	11689				
King's co.	3600				
Carlow	9414				
Kilkenny	624				
Meath	14000				
	67295		40	18	3

Reſolved, that the colonels in each county ſhall make out a liſt of three perſons to be adjutants-general for ſaid counties. The liſts to be tranſmitted, ſealed, either through the provincial, or any other authentic channel to the executive, who will nominate one of the three to the employment.

Reſolved, that our treaſurer be allowed to pay 16 guineas to the delegate to buy a horſe, which, when the entire county is organized, is to be ſold, and the money paid back into the hands of the treaſurer.

Reſolved that the ex. comm^{e} be requeſted to account for the expenditure of 60 guineas voted them.

Reſolved, that each co. who have not paid in any finance, ſhall be requeſted to pay in 70l. immediately, except the co. Carlow, which ſhall only pay 40l.

PRIVATES TEST.

Hand-writing not known.

I, *A. B.* do ſolemnly declare, that I will perform my duty, and be obedient to all the lawful commands of my officers, while they act in ſubordination to the duly-elected committee.

Hand-writing of John M‘Can.

Reſolved, that we will pay no attention whatſoever to any attempt that may be made by either houſe of parliament, to divert the publick mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing ſhort of the compleat emancipation of our country will ſatisfy us.

No. III.

K.	10863	In hands	20	18	3
W.	12095				
D.	3010	£. 32	20	—	—
C. D.	2000				
Q. C.	11689				
K. C.	3600				
C^{w}.	9414				
K^{y}.	624				
M.	14000				
	67295		40	18	3

Ten in the morning this day three weeks.

No. IV.

Hand-writing of John M‘Can.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that if the other Ps. be in an equal ſtate of preparation as Leinſter, as ſoon as we can procure the information of their ſtate, and their determination to act in concert with the nation, we ſhould immediately proceed to act; and that the exe^{ve} be requeſted to take ſuch ſteps immediately as will tend moſt expeditiouſly to bring about an union of the different prov^{s}.

Reſolved, that the ſelect com^{e} of five be requeſted to prepare a military teſt to be laid before the prov^{l} at the next meeting, for their approbation.

Extracts from the pocket-book of John M‘Can, found at Bond's.

P. C. [Provincial committee.]

20th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863	
Wicklow	12895	£.20 18 3
Dublin	3010	20
Do. city	2177	104 6 5
Queen's co.	11689	
King's co.	3600	
Carlow	9414	
Kilkenny	624	
Meath	14000	
	68272	£.145 4 8

Subſcriptions:

	Febr. 9th. 1798.	Feby. 16th.	Feby 23.
No.	8 8		
1	1 1	6½	6½
2	1 1	6½	6½
3	2 8½	6½	
4	1 1	6½	6½
5		6½	1 1
6		6½	
7	1 1	6½	6½
8		6½	6½
9	2 8½		
10	1 1		2 8½ 2 2
11	1 1		6 6
12		6½ & 2 8½ 3 9½	
	£.1 0 7	1 7 1	15 2

C. C. [County committee.]

February 19th, 1798.

1	812	28	8	11
2	865	19	15	
3	500	9	13	6
4		46	9	
	2177	£.104	6	5

[Four diviſions of the city of Dublin.]

D. C. 2d March.

					In hands £.	1	16	0½
No. 1	118	4	11					6½
2	118	3	19	7½				6½
3	84	12						
4	72							6½
5	120	2					4	4
6	99	1	15				3	3
7	53							
8								6½
9		1	12	10½				
10	80	1	6	9				6½
11	70	1					4	4
12	115	1	11	9			1	1
13							1	7½
14							2	8½
					£.	2	16	4

D. C. 8th March, 98. B. C. [Baronial committee:]

5th March, 1798.

No. 1	118	4	3	6½	12	£.	2	17	5
2	118	4	3	3	12				
3	48	1	0	6	12				
4	72				12				
5	120				12			13	
6	105	1	15	2	10				
7	107		14		12				
8	89	12							
9	86	3	8	3					
10	118	2	4	9	8			15	
11	102	1	13						
12	115	2	11	6					
13	86	1	7	8					
14	84	3	7	8					

Extract of a letter found upon Oliver Bond, ſigned H. W. (Hugh Wilſon) and dated, Cork 6th, 1798.

I have been ſo cooped up ſince I came here, that, had I known the ſituation of the place, my mind ſhould never have been ſo abominably cloſeted, for any emolument that I may derive before a change of the preſent government takes place.

You can but faintly imagine how things are going on here; give the people but a little time, and reſt aſſured the progreſs ſcience is making will aſtoniſh the world. The enemies of the human race are much alarmed, and the revolt of the Dublin county militia has increaſed their fears. Mr. Finlay ſays, they are all aſſaſſins, and he is almoſt afraid to truſt himſelf with them. I hear they are to be diſperſed among the Highlanders through the country. Numbers of preachers of the true goſpel are better than few, and thoſe diſperſed grains may not fall on rocky ground.

When the news came this morning of the Spaniſh fleet being out, the ariſtocrats ſeemed happy, ſaying, their doom was at hand, Jervis being after them.

With beſt regards to Mrs. Bond, and all friends,

I am ſincerely yours,

H. W.

No. X.

Mr. Grattan's anſwer to the Roman catholicks.

GENTLEMEN,

IN ſupporting you, I ſupport the proteſtant; we have but one intereſt and one honour; and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all. The proteſtant already begins to perceive it; a late attack has rallied the ſcattered ſpirits of the country, from the folly of religious ſchiſm to the recollection of national honour, and a nation's feuds are loſt in a nation's reſentment. YOUR EMANCIPATION WILL PASS, rely on it, YOUR EMANCIPATION MUST PASS; it may be death to one viceroy, it will be the peace-offering of another; and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one governor, to be craftily converted into the olive of his ſucceſſor.

Let me adviſe you by no means to poſtpone the conſideration of your fortunes till after the war; rather let Britain receive *the benefit of your zeal* during the exigency which demands it, and you yourſelves, while you are *fighting to preſerve the bleſſing of a conſtitution*, have really and *bona fide* thoſe bleſſings.

My wiſh is that you ſhould be free NOW, there is no other policy which is not low and little; *let us at once inſtantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.*

On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permiſſion, immediately after the receſs.

You are pleaſed to ſpeak of the confidence and power with which for a moment I was ſuppoſed to have been poſſeſſed.

When his majeſty's miniſters were pleaſed to reſort to our ſupport, they took us with the incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our country.

To have accepted a ſhare of confidence and council without a view to private advantage, will not meet, I hope, with the diſapprobation of my country; but to have accepted that ſhare without any view to publick advantage, would have been refinement on the folly of ambition. Meaſures, therefore, publick meaſures and arrangements, and that which is now diſputed, were ſtipulated by us, were promiſed in one quarter; and with aſſurances, they were not reſiſted in another.

In the ſervice of government, under his excellency's adminiſtration, we directed our attention to two great objects, the Kingdom and the Empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws, the diſcovery and reformation of certain abuſes, and were in progreſs to reform more; we obtained a great force, and a great ſupply with the conſent and confidence of the people; theſe were not the meaſures of courtiers, they were the meaſures of miniſters.

His excellency lord Fitzwilliam may boaſt that he offered to the empire the affections of millions; a better aid to the war than his enemies can furniſh, who have forfeited thoſe affections, and put themſelves in their place.

So decidedly have the meaſures of Ireland ſerved the empire, that thoſe who were concerned in them might appeal from the cabals of the Britiſh cabinet, to the ſenſe of the Britiſh nation. I know of no cauſe afforded for the diſpleaſure of the Engliſh cabinet; but if ſervices done to Ireland are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I muſt lament the gloomy proſpect of both kingdoms, and receive a diſcharge from the ſervice of government, as the only honour an Engliſh miniſter can confer on an Iriſh ſubject.

I conceive the continuance of lord Fitzwilliam as neceſſary for the proſperity of this kingdom: his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to diſcountenance a progreſs of vulgar and rapid pollution: if he is to retire, I condole with my country: for myſelf, the pangs on that occaſion I ſhould feel on rendering up my ſmall portion of miniſterial breath would be little, were it not for the gloomy proſpects afforded by thoſe *dreadful* guardians which are likely to ſucceed. I tremble at the return to power of your old taſkmaſters; that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, inſulted her by its manners, exhauſted her by its rapacity, and ſlandered her by its malice: ſhould ſuch a combination, (at once inflamed as it muſt be now by the favour of the Britiſh court, and by the reprobation of the Iriſh people), return to power, I have no heſitation to ſay, that THEY WILL EXTINGUISH IRELAND, OR IRELAND MUST REMOVE THEM. It is not your caſe only, but that of the nation. I find the country already committed in the ſtruggle. I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the iſſues of her fortunes.

I ſhould have expected that there had been a wiſdom and *faith* in ſome quarter of another country, that would have prevented ſuch a cataſtrophe; but I know it is no proof of that wiſdom, to take the taxes, continue the abuſes, damp the zeal, and daſh away the affection of ſo important a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, cordial and confident with the offering of her treaſure and blood, and reſolute to ſtand or fall with the Britiſh nation; it is, I ſay, no proof of wiſdom nor generoſity, to ſelect that moment to plant a dagger in her heart.

But whatſoever ſhall be the event, I will adhere to her intereſts to the laſt moment of my life.

HENRY GRATTAN.

No. XI.

The conſpiracy in the county of Carlow.

NOT only in Carlow, but in moſt of the counties of Ireland, the prieſts in the years 1791 and 1792 began to take an accurate account of their ſectaries in every family within their reſpective pariſhes, which was ſuppoſed to be done with a view of aſcertaining their relative ſtrength by their numbers, when compared with the members of the eſtabliſhed church.

About the ſame time maps, pointing out the property of the old popiſh poſſeſſors, were printed and publiſhed.

The great zeal with which the prieſts began about that time to eſtabliſh religious fraternities among the populace, of which the ſcapular was the moſt prominent, gave an additional proof that a conſpiracy was in contemplation. This inſtitution introduced amongſt them an extraordinary ſanctity and auſterity of manners, and afforded a trial of their ſilence, which was ſo eſſential to promote ſuch a meaſure.

The inſolence of the lower claſs of the people was obviouſly encreaſed about the year 1793, by the following incidents: The prieſts were enabled to build ſtately chapels by the ſubſcriptions not only of their own flock, but of proteſtants; which formed a ſtriking contraſt to, and reflected on, the ruined edifices where proteſtants, leſs enthuſiaſtick, worſhipped their God.

At a time that a proteſtant clergyman in that county could not obtain a ſum of money to build a church for three hundred proteſtants, whom he had attended for twelve years in a ſooty cabin, the prieſt of Carlow built a college and chapel, which muſt have coſt from 3000l. to 4000l.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the inſolent looks and haughty demeanour of the peaſants, who would not formerly approach a gentleman but with the greateſt humility, challenged his attention with a broad ſtare, often followed by a ſardonic grin.

Such was the ſtate of the county of Carlow in the month of November, 1797, when ſome informations, ſworn privately before a magiſtrate, gave unqueſtionable proofs that a conſpiracy was forming; and the following event removed every doubt on that head: Mr. Bennett, who lived near Leighlinbridge, was raſh enough to declare his deteſtation of an United Iriſhman, and that he would give 50ol. for the head of one; for which on the ſame night he was murdered, in the dead hour of the night, and his houſe was robbed of 50ol. in caſh.

This money, and their ſucceſs in gratifying their vengeance againſt ſo reſpectable an enemy, inſpired them ſo much with the hope of accompliſhing their main deſign, that they began to aſſemble in great numbers, and to organize with great celerity.

A gentleman paſſing thro' Leighlinbridge, ſaid, he made it a rule to give the people a drink; and having ordered a barrel of ale for them, the conſpirators in great numbers, who ſeemed prepared for the buſineſs, mounted one of their drummers on the barrel, and proceeded in regular array, and with ſome arms, to the houſe of a man at Moneybeg, who had ſworn examinations againſt ſome of them, and murdered him in his bed; they then proceeded to the houſe of Mr. Bagenal, a gentleman who had formerly repreſented the county, but having kept behind a bank of earth, it protected them from the ſhot of three of his proteſtant yeomen, who kept up a conſtant fire on them, until an accidental ſhot, from a blunderbuſs of one of their own party, killed one of the united men, of the inauſpicious name of Paine.

Six of his popiſh yeomen were poſted outſide his houſe, behind a wall, (for he kept the proteſtants within it,) commanded by his lieutenant, who afterwards recommended to Mr. Bagenal, not to depend on a papiſt, though he, and his two ſons, were of that perſuaſion, as he could not prevail on the three others to fire on the aſſailants; and he declared, that he never would ſerve with any of them.

In their retreat, they plundered and ſhattered the houſe of Mr. Mulhallow, and beat and inſulted him in the moſt cruel and ferocious manner.

From that time they never ceaſed to plunder houſes of arms, and other valuable articles, avoiding the patroles of Mr. Robert Rochfort, of Clongrennan, and of Mr. Cornwall, of Myſhall-lodge, who, much to their honour, never ceaſed to haraſs thoſe miſcreants by night, at the head of their reſpective yeomen corps; while other gentlemen, palſied by fear, ſought for protection by courting the prieſts. In ſhort, I have been aſſured, that the county of Carlow would have been as much deſolated as the county of Wexford, but that theſe gentlemen, by unabated exertions and the moſt undaunted courage, ſtruck terror into them, by ſurpriſing and arreſting numbers of them, in their moſt ſecret haunts and receſſes.

In all their depredations, they never offered any injury to the property, or inſult to the perſon of a papiſt, except that in ſome caſes they took arms from ſuch perſons of that perſuaſion, as were not likely to uſe them, or were not engaged in the confederacy.

On requiring arms of a widow of the popiſh religion, near Leighlin, they informed her that they were for her benefit, and that of the Catholick cauſe. A man of the name of Hughes, appeared before Mr. Cornwall, of Myſhall-lodge, a magiſtrate, on the twenty-firſt of July, 1798, and confeſſed that he had been a lieutenant, under a captain James Nowlan; and he ſtated the whole progreſs of the rebellion from its commencement. He ſaid that the night previous to the attack on Borris, Leighlin-bridge, and Bagenalſtown, he received orders from Nowlan, how he was to attack the enemy; and on aſking him whom he was to conſider as ſuch, the captain replied, the king's troops and the proteſtants in general. The popiſh rabble, and numbers of Roman catholicks in comfortable, nay in opulent ſituations, took oaths of allegiance before magiſtrates, who gave them certificates of their having done ſo; and an abundance of ſuch certificates were found in their pockets when they were made priſoners at the battle of Kilcomney, and elſewhere.

Many proteſtants were murdered, many of their houſes were burnt, and much of their property was deſtroyed, in that part of the county of Carlow bordering upon the counties of Wicklow and Wexford. I have not obtained a minute account of them, but I ſhall refer the readers to the affidavit of Jervis Pue, at the end of this, for a ſpecimen of them, and of the ferocious ſpirit by which the rebels were actuated.

Moſt of the popiſh yeomen in the county of Carlow, were diſaffected, and would, had an opportunity offered, have turned their arms againſt their king and country.

In ſir Richard Butler's corps of cavalry, nine papiſts, of whom his permanent ſerjeant was done, conſpired to murder its proteſtant members. The ſerjeant was to have poſted in the rear the conſpirators, who were to have fired on the proteſtants in action. Seven of them were convicted and hanged, the other two fled; but coming in under the proclamation, obtained their pardon.

Mr. Burton, member for the county, had a corps of infantry, in which he diſcovered twenty popiſh traitors, whom he expelled, and ſeventeen of them were afterwards hanged or tranſported. The arms of his corps being depoſited in the guard-houſe, and guarded by ſix popiſh members, when the inſurrection was expected, they poured water into the muzzles, and wet the pans, of their firelocks.

About thirty-ſix popiſh yeomen were ſhot in Carlow and its vicinity; but there was not a ſingle inſtance of diſaffection diſcovered in a proteſtant, that I could hear of.*

As the attack on Carlow, and the defeat of the rebels, took place on the firſt exploſion of the rebellion, I included a deſcription of it in the events which took place on that occaſion.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

THE information of Jervis Pue, of Johnſtown, in the county of Carlow, yeoman, who being ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath and ſaith, That on or about the firſt day of July, 1798, he, this informant, being in the yard of the reverend Henry Braddell, his landlord, was informed that the rebels were advancing; in conſequence of which he, this informant, and two proteſtants more, made their eſcape into an adjoining wood, on the lands of Balliconnel, in the county of Wicklow.—Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels advanced to the houſe of the ſaid Henry Braddell, and plundered the ſame of liquor and proviſions, and carried off a black mare, the property of George Braddell, eſquire, brother of the ſaid Henry; and that the ſame day the ſaid rebels forcibly carried off from the houſe of the widow Halfpenny, at Coolkenno, in the county of Wicklow, two ſons of the ſaid widow Halfpenny, Thomas Charleton, near ſaid place, James Twamly, who lives near Coolkenno aforeſaid,

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* I ſhall avoid ſaying any thing on the fate of the unfortunate ſir Edward Croſbie, as many perſons are ſtrongly impreſſed with an idea of his innocence, which, 'tis ſaid, they mean to vindicate in print.

George Driver, of Tinnehaly, all of the proteſtant religion, and whom they inhumanly butchered and put to death with pikes, on the hill of Boulamorogue, in ſaid county, for no other reaſon than becauſe they were proteſtants. Informant ſaith, that the bodies of the ſaid perſons were ſo mangled and butchered, that their friends were obliged to convey them to the place of burial ſwathed in linen clothes. Informant ſaith, that about three weeks ago, a party of ſaid rebels went to the houſe of Joſeph Faris, of Crownaſkeagh, in the county of Carlow, farmer, who lay ſick in bed with a violent fever; and that the ſaid rebels took the ſaid Joſeph Faris out of his bed, and ſhot him at the end of his own houſe, which they burned to aſhes.—Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels, about the ſame time, aſſaſſinated Thomas Mathers, of Crownaſkeagh aforeſaid, farmer: And he, this informant, verily believes, that the ſaid rebels murdered the ſaid Faris, and the ſaid Mathers, for no other reaſon than becauſe they were proteſtants, who they, without exception, denominated orangemen; and informant further ſaith, that the ſaid rebels, never to this informant's knowledge, injured the houſe or property of any Roman catholick, reſident in any of the aforeſaid places. Informant ſaith, that a numerous body of rebels burned, on the twenty-fourth of July laſt, the houſes of twenty-three proteſtants, at Lany and Johnſtown, in the county of Carlow, and at Ballyduff in ſaid county, and at Ahold, Coolkenno, Killybeg, and Gold, in the county of Wicklow; informant ſaith, that the houſe of Lorenzo Nickſon, eſquire, at Coolkenno aforeſaid, was among the houſes ſo burned; and that the ſaid rebels, previous to the burning of the ſame, had the poſtillion of the ſaid Lorenzo Nickſon, who was dying in a conſumption, brought out from ſaid houſe by two women, and that the ſaid rebels ſhot the ſaid poſtillion in preſence of his wife. Informant ſaith, that about a fortnight, previous to the date hereof, a party of rebels went to the houſe of Robert Davis, a farmer, and of the proteſtant religion, and reſident within half a mile of Tullow, in the county of Carlow, and ſhot the ſaid Davis in his houſe, at a late hour in the night; and that the ſaid rebels compelled a daughter of the ſaid Davis, who did not exceed the age of ten years, to hold a candle while they ſhot her father; and that ſaid rebels burned a bible, the property of the ſaid Davis. Informant ſaith, that Ephraim Singleton, farmer, and of the proteſtant religion, was murdered by the ſaid rebels at Coolroe, near Clonegal, in the county of Carlow, about a fortnight ago, and that they robbed him at the ſame time of a conſiderable ſum of money, as informant heard, and verily believes. Informant ſaith, that the proteſtant inhabitants of the places and townlands aforeſaid fled from their reſpective houſes many weeks ago, and that they dare not reſide in them, leſt they ſhould be aſſaſſinated by the ſaid rebels. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels have frequently purſued him, and have gone to different places in queſt of him; that about three weeks ſince, he, this informant, was obliged to fly precipitately, and bare-footed, to the garriſon of Tullow, at the diſtance of near five miles from his houſe, to ſave his life from the rebels; and that in doing ſo, he was obliged to avoid the road, and croſs over the hedges and ditches. Informant ſaith, that his houſe has been burned, and all his ſubſtance has been deſtroyed, and that he was at laſt obliged to fly to the city of Dublin for protection.

JERVIS PUE.

Sworn before me the 29th day of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING.

The rebellion in the King's and Queen's county.

IN theſe the defenders had exiſted before an attempt was made to organize them by the United Iriſhmen, which took place in the beginning of the year 1797.

We find in the report of the ſecret committee * that the King's county was reckoned one of the beſt organized in the kingdom.

Popiſh fanaticiſm was the only ſpring of action among the rebels there, and the diſcovery of it by a proteſtant of republican principles, who had been deluded by them, prevented the fatal effects of the plot. †

He pointed out the captains who were to have headed the conſpiracy, on which many of them fled, and others were taken up.

Many of them, the confidential ſervants of noblemen and gentlemen, in whoſe families they had lived long, were to have ſurpriſed and murdered their maſters.

Two opulent ſhopkeepers of the name of Dempſey, in the town of Tullamore, were captains, and were tried and convicted of being ſuch. As one of them had been principally concerned in the maſſacre at Rathangan, the ſquadron,

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* Appendix, No. XXXI.

† I already mentioned under the head, 'Attack on Rathangan,' that this was effected by one Dennis an apothecary.

dron, who had ſuffered ſo much there, requeſted to have the ſatisfaction of hanging them; and they accordingly did ſo, and buried them in the barrack yard.

The inhabitants of the town, to teſtify their concern for the fate of their fellow-traitors, cloſed their doors and windows, and obſerved a dead ſilence during the execution.

Coffey, a captain, was taken up, and threatened to be whipped, but after a ſolemn invocation to the Almighty, declared his innocence. He ſtill remained obdurate, after receiving ſeventy-five laſhes. Next morning, when he was on the point of receiving ſeventy-five more, he ſent for general Dunn, and confeſſed that he had been ſworn, but denied that he had ever acted with the rebels, on which the general diſmiſſed him; and yet within a fortnight after, he was engaged in a committee of United Iriſhmen, and deeply concerned in a conſpiracy to attack the king's troops at Philipſtown and Tullamore, and had ſworn his ſon, a yeoman, to join in it. Having been convicted of theſe crimes, he was hanged, and buried in the ſtable of the barrack.

On the trial of Andrew Ryan, a ſhopkeeper, it appeared in evidence, and which he acknowledged himſelf, that he had been a member of the ſociety ſince the year 1792, and that the object of it was to ſubvert the exiſting government. He muſt have meant the defenders, as the United Iriſhmen had not attempted to organize the King's county at that time.

By a court martial, held by orders of general Dunn, two men were convicted of ſwearing a perſon to be in readineſs to attack Tullamore, and murder the proteſtants. There was much diſaffection among the popiſh yeomen in the King's county. Of eighteen papiſts in the Dunkerrin cavalry, ſeventeen were ſworn as United Iriſhmen, and five of them were convicted of being concerned in robbing houſes of arms. Some or moſt of the papiſts in the Shinrone, Roſcrea, Caſtleotway and Nenagh corps, were ſworn to be true to the united cauſe, though they had taken the oaths of allegiance.

An oath was framed by general Dunn, with a paragraph, importing, that they would ſurrender any arms in their poſſeſſion, and diſcover ſuch perſons as had any in their cuſtody. But this produced no effect whatever, and no diſcoveries were made, or arms yielded up, until ſome of the notorious rebels, on being flogged, gave full information;

tion; and on this, great quantities of pikes were ſurrendered by thoſe very perſons who had taken the above oath. A ſhort time before the rebellion broke out, numbers of popiſh farmers ſtrenuouſly urged to be admitted into the yeoman corps, for no other purpoſe, as appeared afterwards, than to acquire arms and military diſcipline; and ſome of them bought very good horſes, to induce the officers to prefer them to proteſtants, who were not ſo well mounted. It was obſerved that the maſs of the people were very ſober and diſcreet for a conſiderable time before the rebellion broke out, which aroſe from their having taking an oath not to drink more than a naggin of whiſkey in the courſe of the day.

A magiſtrate,* who lives in a country much ſubject to tumult and diſturbance, on the confines of the King's county and Tipperary, aſſured me, that no information had been ſworn before him, for ſome time previous to it.

It is obſervable that not a ſingle inſtance occurred of diſloyalty in any of the proteſtant yeomen; at leaſt I could not hear of ſuch, after the moſt minute enquiry.

A ſhort time before the general exploſion, a printed letter, from the executive directory in Dublin, was diſperſed in the King's county, recommending to the rebels to riſe on a particular night, and to repair to Slievebloom mountain, where they would receive further orders.

Every thing that could incite or ſtimulate the multitude to action, was mentioned in it; and to inflame them againſt the proteſtants of the church of Ireland, whoſe unſhaken loyalty was well known, it was ſaid the orangemen would riſe and murder the Roman catholicks.

In the King's county the rebels never aſſembled but once, on the twentieth of Auguſt, when they were to have been joined by their brethren of the Queen's county, and to have formed a camp at the Devil's-bit; but the latter having diſappointed them, the former were ſoon diſperſed by the Dunkerrin and Shinrone yeomen.

The maſs of the people in the King's and Queen's county are papiſts; the gentlemen of landed property in general, and many of the farmers and ſhopkeepers, are proteſtants; there are but few preſbyterians in them. Though the ſtate of the former was in general very alarming, the number of proteſtants in Roſcrea and its vicinity were ſo great, and they were ſo loyal and courageous, as to overawe the diſaffected, and to repreſs their hopes of ſucceeding in

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* James F. Rollerton, eſquire.

the inſurrection there; and yet a numerous corps of United Iriſhmen was organized in and about that town.

The circumſtances attending the rebellion in the Queen's county were exactly ſimilar to thoſe in the King's county, except that it was not ſo well organized. Religious fanaticiſm was almoſt the only engine made uſe of by the directory to inflame the multitude in it; and the extirpation of proteſtants, under the name of orangemen, was held out to them as an irreſiſtible lure.

To diſarm ſuſpicion, and lull the magiſtrates, oaths of allegiance were taken, and, as a matter of courſe, were afterwards violated; and there was much diſaffection among the popiſh yeomen.

The inſurrection was prevented in it by the following incident:

A meſſenger was ſent from the directory in Dublin, with a letter to a man of the name of Deegan, a leader of the United Iriſhmen, to fix the time for riſing; in a miſtake, he went to a loyal perſon of the ſame name, who entertained and plied him with drink; and in the mean time ſent for a guard of ſoldiers, who conveyed him a priſoner to Stradbally, and he was afterwards hanged at Maryborough. Many murders and atrocities were committed in this county, and moſt of the proteſtant houſes were plundered of arms, except ſuch whoſe inmates were able to defend them.

The conſpiracy in the county of Clare.

THE firſt ſymptoms of the conſpiracy appeared in the county of Clare, in the ſummer of the year 1797, when it was diſcovered that at Ennis and in its vicinity, numbers of people had formed clubs and combinations, and had taken illegal oaths; but no certain proof was obtained of it till the month of October, when a countryman having attempted to ſwear a gentleman's ſervant in that town, his maſter perſuaded him to give information againſt the countryman; on which he was committed to goal. When he was arreſted, he threw away from him, for fear of diſcovery, the conſtitution and the teſt oath of the United Iriſhmen, printed on fine paper and with an excellent type. On his committal, he ſaid, that he would make a full diſcovery of what he knew, but that he feared it would put his life in danger; having been aſſured of the contrary, he confeſſed that many perſons had come from Dublin for the purpoſe of forming aſſociations, which were cemented by oaths; and that they wore green ribands, having embroidered on them in gold the harp without the crown, and the words, Erin go bragh, meaning "Ireland for ever." Among others he charged one Thady Griffy, a ſerge weaver, with being very active in diſſeminating the principles and doctrines of the United Iriſhmen. He was a canting hypocrite, who was engaged, and deeply verſed in the myſteries of the Carmelites, and affected an extraordinary ſanctity and auſterity of manners, which he aſſumed as a cloak to conceal the moſt flagitious and turbulent principles. He was tried at the ſpring aſſizes of 1798 at Ennis; but by the ſeduction of ſome witneſſes, the intimidation of others, and the puzzling of thoſe who meant to declare the truth, by the gentlemen of the bar, he was acquitted, and immediately chaired by his rebellious friends, who in immenſe numbers celebrated their triumph over juſtice by vociferous acclamations, and with all the wantonneſs of ſavage joy.

A number of ſtrangers, who were all of the Carmelite order, went into the county of Clare in the year 1796, and ſettled in the barony of Tullagh, on the borders of the county of Galway. The moſt part of them were weavers, and as they were very induſtrious, and ſeemed to have a great purity of morals, conſtantly recommending ſobriety and good order to the multitude, the gentlemen of the country rejoiced at their arrival. Thus they continued to be protected, till the winter of the year 1798, when they began to hold ſecret nightly meetings, to plunder the houſes of proteſtants, particularly the yeomen, of arms, and to cut down great quantities of young aſh trees to make pike handles, and to employ the blackſmiths in making pikes. On the twelfth and thirteenth of January, 1799, they and the proſelytes whom they initiated into the Carmelite order, to the number of ſeveral thouſands, aſſembled in the day at Milltown and Inniſtimmon, and moved forward apparently with an intention of meeting the king's troops; but on their approach under general Meyrick, they fled to the mountains of Slievecullane, which are inacceſſible; they pretended to ſurrender their arms, but it was well known that they kept the beſt, and the greater part of them. Soon after their riſing they houghed great quantities of cattle, for which compenſation was made to the ſufferers by large ſums of money levied by the grand jury on the county; they went with unparalleled aſſurance next day, to the places where they had committed theſe acts of ſavage cruelty, to carry off the fleſh of the poor animals that they had butchered the preceding night; and lamenting with diſſimulation the perpetration of them, ſaid, as they are killed,* we may as well as any other perſons carry home the meat. They killed ſome of them which were not quite dead. Mr. Lyſaght was the only perſon of conſideration concerned with them, and he engaged in the buſineſs merely from private reſentment to individuals; he was tried, convicted and tranſported.

The pariſh prieſt of Kilfenora, of the name of Carrick, was committed on the following charge: That during the inſurrection, a great number of theſe rebellious hypocrites were proceeding in a body to plunder the houſe of Mr. Smith of Smithſtown of arms, and that they were entertained by Carrick, who exhorted them to unite, and be zealous in the cauſe, as the French would ſoon land and give them ample aſſiſtance. The proſecutor who charged Carrick was kept in the guard-houſe of Ennis, where ſome vagabonds pretending to make a riot, the guard ruſhed into the ſtreet to quell it, on which the informer made his eſcape, according to a preconcerted ſcheme.

The magiſtrates diſcovered at that time an itinerant Carmelite who ſeemed to be a high prieſt of that order; he had a long beard, and a cowl like the Capuchin friars, and a cloak which he hooked over his chin, and prevented, when he choſe, his beard from being ſeen; he had a long brown ſhirt which reached to the ground, and on the breaſt of it, there was the image of a coffin in white; he had one bag full of ſcapulars which he ſold to the beſotted multitude, and another full of ſhreds to make them; he had many little religious books, containing the moſt abominable ſuperſtitious doctrines, and which the prieſts conſtantly circulate among their flock. He ſaid, that he went from one holy well to another, where he preached to a numerous auditory, who never failed to attend him. He had recently come from a holy well near Burren, where a great concourſe of people aſſembled, under religious pretences, but in reality to promote rebellion. It appeared by ſome papers found on him, that he was a Northern man, and had fled from near Belfaſt in conſequence of having committed ſome crime. He was diſcovered by a gentleman who over-heard him preaching to a number of people in a weaver's houſe, where he was inveighing againſt proteſtants, and the government of Ireland. The magiſtrates urged the pariſh prieſt to baniſh him; but he ſaid that he could not venture to do ſo, though he highly diſapproved of ſuch perſons, for his ſubſiſtence depended on the will of the people; and as they had a ſtrong predilection for ſuch holy men, he ſhould incur their diſpleaſure by denouncing him; but he ſaid he would be glad that he was removed.

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* They killed great numbers of them in the night.

The conſpiracy in the county of Waterford in the years 1797 *and* 1798.

A ſlight ſketch of the ſtate of the conſpiracy in the counties of Waterford, Cork, and Tipperary, will anſwer to ſhew the leading principles of the rebels in the province of Munſter, and the deſigns by which they were actuated.

IN the county of Waterford, the inhabitants of large diſtricts were ſworn, and the proteſtants in them were diſarmed, in the courſe of a few nights. The main object of the rebels, who were excluſively papiſts, was to join the French on their landing, to extirpate proteſtants, and even ſuch perſons of their own order as ſhould oppoſe them, to plunder wealth, and confiſcate landed property; but it could not be diſcovered, that they were headed by any perſons of education and fortune. The Roman catholick gentlemen, much to their honour, remained loyal; but from the paucity of their numbers, they muſt have yielded to the wiſhes of the multitude to preſerve their lives and fortunes, if the conſtitution had been ſubverted. It is moſt certain that a general inſurrection would have taken place in the county of Waterford, in the winter of 1797, but that a large body of troops was introduced into it, and divided into cantonments; and that many diſtricts were proclaimed on the fourth of December, 1797. However, ſuch was the infatuation of the people, that they would have riſen before theſe events took place, but for the following difficulty which occurred: The farmers were the leaders, and the peaſants, who were to be the immediate and efficient inſtruments in the buſineſs, objected at firſt to co-operate with them, becauſe they had no proſpect of being rewarded for the imminent danger which they ſhould incur; while the others were to enjoy in fee ſimple the farms which they rented. However, it is believed, that theſe difficulties were overcome; for plans were formed for murdering moſt of the gentlemen reſident in the country, and for deſtroying their houſes; and even nights were fixed on for that purpoſe. It was remarkable that the conſpirators held the yeomanry in the greateſt deteſtation: The following anecdote will prove that, and the very depraved ſtate of the popiſh multitude:

Thomas Scammadon, a yeoman in the Cappoquin corps, juſt of age, was going on Sunday the twelfth of November, 1797, from that town to Claſhmore, about ten miles off; and as he paſſed through the village of Agliſs, when the popiſh congregation were leaving the chapel, his red uniform attracted their notice, and marked him for an object of their vengeance. Some of them invited him to drink in an alehouſe, to which all the traitors of the adjacent country had reſorted after maſs, in order to form their plots. They amuſed themſelves with his ſinging, (for he was a famous ſongſter) till it was dark; and then offered to adminiſter to him the United Iriſhman's oath; but he refuſed it, having ſaid, that he had taken an oath of allegiance a few days before. Finding that his loyalty was unſhaken, a party of them retired to another room, as a committee, and condemned him to die; and in obedience to the ſentence, two of his pot companions waylaid him, about half a mile out of the village, and murdered him, having perforated his body in eighteen different places with his own bayonet.

In the pariſh of Modeligo, a committee of aſſaſſination, conſiſting of twelve farmers, in very good circumſtances, deliberately condemned one Thomas Curreen to die in the month of October, 1797, for no other reaſon, than that they ſuſpected he would not keep their ſecrets, for he was one of the brotherhood. They then proceeded in the dead hour of the night, with a number of their aſſociates, and ſhot him, after which every one preſent was obliged to inflict a wound on the body; this atrocity was afterwards proved by the information of one of the party. When they called Curreen out of his houſe, and informed him that he muſt die for the good of the cauſe, he aſked permiſſion to have the aſſiſtance of a prieſt before he was put to death; but they ſaid, that they ſhould not have time for that purpoſe, and that they would ſay a prayer for his ſoul. They therefore kneeled down, croſſed themſelves, and implored the divine favour for the ſoul of the victim whom they were going to immolate.

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kneeled down, croſſed themſelves, and implored the divine favour for the ſoul of the victim whom they were going to immolate. It has ſince been diſcovered, that at leaſt ſix hundred perſons were preſent at this murder, and that ſome opulent and well-educated farmers were the leaders in it, and fired the firſt ſhots.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1798, the prieſt of that pariſh and ſeven hundred and eighty of his pariſhioners aſſembled at their chapel, publiſhed a declaration of their loyalty, and of their abhorrence of the principles and practices of the United Iriſhmen, which they publiſhed in the Dublin Journal, though it was well known, that they were as generally and deeply infected with them, as thoſe of any other pariſh in the county.

By informations ſworn before Henry St. George Cole, eſquire, by Michael Hiffernan, turnpike-keeper of Red Cliffe in the county of Waterford, 27*th of January,* 1798,

IT appears, that ſome time in the month of November, 1797, one Thomas Chriſtopher of Abbey-ſide, in ſaid county, aſſembled with ſeven or eight hundred United Iriſhmen in a field near Cuſhcam, with a treaſonable deſign of taking ſome cannon out of the Vulture privateer, then lying at Dungarvan, in order to level a number of gentlemen's houſes, particularly that of the marquis of Waterford at Curraghmore, and murdering a number of gentlemen, particularly colonel Uniacke, and captain Cole; and that ſaid Thomas Chriſtopher went to informant three different days, and required him to give his conſent to put this deſign into execution.

The ſame informant ſwore before the ſaid magiſtrate, the twenty-fourth of March, 1798, that the United Iriſhmen in and about Dungarvan, aſſembled at different times in great numbers, in the autumn of 1797, and took arms from different people, and committed various outrages; and ſwore numbers of people to be true to their cauſe.

That on the ſeventh of October, they cut off one of the ears of Patrick Sheehan of Glynbeg; that they pulled and proſtrated a quantity of corn in ſtack belonging to colonel Uniacke; that on the eighteenth of November, 1797, they reſolved to take five pieces of cannon out of the Vulture privateer, in order to level the houſe of Curraghmore, and to take away the lives of colonel Uniacke, Henry St. George Cole, eſquire, Richard Power of Claſhmore, eſquire, John Muſgrave of Ballyin, eſquire, Richard Barrett of Snugborough,

rough, eſquire, Roger Dalton, eſquire, the reverend Jabez Henry,[*] ſeveral others, and of all informers.

Anne Connor ſwore an information before Thomas Garde, eſquire, that her huſband Richard Connor, a police conſtable of the county of Waterford, and pariſh clerk of the pariſh of Temple Michael in ſaid county, was murdered about the nineteenth of November, 1797, and was buried in ſome place unknown to informant; and that ſome of his clothes and other articles belonging to him were found ſoon after in the houſe of Michael Smyth of Garryduff in ſaid county. Sworn the eighth of December, 1797.

By informations ſworn before John Keane, eſquire, thirtieth December, 1797, John Landy, alias Landers of Dromore in the county of Waterford, blackſmith, alleged that on the night of Sunday the twelfth of November, he ſaw the body of Thomas Scammadon of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, yeoman, lying dead in the road between Agliſs and Claſhmore; and that Thomas Roche, and James Hickey, who had murdered ſaid Scammadon, were ſtanding near the body; and that they threatened to murder informant, unleſs he would aſſiſt them in removing ſaid body into an adjacent field, with which he complied; and ſwore him by the croſs to keep ſecret what he ſaw.

A police conſtable in the county of Waterford, depoſed before the author of this work the third of December, 1797, that the united Iriſhmen aſſembled often in the barony of Decies tumultuouſly and in great numbers, and deprived him of his arms on the tenth of November, 1797; that they had reſolved to murder many gentlemen in the country, and to level their houſes; and that he heard them ſay, that John Muſgrave, eſquire,[†] of Ballyin, Richard Power of Claſhmore, eſquire, and Pierce Power of Affane, eſquire, were to be ſerved ſo; that he heard ſome of the United Iriſhmen ſay, that a Roman catholick would enſure ſalvation by killing three proteſtants.[‡]

Michael Morriſey of Ballykarroge, farmer, ſwore an information dated the twentieth January, 1798, before John Keane, eſquire, that a number of United Iriſhmen fired many ſhots into his houſe, and compelled him to ſwear to be true to their cauſe, and to kill all informers, and they threatened to murder him inſtantly if he refuſed; they ſwore him other oaths which he did not recollect.

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[*] All magiſtrates and men of fortune.

[†] His name and place of abode are concealed leſt he ſhould be aſſaſſinated.

[‡] An aſſaſſin of the name of Keefe often lay in wait to ſhoot him.

James Parker of Killvogue in the county of Waterford, farmer, ſwore an information dated twenty-firſt January, 1798, before William Kirby, eſquire, that Daniel Killiger, alias Cox, ſwore him the United Iriſhman's oath; and that he would keep his ſecrets, and that he would inform him if the gentlemen of Tallow would take any ſteps againſt him or his friends; that ſaid Cox owned he was ſworn to be true to the French who would land in Ireland in December, and he recommended to him not to pay his debts, or any rent; and that when they landed he adviſed him to go to him, or ſome other friend, to be ſworn thoroughly, as it would be neceſſary for his protection.

An information of Mary Burke, ſworn ſecond January, 1798, before L. H. Jephſon, eſquire, a magiſtrate of the county of Waterford; that a number of men whoſe names are ſet forth, entered the houſe of Walter Wall of Maſs-hill in ſaid county, on Wedneſday twenty-ſecond November, 1797, and ſwore him, his father, and brother, to be juſt and true to them, to keep ſecret what he ſaw and heard, to pull down taxes and petty landlords; to be true to the French when they would land, and to weed out proteſtants as they would an ear of corn.

William Flynn ſwore an information dated the ſecond day of January, 1798, before Michael Keane, eſquire, a magiſtrate of the county of Waterford, that about the eighth day of Auguſt, 1797, Maurice Power, attended by other United Iriſhmen, ſwore him in the town of Dungarvan, to be true to the French convention, his God, and his brothers, which words he read out of a paper.

Michael Heffernan ſwore an information before Henry St. George Cole, eſquire, the twenty-ſeventh January, 1798, that about the night of the ſeventh of November preceding, Thomas Quealy and others went to the houſe of Michael Morriſſy of Ballykarroge, broke his windows, dragged him out of his houſe, and ſwore him to be true to the French convention, and extorted money from him; that ſome time in ſaid month, the ſaid Thomas Quealy held a meeting near Cuſhcam, of ſeven or eight hundred United Iriſhmen, for the purpoſe of going to Dungarvan, to take cannon out of the Vulture privateer, with a view of levelling the marquis of Waterford's houſe at Curraghmore, and of murdering colonel Uniacke, captain Cole, and others.

Patrick Fling ſwore an information the ſecond of January, 1798, before the reverend Jabez Henry, that

Thomas Quealy ſwore informant in the town of Dungarvan, an oath of ſecreſy, to be true to the French convention, and to have a brotherly love for each other.

Morgan Fowlow of Dungarvan, ſwore an information the fourth of January 1798, before Roger Dalton, eſquire, a magiſtrate, that John Driſcol, and David Bohan, ſwore him the firſt of November preceding, to love God and his brothers, to be true and faithful to the French and their convention, and to put all traitors to death.

Laurence Collins of Dungarvan ſwore an information the thirty-firſt of December, 1797, that John Driſcol, and many others, on the twenty-eighth inſtant at Dungarvvan, ſwore him to be true to the French, and to cut and hack all his majeſty's true and loyal ſubjects, and to join the French whenever they ſhould land.

William Sheehan ſwore an information the thirty-firſt of January, 1798, before Roger Dalton, eſquire, that a party of United Iriſhmen entered his houſe on the night of the ſeventh of October, 1797, and that his left ear was cut off by Michael Quinlan.

Richard Cahill ſwore an information the firſt of January, 1798, that Patrick Heavy, carpenter, ſome time in the month of November, 1797, agreed to ſhoot Henry St. George Cole, eſquire, and that a ſubſcription was made up for that purpoſe.

John Goolding and John Keys ſwore to the ſame purpoſe.

Michael Heffernan ſwore an information the fourth of January, 1798, before Michael Keane, eſquire, that Patrick Tagly of Abbey-ſide, ſhoemaker, went to him four times in the month of November, to concert meaſures for taking cannon out of the Vulture privateer, for the purpoſe of leveling the marquis of Waterford's houſe; and that he aſked the conſent and aſſiſtance four different times of informant, to murder R. Uniacke, eſquire, Richard Power, of Claſhmore, eſquire, John Muſgrave, eſquire, Pierce Barron, eſquire, Richard Barrett, eſquire, Roger Dalton, eſquire, Pierce Power, eſquire, H. St. George Cole, eſquire, and the reverend Jabez Henry.

Many aſſaſſinations were committed in the county of Waterford, in the autumn and winter of 1797.

The moſt noted was that of one Colclough, a publican, within three miles of Youghal. A numerous body of ruffians broke into his houſe in the night, murdered him, his wife, and ſervant maid, and mangled their bodies in a moſt ſavage manner. They were led to do ſo by a ſuſpicion that he had given information againſt ſome of them, who had houghed his cows.

It was proved that a neighbouring prieſt who has been ſince tranſported, gave the perpetrators of this horrid crime abſolution, for having committed it, and for other murders intended to be perpetrated.

It has ſince appeared, that many of the farmers and labourers in Colclough's neighbourhood were concerned in murdering him and his family.

John Brown, a farmer, depoſed before John Keane, eſquire, a magiſtrate, the fourth of January, 1798, that the object of the United Iriſhmen, in the county of Waterford was to murder all the proteſtants as ſoon as the French ſhould land, and to join them. All theſe informations are in the crown office.

The conſpiracy in the city of Waterford.

THE conſpiracy at Waterford was as terrifick and as general, as in Dublin or Cork, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. The conſpirators were to have riſen, to have ſet fire to the city in different places, and to have maſſacred all the loyal ſubjects in it, if the rebels had ſucceeded in taking the town of Roſs.

The conſpiracy was diſcovered in the following manner: A perſon who happened to be in a publick houſe at Johnſtown, a ſuburb of the city, overheard, through a thin partition, a number of the conſpirators conferring in the next room on the plot which was to be carried into execution, on the eruption of the rebellion. They were, in the firſt place, to ſet fire to Mr. Alexander Alcock's houſe, which is about a quarter of a mile from the city; and as he was a member of the corporation, and had numerous and reſpectable connections in it, they knew that the moſt conſiderable perſons in Waterford, their retainers and dependants, would fly to his aſſiſtance, and that the fire engines would be carried there. During their abſence, occaſioned by this wicked device, they were to ſet fire to the city in different places at the ſame time; and ſuch was their malignity, that, for the ſake of concealment, and the better to carry their treaſonable deſigns into execution, they meant to have ſet fire to their own houſes* in the firſt inſtance.

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* The rebels did ſo in Enniſcorthy and Roſs.

The perſon who overheard the conſpirators repaired directly to counſellor Paul, and revealed to him what he had heard, but under the ſtricteſt injunction of ſecreſy.

Mr. Paul conducted him ſecretly to Humphrey May, eſquire, collector of the revenue at Waterford, and a magiſtrate for the city and county, and he gave full information to him upon oath, of the whole of what he had heard; on which Mr. May took up many of the conſpirators, and among others one Bohan, a baker, who, though enrolled in a yeomanry corps, and had taken the oath of allegiance, was one of the leaders of the conſpiracy.

As the maſs of the people of Carrick-on-Suir, and moſt of the yeomen there were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy, and as they were to have repaired to Waterford, to co-operate with their fellow traitors there, on the general inſurrection, Bohan uſed to go there three or four times a week, to concert meaſures for their future operations.

One Sargent, a publican, was alſo deeply concerned in the plot.

As the yeomen officers, and ſome of the principal gentlemen of the town, dined frequently at his houſe, and uſually left their ſwords in an antichamber, he laid a plan of cutting them off while at dinner. Carey, a ſtone-cutter, deeply concerned in the conſpiracy, was taken up, and on being examined, inſiſted on his innocence; but on receiving about a dozen laſhes of a cat-o'nine tails, he acknowledged that he was engaged in the plot, and confeſſed all the circumſtances which had been diſcovered and related by the perſon who overheard the conſpirators at Johnſtown; and at the ſame time, he diſcloſed the names of his principal accomplices, who were immediately arreſted.

The conſpirators had ſeduced a great number of the Clare militia, quartered ſome months at Waterford, who were to have acted with them on the general inſurrection; and it appeared that their artillery-men were to have fired on the city, with their battalion guns, from a hill which hung over it.

It is to be lamented that there was a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection among the Roman catholick yeomen of Waterford, for which many of them were diſmiſſed; and it was proved, that they had entered into the ſervice for no other purpoſe but to acquire arms and a knowledge of military diſcipline.

The plot was conducted with ſo much ſecreſy in Waterford, that a very reſpectable inhabitant of it, and a member of the corporation, who piqued himſelf on the loyalty and tranquillity of its inhabitants, was on the point of inſerting in the Waterford newſpaper a warm panegyrick on them, the day on which the plot was diſcovered.

The honourable colonel Burton, who commanded in Waterford for ſome time after the battle of Roſs, aſſured me, that many Roman catholicks, in rather a reſpectable ſituation, went privately to him, acknowledged that they were concerned in the plot, expreſſed contrition for it, and craved his protection and the mercy of government; and that he never diſcloſed their names.

So ſure were the conſpirators, that a general riſing would take place in conſequence of the ſuppoſed victory of their friends at Roſs, with whom they kept up a cloſe and conſtant intercourſe, that money was given out to meſſengers by their treaſurers, to repair to the ſouth and weſtern parts of the country, to invoke the maſs of the people to riſe. But the ſucceſs of the king's troops at Roſs defeated their ſchemes.

As many of the fugitives from Roſs to Waterford, announced in their flight, that the rebels had been ſucceſsful, moſt of the labourers and farmers in that part of the county of Kilkenny oppoſite to Waterford ſuddenly deſerted their different occupations, and repaired to their fellow traitors: But on diſcovering their diſappointment, they returned; and, dreading that their conduct would bring on them the vengeance of the law, they ſlunk into Waterford, and repaired to ſome magiſtrates there, to take the oath of allegiance, in hopes of getting protections, to ſcreen themſelves from the penal conſequences of their treaſon.

On the trial of Edmond Quin, for being a rebel, held at Waterford, the ſeventeenth of July, 1799, by court martial, it appeared, that he told John Whelan, when they were both priſoners in the gaol of Waterford, that if matters had remained as they were in the height of the troubles, for two days and two nights, Waterford would have been taken by the United Iriſhmen, and that in two months from that time, they would be in poſſeſſion of it.

The facts contained in this account of the conſpiracy at Waterford are not founded on vague aſſertion, but were proved on court martials, which I have read.

On many of the trials of the diſaffected inhabitants of Roſs and Waterford it appeared, that there was a conſtant intercourſe between them, and that the fate of Waterford was to have depended on the ſucceſs of the rebel army at the former.

By a court martial held at Waterford, the twenty-ſecond of June, 1798, John Abbott was convicted of having conſpired to aſſiſt the rebels in an inſurrection in that town, and of ſaying that he would ſet fire to his own houſe for the purpoſe of confounding the army; and that he declared, that Thomas Gough and Michael Bohan were preparing to do the ſame. It was proved alſo that he had concealed arms.

On the trial of Garret Murphy, by court martial, held at Waterford, the twenty-fifth of July, 1798, captain Lowrie, of the thirteenth regiment, preſident, it was proved, that Mr. Thomas Anthony, architect, who had employed the priſoner, pretended that he had been an United Iriſhman, for the purpoſe of learning his ſecrets, and that Murphy informed him a few days after the battle of Roſs, that he had been, previous to that event, with Mr. Colclough, in the county of Kilkenny, and that Mr. C. having left him, went to Carrick and Clonmell, to prepare the people there for riſing: That he told Mr. Colclough of the inſurrection intended in Waterford, and that he muſt go there to ſave a particular friend: That he was ſure the king's troops would be compleatly defeated, as there were ſo many United Iriſhmen encamped in the county of Wexford. He told him that there were arms in the outlets of the city of Waterford: That he had been concealed in a ditch in the county of Kilkenny, near Roſs, and miſſed fire twice at two gentlemen, who rode by in their way to Waterford; and that one of them, when they proceeded a little farther, was ſhot in the arm: He believed one to be young Mr. Tottenham; that Waterford was the object of the United Iriſhmen, when they had defeated the king's troops at Roſs; but that city had nothing to fear, unleſs they ſucceeded there. Mr. Anthony gave a moſt excellent character of him, but fanaticiſm had made him a rebel.

Before a court-martial held at Waterford, the twentieth of June, 1798, Patrick Rourke was found guilty of conſpiring with others, in an inſurrection, and an attack upon Waterford, and that at a meeting of United Iriſhmen at his houſe, he declared, that, for the good of the cauſe, he would ſet fire to his own houſe; and that he ſaid, the object of ſetting fire to the houſe was, to create confuſion among the king's troops, the eaſier to overcome them. It was proved alſo, that it was ſaid at his houſe, that ſome of the Clare militia, then quartered in Waterford, were to ſeize the cannon, arms and ammunition, for the purpoſe of taking the city.

William Lewis, a ſoldier of the Clare regiment, propoſed at the houſe of Patrick Rourke, in the preſence of ſome of his fellow-ſoldiers, and the United Iriſhmen of Waterford, to ſeize the cannon and ammunition then in that city, and to carry them upon the hill, and to fire on it; and that that plan had been agreed upon in the preſence of the militia men.

By a court-martial held at Waterford the ſixth of July, 1798, corporal Curry of the Clare regiment, Simon Ryan, and Thomas Reilly, privates of the ſame, were convicted of being concerned in the conſpiracy to ſeize the city and all the cannon in it, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the rebels in taking it; and in having conſpired to murder all their officers, except lieutenant Mc. Mahon, who was a Roman catholick. It was propoſed there alſo by one Carey, to murder the union corps of that city. At the ſame meeting, corporal Woods, in the artillery of the Clare regiment ſaid, that he had eight or ten United Iriſhmen in the artillery, who would draw the guns up the hill, and fire on the town: That a committee was formed to carry that plan into execution. Garret Murphy confeſſed on his examination before ſome magiſtrates, that John Forreſtall, publican, at New Roſs, told him, that the rebel army would march through the county of Kilkenny to Waterford, if the king's troops were beaten at Roſs: That great numbers of people at Waterford and Roſs, ſome of whom he mentioned, were concerned as officers, or privates, and that he was a ſerjeant, and uſed to collect 6dh. per month, from the men under his command, which he paid to meſſieurs Hunt, Foot, and Farrell, who were captains, for the purpoſe of ſending meſſengers to Dublin. It was very fortunate that the rebels in the county Kilkenny miſtook the day deſtined for the attack upon Roſs.

By two court martials held at Waterford, one on the fourteenth of June, the other the twenty-third of July, 1798, it was proved that Walter Power, Richard Connolly, and James Hynes, went to the houſe of Mr. Valentine Lannagan, of Charleſtown, with ſome other rebels, and took his fire-arms and ammunition; and that the ſaid V. Lannagan heard the priſoners ſay in converſation, on the ſeventh of June, that, if it were not for the cannon, they would have cut off the Roſcommon regiment, which marched the day before from Waterford to Roſs, as two thouſand United Iriſhmen had aſſembled at Glanmore, on the ſixth of June, for that purpoſe.

Conſpiracy in the city of Cork.

THE conſpiracy was infinitely more terrifick in the city of Cork than in Dublin, becauſe the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, whoſe deſtruction was meditated, were much fewer in proportion to the Roman catholicks; and the conſpirators were better organized and armed, as the vigilance and the exertions of the executive power were not ſo active and vigorous as in the metropolis, the ſeat of government.

It was divided into three diviſions, the north, the centre, and the ſouth; and each of them was ſubdivided into ſections. It was diſcovered, that there were one hundred and thirty of the latter, from North-gate bridge, through Blackpool, and that portion of the city, and that each conſiſted of a ſerjeant and twelve men. They were all regimented, and had a regular gradation of officers from a colonel down to a corporal.

An immenſe quantity of pikes was fabricated in Cork. Meaſures were concerted for taking the magazine; and ſo ſure were the conſpirators of ſucceeding, that poles were prepared, exactly fitted to the ſocket of a bayonet, that they might mount them the inſtant thoſe weapons, (of which there was a great number in the magazine,) fell into their hands.

There was great diſaffection among the popiſh yeomen, particularly in the Cork legion. Donovan and Drinane continued members of it till they were arreſted; and Sweeny, the chief leader of the conſpiracy in Cork, who has been tranſported to Botany Bay, was ſeized and committed a ſhort time after he had been expelled from the corps, for diſobedience of orders, in which he manifeſted notorious diſaffection. Some of them owned to perſons who became approvers, that they entered into it merely to obtain arms and a knowledge of military diſcipline. Roger O'Connor, confined in gaol, was the chief director of the union in Cork; and he paid the bills at the houſes of entertainment which were kept open for the reception of the ſoldiers, who were regaled in them *gratis*, with the moſt delicious fare; and they were even ſupplied with concubines, the more effectually to ſeduce them.

As two ſoldiers of the Dublin regiment were condemned to be ſhot for diſaffection, John Sweeny, a woollen draper, diſtributed printed hand bills, not only among the ſoldiers, but among the diſaffected of the city, and the adjacent county, inciting them to riſe in maſs, to overpower the garriſon, and to reſcue the priſoners; but doctor Harding, at that time high ſheriff, arreſted Sweeny in the gaol, while conferring with R. O'Connor, on the morning of the day that the execution of the ſoldiers took place; by which the inſurrection was defeated. The great vigilance, and active exertions of that loyal gentleman, preſerved the city of Cork from conflagration and a general maſſacre, for which many plots were formed to murder him.

A man of the name of Caſey, was hired to aſſaſſinate him, and was on the point of firing a piſtol at him, when fortunately a pig ran between his legs, and threw him down, by which the life of that valuable member of ſociety was preſerved. A committee of aſſaſſination was conſtantly ſitting in Cork, by which ſir Henry Mannix, captain Weſtropp, Mr. Shaw the collector, doctor Harding, alderman Shaw, meſſieurs Alexander and Johnſon, high conſtables, and other loyal gentlemen, were condemned; and purſuant to their ſentence, ſir Henry Mannix was fired at, and wounded, near Cork, by one Callaghan, the aſſaſſin hired to murder him; and who immediately repaired to John Sweeny, and claimed the reward which the committee had offered for killing him; but Sweeny refuſed to pay it to him, as he was not actually killed; but being a woollen draper, he gave him two ſuits of clothes, as a recompenſe for the zeal which he diſplayed in the cauſe of the union.

Four men, who became approvers at an early period of the conſpiracy, continued to attend the committees, and conſtantly gave information to the magiſtrates of every thing that paſſed; and their communications exactly correſponded with the evidence which was afterwards given on the trials of the conſpirators by different proſecutors.

They often produced black liſts of the principal proteſtant families in the kingdom, who, under the denomination of hereticks, were to be aſſaſſinated, and the Beresford family, and Mr. Ogle, were among them; and it was often aſſerted in theſe committees, that a perſon would enſure ſalvation by killing a certain number of proteſtants.*

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* This reward is held out by the council of Lateran, ſee vol. i. p. 11. of the Memoirs; and this opinion was frequently uttered and maintained by the rebels, ſee Appendix XIII. an affidavit on the ſtate of Dublin, and Whitney's Affidavit, Appendix XIX.

As captain Weſtropp's corps, all proteſtants, were conſpicuous for their loyalty, an order for aſſaſſinating them was iſſued by the grand committee, to which all the reſt were ſubordinate; and the bloody deed was to have been performed when they were proceeding to mount a piquet guard at Blarney, four miles from Cork, by a band of aſſaſſins,* who were ſupplied with blunderbuſſes for that purpoſe. When in a deep road, they were to have been fired on from the hedges on each ſide, which were high; and at the ſame time they were to have been aſſailed in front and rear, by men appointed with muſkets; but the plot was defeated by the ſeaſonable diſcovery of one of the approvers to whom I alluded.

The members of the union in Cork were ſo deſperate and ſanguinary, that a propoſal was made, and it was ſome time diſcuſſed in a committee, to murder the amiable doctor Moylan, titular biſhop of Cork, partly from motives of revenge, on account of his loyalty; but the principal reaſon aſſigned in the committee for it was, that it would be imputed to the proteſtants, and rouſe the vengeance of the Roman catholicks againſt them, as ſtrong ſtimulants were thought neceſſary at that time. The proteſtant yeomen of Cork are entitled to the higheſt praiſe for the unremitted ardour which they diſplayed, and the great fatigue which they endured, in ſupport of the conſtitution, againſt the confederated traitors, who conſpired for its deſtruction.

County of the city of Cork. } THE information of Thomas Boyle, private in captain Ormſby's company of the North Mayo regiment of militia, taken this twenty-eighth day of May, 1798. Deponent being duly ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, That ſome time ſince he got acquainted with Thomas Meagher, of Half-moon-ſtreet, publican; that about a fortnight ago deponent was brought into the houſe of ſaid Meagher, by a ſeaman, of the name of Patrick Meade, who called for a pot of porter, and taking deponent by the hand, ſqueezed and hurt him with his thumb; on deponent complaining, ſaid Meade replied, you are not a true brother, or you would return the ſqueeze; this paſſed in the preſence and hearing of Meagher before mentioned.

Deponent further depoſeth, and ſaith, that he frequently met the aforeſaid Meagher, who was remarkably civil to him, and invited deponent to his houſe; that about eight or nine days ago Meagher, in his own houſe, told informant, "that the majority of the people were ſworn brothers, and "that they would be much better off, if they had been "ſworn long ago." Said Meagher then wanted deponent to ſwear, and to get his friends in the regiment to ſwear, as no man's life would be ſafe, who was not ſworn; deponent refuſed to ſwear at that time. Deponent depoſeth and ſaith, that he informed enſign Con, and colonel Jackſon of the Mayo, of theſe converſations, and that they adviſed him to be ſworn; that on the ſame evening, being Friday the twenty-fifth of May inſtant, deponent went to the houſe of the ſaid Meagher, when the ſwearing was again ſpoken of by the ſaid Meagher, and he the deponent was then ſworn on a book by the ſaid Meagher, "to be true to the "united men, and their party, and never to draw a trigger, "or a ramrod againſt the United Iriſhmen, or againſt the "French, if they ſhould land here;" ſaid Meagher then wanted deponent to go with him to Cow-lane, where he would meet ſome friends, but deponent declined going there; ſaid Meagher adviſed deponent to get as many of the regiment ſworn as he could, and that he would give him money, and alſo adviſed him to get fire-arms and ammunition conveyed out of the barrack to him, the ſaid Meagher. Deponent further depoſeth, that ſaid Meagher ſaid he would give him money to treat the officers ſervants, and deſired he would get acquainted with them, and appeared very anxious to know when colonel Jackſon, and the head officers would dine with general Stewart; for that there was a quarry at Leitrim very convenient to kill colonel Jackſon, and that he could very eaſily make his eſcape in a boat without coming over the bridge. Meagher further told informant, that if he did not wiſh to remain here, he would give him money and coloured clothes to go to Briſtol in the packet.

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* The author has a liſt of them in his poſſeſſion.

The following very extraordinary circumſtance occurred in the conſpiracy at Cork: A ſhort time before the intended inſurrection, an order was ſent to all the inferior committees, as if from a committee of twelve prieſts, to eject from them any proteſtant members which they might have admitted. It is ſuppoſed that they were afraid of having the plot diſcovered, after it had come to maturity, knowing that the proteſtants were loyal, with but few exceptions. All the approvers have uniformly agreed, that this order was conveyed to all the inferior ſocieties, as if from the committee of twelve prieſts; and one Mockler, a ſhoemaker, who delivered all the orders, has diſappeared, leſt, it is ſuppoſed, he ſhould be led to make a diſcovery of this tranſaction, and to diſcloſe the myſteries of it.

As ſome attempts have been made to palliate the conſpiracy in the city of Cork, by aſſerting, that it was not as dangerous or extenſive as has been ſtated in this work, I think it right to obſerve, that ſir James Stewart, baronet, commanding at Cork, received orders from government to ſend part of the garriſon to the county of Wexford, to aſſiſt in the taking of Vinegar-hill; but he had ſuch ſtrong apprehenſions of an inſurrection of the rebels in Cork, that he refuſed to obey, and that he did not comply, until he received a ſecond and more peremptory order.

The reader may form ſome idea of the very alarming ſtate of the city of Cork from the following certificate, given to two perſons who had rendered moſt important ſervices by their diſcoveries relative to the atrocious deſigns of the Cork rebels:

On the 5th day of April, 1798, ——— came forward voluntarily, and made many important diſcoveries of traitorous ſocieties then in exiſtence in this city and county, tending to the entire ſubverſion of his preſent majeſty's government, religion, and laws; and of ſocieties convened, for the ſanguinary purpoſe of aſſaſſinating every loyal and well-diſpoſed perſon in the country, without any exception, particularly that by which meſſieurs St. George and Uniacke were moſt cruelly murdered; and of thoſe who made an attempt on the life of ſir Henry Mannix, a magiſtrate of this county, who, by his active exertions to cruſh the rebellious, incurred their hatred; and of a plot to murder Robert Harding, eſquire, then high ſheriff of the city, whoſe very active conduct marked him as an object of their ſanguinary vengeance. They alſo diſcovered, and proſecuted to conviction, the traitors who procured to be printed, and circulated, hand-bills for the diabolical purpoſe of ſeducing the Dublin county and North Mayo regiments of militia (then quartered in this city) from their duty and allegiance; and alſo gave informations of ſixty-nine ſocieties of United Iriſhmen in Cork, with the names and places of abode of the officers who belonged to each, many of whom were very forward and active in having pikes made, and in collecting money to forward the rebellion.

They alſo made known for what purpoſe the Sheares's came from Dublin to Cork, viz. to organize the country; and they likewiſe gave information of their having returns of men, money, and arms. The truth of the above-recited diſcoveries, and of their importance to government, have been fully aſcertained, and can be authenticated by the mayor and ſheriffs of the ſaid city of Cork. The above-recited information we received from ———, with much more, of the greateſt importance to this city and county. And we further ſay, that we never received any information from them that was not corroborated by the teſtimony or confeſſion of others, whom we took up in conſequence of the information received from them.

Cork, December 15th, 1799.

ROBERT HARDING,
High Sheriff of Cork in 1798, and from October, 1797.

T. MYERS,
Major General, commanding at Cork.

GEORGE JACK,
Local Solicitor for the Crown on the Proſecutions civil and military.

HUGH BAKER,
Deputy Judge Advocate, Southern Diſtrict.

Conſpiracy in the county of Cork.

THE organization in the county of Cork was exactly ſimilar to that which took place in every part of the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter. There were committees of aſſaſſination in every pariſh, ſimilar outrages and barbarities prevailed, and the members of the union in that county, who were almoſt excluſively Romaniſts, ſeem to have been actuated by one general deſign of joining the French, of extirpating proteſtants, and ſuch of their own perſuaſion as would not join them, and of confiſcating their property; and it appeared, on moſt of the trials, that the perſons who carried on the buſineſs of organization, and diſſeminated the doctrines of the United Iriſhmen, were ſent from the city of Cork.

To give the reader a catalogue of the many inſtances of nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination which occurred there, in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799, would only fill him with horror and diſguſt.

Mr. Robert Hutchinſon, of Codrum, near Macroom, an amiable and unoffending gentleman, was murdered in his own houſe, on the night of the 21ſt of April, 1799, by a gang of aſſaſſins, headed by one Timothy Carthy; and it appeared on his trial * that he had concerted plans with ſeveral other captains, for murdering every other gentleman in the country, and that they were to deſtroy four or five of a night.

Patrick Murphy was murdered in the month of December, 1797, at Ballymacody, near Youghall, having been previouſly condemned by a committee of aſſaſſination, conſiſting of nine perſons.

Father Neil, a prieſt of Ballymacody, was taken up, and confeſſed, that he adviſed and approved of the murder of Murphy and another man, and that he gave abſolution to the perſons who perpetrated it.

Thomas Neil, a farmer, in very opulent circumſtances, was hanged at Cork for having been privy to, and preſent at the murder of Murphy, with a drawn ſword; it is ſuppoſed at the inſtigation of his relation the prieſt. The day before his execution, he confeſſed to his landlord, Edward Hoare, eſquire, a magiſtrate, that at firſt he was loyal, and intended to join lord Boyle's corps, but was diſſuaded from it by his father, and others of his relations, (among whom it was ſuppoſed the prieſt was concerned) who induced him to ſwear the following oath: "I do moſt ſolemnly ſwear, that I will pay no rent or tythes; that I will uſe my utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy all proteſtants, and falſe brothers;† and be true to the French in caſe they land in Ireland;" and he confeſſed, that, in conſequence of his entering into this aſſociation, he preſided at the murder of Murphy; when firſt apprehended, he made ſome ſevere charges againſt his couſin, the prieſt, relative to the murder, but ſaid at the time of his execution, that he had them only by hearſay.

Before his confeſſor was admitted to him, he confeſſed his crimes in a frank and unreſerved manner, and owned that

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* His trial took place at Cork the twenty-third of May, 1799.

† By falſe brothers he meant Roman catholicks, who were not true to the cauſe.

that what he had declared was of his own certain knowledge; but after he had been viſited by his confeſſor, he became very reſerved, and ſaid, that what he had alleged againſt his relation, the prieſt, was by hearſay only.

One Deſmond, a tobacconiſt, in opulent circumſtances in Youghall, was committed on ſome treaſonable charges; and while he was in gaol, a perſon employed by him in his buſineſs, was murdered in his houſe, with circumſtances of horrid barbarity. This unfortunate man was privy to their treaſonable ſchemes; and Deſmond and his aſſociates, fearing that he would diſcloſe them, if threatened with corporal puniſhment, from his weakneſs of mind and timidity, had him aſſaſſinated. He was found hanging in a garret in Deſmond's houſe, with ſome deſperate wounds in his body; and a knife, with which they had been inflicted, lay on the ground near the body. This horrid crime was perpetrated by Deſmond's brother, and one Dunn, who came to town that day from the place where father Neil lived. The doctrines of the United Iriſhmen, and their ſyſtem, were firſt introduced into Youghall and its neighbourhood, by ſome ſoldiers of the Meath regiment quartered there, as the United Iriſhmen had ſome miſſionaries in it, and indeed in almoſt every regiment.

A young man of the county of Cork, and of the Romiſh perſuaſion, was peculiarly active in forwarding the deſigns, and in diſſeminating the principles of the United Iriſhmen, for which he attracted the notice and the eſteem of lord Edward Fitzgerald, and all the great leaders in Dublin and Cork. He had received a good ſchool education; and having afterwards turned approver, declared, that he found nothing ſo effectual to accelerate his ſcheme of proſelytiſm, as that part of Mr. Erſkine's pamphlet, which I have already quoted, as it varniſhed over the nefarious proceedings of the United Iriſhmen.* But he declared, that what crowned his efforts with ſucceſs, was gaining over to his cauſe the Romiſh prieſts, by awakening their jealouſy and hatred againſt the eſtabliſhed church, and by aſſuring them that, on the ſubverſion of the government, theirs ſhould have an aſcendancy, and ſhould enjoy a ſplendid and an opulent hierarchy; but he owned at the ſame time, that ſome of them remained immoveable by his arguments; and declared they would reſiſt any efforts to overturn the eſtabliſhed

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* This affords a good leſſon to the members of the Imperial Parliament not to interfere with the internal regulations of Ireland, without having a perfect knowledge of the ſtate of that kingdom.

bliſhed government; however, he mentioned but three of thoſe whom he attempted to ſeduce, doctor Moylan, titular biſhop of Cork, Mr. Barry of Charleville, and Mr. Barry of Mallow.

By the circulation of an addreſs to the yeomen of Ireland, which was framed by Arthur O'Connor, he was enabled to pervert a great number of thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion; but he could not make an impreſſion on any of the eſtabliſhed religion.

The conviction of various delinquents at the ſpring aſſizes of Cork in the year 1798, proved that the lower claſs of the people, who are all papiſts, were ſtrongly infected with treaſon, even in the moſt remote and barbarous parts of that immenſe county, where they are but one degree above animal inſtinct.

Denis Sullivan, and Daniel Keefe, were convicted of having compelled Luke O'Brien, a ſoldier, with a cocked piſtol at his breaſt, to ſwear that he would not be true to the king, becauſe he was not qualified, or entitled to enjoy the crown.*

Timothy Kavanagh, of having, on the twenty-eighth of March, at Sunville, fired a ſhot at Mr. William Martin, a proteſtant, whoſe hat he knocked off with a bullet.

James Coppinger, and others, of having on the thirty-firſt of March, 1798, at Skibbereen, drank ſucceſs to the French, and bad luck to their enemies.

John Collins was found guilty of having ſaid at the ſame place, on the 12th of February, 1798, George the third is a ſcoundrel and a raſcal.

Timothy Carthy, (the murderer of Mr. Hutchinſon, a few months after,) was found guilty of having, with many others, attempted to enter forcibly the houſe of Mr John Gilman, near Dunmanway, and of having fired many ſhots into it.

The manufacture of pikes was carried on univerſally, and with uncommon celerity, in every part of the county of Cork.

Nothing accelerated the progreſs of treaſon ſo much in that county, as aſſuring the lower claſs of people that the payment of rent, tythes, and taxes, would be aboliſhed by the revolution; and that they would be allowed to gratify their ſanguinary ſpirit againſt proteſtants.

So rapidly was the organization carried on, that in all the country contiguous to Mallow, Doneraile, and Charleville,

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* See this doctrine avowed by Romiſh councils and divines, pages 11, 43, and 46 of the text.

ville, the maſs of the people were ſworn, and all the proteſtants were diſarmed in the courſe of a few nights; and ſuch was the ſyſtem of terror there, that the magiſtrates would not venture to make any efforts to recover them, until lord Doneraile calling the gentlemen of the country together, encouraged them to unite; and by his own ſpirited conduct, animated them to ſtep forward in defence of their lives and property.

The leaders of the rebellion in that county uſed the ſame device which was ſucceſsfully practiſed in many other parts of the kingdom to inflame the Romaniſts againſt their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, videlicet, that they were united in clubs as orangemen; and that they had bound themſelves by oath, not to remit their exertions for the extirpation of papiſts, until they walked knee-deep in their blood; and ſuch fictions were implicitly believed, not only by the credulous multitude, but by perſons of wealth and education, though no ſocieties of orangemen had then exiſted in that county. It was diſcovered, that ſuch reports were propagated by the popiſh clergy of Youghall, and its vicinity, where they were extremely active.

In the month of March, 1798, a Roman catholick gentlewoman, in the barony of Imokilly, expreſſed very great fears to a gentleman of my acquaintance, that every perſon of her religion would be aſſaſſinated by the orangemen; but being queſtioned on the foundation of her apprehenſions, ſhe acknowledged that no orangemen had ever been ſeen in the country, and that ſhe had no other knowledge of them but by report.

The Leitrim regiment of militia, quartered between Mallow, Doneraile, and Charleville, were, on their arrival there, very loyal and obedient to their officers; but as they were Romaniſts, ſuch malignant reports ſoon made them enemies to the ſtate, and to proteſtants of every deſcription.

A ſanguinary oath, ſuppoſed to have been taken by proteſtants, and which was circulated among the ſoldiers of this regiment, had ſuch an effect on them, that thoſe quartered at Mallow, wantonly quarrelled with the Engliſh artillery ſtationed there at the ſame time, and had ſome conflicts with them, which would have been attended with much bloodſhed, but for the ſeaſonable interference of the officers of both regiments.

A committee to ſuperintend and tranſact the buſineſs of the county, ſat conſtantly in Cork; and they ſent directions to every part of it, relative to the finances, the ſeizing of arms, and the military organization; and they iſſued orders to all the country committees of aſſaſſination, to murder every perſon in their vicinity, whoſe loyalty and ſpirited exertions made him obnoxious to them.

Meſſieurs St. George and Uniacke were murdered at Arraglin, near Kilworth, on the ninth of January, 1798, by order of that committee.

One Burniſton, a moſt ſanguinary wretch, who had been one of the moſt active and efficient members of the union at Cork, iſſued the order for that purpoſe, to a committee at Arraglin; and they having accompliſhed the buſineſs, their leader wrote a letter to Burniſton, to inform him of it; and Burniſton read the letter to a perſon in Cork, who turned approver, and proſecuted him.* Burniſton had been bred a proteſtant, but confeſſed that the conſtant peruſal of Paine's Age of Reaſon, had completely extinguiſhed all religious principles in him.

The following very remarkable event happened at Kinſale, in the county of Cork: Eighteen popiſh ſoldiers of the North Mayo regiment, voluntarily conformed to the proteſtant religion, in the autumn of 1798, before the reverend Peter Foley, curate and ſovereign of that town. They unanimouſly declared, that their converſion aroſe from the accounts which they received from their own country, of ſhocking cruelties committed there, on pretence of religion; and that the heads of their communion had been the chief inſtigators to the commiſſion of them. Mr. Foley explained to them the main points of difference between the two religions; and gave them Secker's Lectures on Popery. They regularly attended the ſacrament, and received it apparently with very great devotion.

It appeared on the trial of one Simon Donovan, held at Cork, the ſixth of March, 1799, that one Long, a ſchoolmaſter, was employed by the county committee in Cork, to organize different parts of the country; and that he was a moſt active agent for them. He reported to them, that he had made a moſt rapid progreſs in a country called Carnavar; and that he had formed a committee of twelve there, conſiſting

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[*] The letter was conceived in the following words:

"CITIZEN BURNISTON,

"Your order has been obeyed, and St. George and Uniacke are no more; twenty-ſeven perſons have been taken in Arraglin, on account of their death; if you wiſh it, they ſhall be reſcued."

ſiſting of the moſt opulent farmers in that diſtrict; but that they wanted the aſſiſtance of the people of Cork, to cut off ſix perſons whom they called Stays, becauſe they, by their courage and activity, impeded materially the progreſs of the buſineſs. Sir Henry Mannix was one of theſe perſons, and in about two months after he was fired at and wounded. It was proved on the ſame trial, that races were ſet on foot at the fair green of Cork, by the county committee in Cork, for the purpoſe of aſſembling the country people to ſwear them, which anſwered that deſign very well. It was proved that Denis Lane, one of the moſt active agents, gave the following toaſt in the company of ſome United Iriſhmen at the fair green: 'That the king's ſkin may make a drumhead to beat the United Iriſhmen to arms!' which toaſt Lane and the company drank.

On the trial of Daniel Wollaghan, and Daniel Harrington, held at Cork the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1799, it appeared, that they, with eleven other ruffians armed with ſcythes on the end of poles, in the month of September, 1798, iſſued forth in the night to hough cattle; and that they accordingly houghed and mangled, in a moſt barbarous manner, the cows of different people.

In the month of May, 1798, there was a dreadful mutiny in the Meath regiment quartered at Mallow, which was excited by ſome agents of the United Iriſhmen ſent there for that purpoſe; one of them, who turned approver, aſſured me of it, and ſtated to me the particulars of it. It was occaſioned by reports ſedulouſly circulated among them of the plots of orangemen againſt papiſts.

On the trial of Peter Shea, at Cork, on the thirteenth of June, 1799, it appeared that he and others endeavoured to ſeduce the crew of the Venerable and Ajax men of war, ſtationed at the Cove of Cork.

On the night of the twenty-third of March, 1798, a band of ruffians forcibly entered the houſe of the reverend Mr. Stopford, near Blarney, ranſacked and plundered it, and broke all the doors and windows, and would have murdered him, but that he eſcaped in his ſhirt through a back window.

On the tenth of January, 1799, a number of aſſaſſins broke into the houſe of the reverend Mr. Blackwood, rifled and plundered it of arms, ammunition, and various articles, and murdered in cold blood William Hogg, a ſoldier, who was ſtationed there to guard it; and they would have aſſaſſinated Mr. Blackwood, but that he happened to be from home.

Some of the prieſts in that county refuſed to exhort their congregations to loyalty and obedience to the laws; ſome of them, when they, by deſire of the magiſtrates, preached from the altar, endeavoured rather to teach their flocks how to evade the vengeance of the law, than to remain peaceful and loyal. One of them recommended ſobriety and early hours to his congregation; becauſe, as he ſaid, there were ſocieties of orangemen forming in the country, whoſe only object was their deſtruction.

Doctor Moylan's paſtoral inſtructions, which they were all obliged to read from the altar, ſoon after the arreſt of Arthur O'Connor, in Kent, produced a very good effect, in checking the ſpirit of treaſon and diſaffection.

There were two committees of United Iriſhmen conſtantly ſitting at Bantry, who organized the whole of the South Weſt of the county, and planned a general riſing in that part, in which the Weſtmeath regiment, at that time much infected, would have joined, but that the ſeaſonable diſcovery of their deſigns, and the critical arrival of the Caithneſs Legion, defeated it. In that immenſe tract, the houſe of every proteſtant was robbed of arms, but none belonging to Roman catholicks were moleſted.

This riſing was to have been begun at Clonakilty, where the Weſtmeath was quartered, and was to have extended over the whole of the South Weſt. They were to have murdered all the proteſtant inhabitants, and ſuch of the ſoldiers as did not join them; but the arrival of the Caithneſs Legion prevented it.

I have been aſſured, that the pariſh prieſts of Roſs and Clonakilty were loyal, and endeavoured to preſerve their flocks from the contagion of treaſon.

There was no difference between the conſpiracy in the counties of Cork and Waterford, except that in the former there were ſome perſons of property concerned in it.

One O'Connor, a popiſh phyſician, who was independent in his circumſtances, was one of the leaders at Bantry.

The county of Kerry was organized, and the Limerick rebels endeavoured to incite the inhabitants to riſe; but the example which Mr. Mullins made of the defenders on the twenty-fourth of June, 1793, at Dingle, completely intimidated them.

In the month of Auguſt, 1798, forty men roſe at Caſtleiſland, murdered three yeomen, and carried off ſome arms and ammunition which they guarded. They were incited and ſummoned to riſe by a country ſchoolmaſter, the ſecretary of a committee; this was the only inſtance of inſurrection in the county of Kerry.

County of Cork. } WILLIAM HEGARTY, of Gurteen, gentleman, ſwore in his information before Redmond Barry, eſquire, the twenty-ſecond of March, 1798, that on the eleventh of March then laſt, informant was ſworn by George Walſh, Willliam Fowlue, and William Joyce, "to be true to the French, to kill, murder and deſtroy all kings and tyrants, lords and earls, miniſters and proctors."

ROBERT BOYD, and James Boyle, privates in the Roſcommon militia, ſwore in their information before Thomas Flyn, eſquire, the eighth March, 1798, that on the ſeventh of March then laſt, a man of the name of Michael Horrogan, and another man, whoſe name they did not know, went with the informants into a publick houſe, in Mallow, to take a pot of beer; that ſaid Horrogan aſked informants of what religion they were; that informants replied they were Romans; that ſaid Horrogan then ſaid, that if he could rely on their being true Romans, he would let them into a ſecret; informants aſſured him they were. Upon which ſaid Horrogan put his hand into his pocket, and pulled a book half out of it, with an intent, as he ſaid, to ſwear informants, but was prevented by the other man who was in company; that informants told ſaid Horrogan that they had already taken the oath of allegiance, and would not take any other oath; when ſaid Horrogan ſaid, that informants might do their duty, and that he would do his; and alſo ſaid, that the magazine of Cork would be burned before five nights were over; that the United Iriſhmen would riſe, and burn all before them; and that they were all United Iriſhmen from Bandon to the North.

County of Cork. } JOHN DALY, ſoldier in the Limerick light company, ſwore in his information before general Coote, the twenty-eighth of June, 1797, againſt Michael Canty, for adminiſtering to him the following oath: "That he, the ſaid John Daly, ſhould dethrone all kings, quell all nations, and plant true religion in the hearts of the juſt; that he ſhould be true to the Roman catholick defenders of Ireland, and to the French at the firſt attempt of a French invaſion in this kingdom, and ſooner if called on by the committee men; that he would never ſee a brother ſtruck or abuſed by a proteſtant on any account; that he, ſaid Daly, would not ſee a brother want when he had two pence, without ſharing it with him; that he ſhould never recommend a man of an unfair character to the ſociety; and that he, ſaid Daly, ſhould take the life of any man that would give information."*

Conſpiracy in the county of Tipperary.

THE conſpiracy in the county of Tipperary was exactly ſimilar to that in the counties of Cork and Waterford; but it was infinitely more terrifick, becauſe ſome Roman catholicks, poſſeſſed of property, were at the head of it, and all the popiſh multitude were engaged in it; and one of the chief agents of the directory in Dublin aſſured me, that the popiſh prieſts, who have at all times an unbounded influence over the common herd of papiſts, embraced the ſyſtem with eagerneſs, and promoted it with zeal. The main deſigns of the conſpirators were, to join the French, murder all the proteſtants, and to confiſcate their property. It was very fortunate that Thomas Fitzgerald, eſquire, of Liſheen, near Thurles, happened to be high ſheriff of that county, in the year 1798; for, from the ſingular boldneſs and hardihood of his character, he was peculiarly formed to ſtem the rough torrent of the times; and it is generally allowed, that by his ſpirited and ſeaſonable exertions, he prevented the maſſacre of many thouſand ſouls, and the deſtruction of half a million of property in that opulent and populous county. A man of his ſagacity and courage would have ſaved the county of Wexford from deſolation and indelible diſgrace. The firſt information which he received coſt him much trouble and expence. Being thoroughly convinced of the alarming ſtate of things, and that the barony of Ormond was the beſt organized of any part of the county, he repaired to the town of Nenagh, aſſembled the people, told them that he was well acquainted with their ſchemes and combinations, and ſeized ſome of thoſe of whoſe guilt he had undoubted information; and he announced to them in the publick ſtreets, that if the remainder, who were involved, did not acknowledge their errors, and who had led them aſtray, their ſecrets ſhould be forced from them; at the ſame time he told them, that he would give them twenty-four hours to conſider and determine what part they would take. They all made the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations of their innocence, though he had unqueſtionable proof that a general inſurrection and maſſacre was to take place in a few days. One man, deeply concerned, was taken up and whipped on the ſixteenth of May; however, he called God to witneſs his innocence, and the barbarous treatment which he received; but after receiving thirty laſhes, and having been informed where he was concerned on a particular night, in the commiſſion of a robbery and burglary, and on being aſſured that he ſhould die under his puniſhment, unleſs he made a full confeſſion, he inſinuated to a magiſtrate, that he would make a full diſcovery, if he was taken into a private room; which having been done, he gave ſuch general and important information, that numbers of arreſts were immediately made, to the aſtoniſhment of the gentlemen of the country, who were totally ignorant, until that moment, of the ſtorm which was ready to burſt over their heads, and overwhelm them. Confeſſion followed confeſſion, and a ſcene of treaſon, the malignity of which could be equalled by nothing but its extenſiveneſs, was brought to light; and the loyal ſubjects were ſurpriſed at diſcovering that a committee of aſſaſſination, at that time ſitting in the town, was actually correſponding with the military committee in Dublin; that the maſs of the people were regularly regimented, under the command of a general of diviſion, who was then in Dublin, receiving final orders preparative to the general inſurrection and maſſacre, which was to take place on the night of the twenty-third of May. Every other part of that county was regularly regimented in the ſame manner, and commanded by generals of diviſion.

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* Theſe informations are in the Crown-office.

Mr. Fitzgerald, therefore, proceeded with the utmoſt celerity, through the moſt alarming parts of it; and by whipping ſome of the moſt notorious rebels, he developed all their dark and malignant deſigns, took up ſome leaders, and hunted others out of the country; by which he broke the links of the organization, and ſaved that great and opulent county from imminent deſtruction.

He was ſo ſucceſsful in diſcovering the moſt latent views and ſecrets of the conſpirators, partly by threats and flagellation, partly by pecuniary means, and by pardoning ſome notorious delinquents, with whom he compromiſed, that the maſs of them really believed that he was endued with the power of divination; inſomuch, that wherever he went, the multitude prevented his wiſhes, and were emulous in making diſcoveries, in ſurrendering their arms, and in confeſſing their errors, dreading leſt their ſilence, being conſidered as contumacy, might provoke his vengeance. A gentleman who conſtantly attended him in his perambulations, aſſured me, that fear had operated ſo ſtrongly on them, as to produce the following effect wherever he went: On approaching a popiſh chapel, round which a numerous congregation were aſſembled, he has ordered them to fall on their knees, and they inſtantly complied. He then ordered the ſerjeants to riſe and come forward, and they inſtantly obeyed; then the captains, the majors, and the committee men ſucceſſively, and they yielded obedience. They ſurrendered their arms in every pariſh which he viſited, as ſoon as he iſſued his mandate for that purpoſe. The diſaffected were very active and ſucceſsful in ſpreading reports, that the orangemen formed plots for extirpating the Roman catholicks; in conſequence of which, the latter in great numbers deſerted their houſes in the night, and aſſembled in the fields, where they were ſworn and organized; which, and to influence them againſt proteſtants, were the ſole object of ſuch malignant ſuggeſtions; and yet no orangemen ever exiſted in that country. In conſequence of this, the inhabitants of Caſhel publiſhed the following advertiſement:

WHEREAS we have heard with much ſurpriſe and concern, that ſeveral perſons in this neighbourhood have lately been induced to deſert their habitations at night by falſe reports of being attacked by orangemen:

We, the inhabitants of the city of Caſhel, having met this day, for the purpoſe of enquiring into the origin of theſe reports, have, after the moſt minute inveſtigation, found that they are totally deſtitute of foundation; and we do hereby offer a reward of one hundred guineas, to the perſon or perſons who ſhall diſcover and proſecute to conviction, the author or authors of ſuch fabrication, and do alſo promiſe every degree of protection, to people of all perſuaſions without diſtinction.

Caſhel, September 14th, 1798.

Signed at the requeſt of the meeting,

ALEXANDER DON, *colonel, commanding in Caſhel.*
RICHARD PENNEFATHER, *captain, Caſhel cavalry.*

On the twelfth of March, 1798, at a meeting of the magiſtrates and gentry held at Nenagh, it was propoſed by the proteſtant gentry, that the Roman catholicks ſhould unite in preſerving peace and good order, and in mutually aſſiſting each other; and an oath for that purpoſe was produced, and ſeveral proteſtant gentlemen took it; but not more than one or two Roman catholicks.

On that day it was propoſed to proclaim the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, and ſeven magiſtrates were for it, and four againſt it; but from that miſtaken lenity, which has been the ruin of this kingdom, the propoſal was withdrawn, and yet ſo little did it conciliate the people, that the outrages committed by them encreaſed ſo much, that the whole county was proclaimed on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, by the unanimous vote of twenty-nine magiſtrates aſſembled at Caſhel.

The reader may form an idea of the boldneſs and audacity of the rebels in the county of Tipperary, from the following fact, ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee of 1798, of the houſe of commons, page 22: "That eight hundred inſurgents, principally mounted, inveſted the town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, and held poſſeſſion of it, until they had made a regular ſearch through every houſe, and carried off in triumph all the arms and ammunition they could find.

I ſhall refer the reader to the following informations, to ſhew him the ſtate of that county:

Phineas Hunt, a young lad, the ſon of Mr. Hunt, a proteſtant gentleman of fortune, of Cappagh, in the county of Tipperary, was impelled, by a ſyſtem of terror, to be ſworn, and to join the United Iriſhmen, in the month of February, 1798, having been aſſured, that the French would ſoon land and join them; and that all thoſe who were not of their party would be murdered: but in ſwearing him they committed a groſs error, for the oath which they exhibited to him contained an obligation to murder all the proteſtants* in the kingdom; which he acknowledged afterwards, by information dated the eleventh of April, 1798, and ſworn before

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* In thoſe counties where the rebellion did not explode, they were very retentive of this ſecret, (which was their primum mobile) in order to lull and inveigle proteſtants; but ſtill it tranſpired. When the oath was preſented, young Hunt ſtarted and ſaid, Am I to murder my father and mother, and all my family? on which the rebel officers ſeemed much confuſed, and ſaid, it was not the right oath.

fore the honourable and reverend James St. Leger, a magiſtrate of the county, which is lodged in the Crown-office.

Philip Cahill, of Kilduff, in ſaid county, ſwore an information before George Bennet, eſquire, a magiſtrate thereof, dated the eighteenth of February, 1798, and which is lodged in the Crown-office, that he was at Killea in ſaid county, where upwards of a hundred perſons were aſſembled, for the purpoſe of forming themſelves into bodies, and chuſing corporals and ſerjeants, which they did accordingly; [*here comes the names of the perſons preſent*] and ſwore all the perſons then preſent to join the French, and aſſiſt them on their landing.

Richard Murphy, of Killenaule, in ſaid county, ſwore an information before Oliver Latham, eſquire, a magiſtrate thereof, dated the twenty-ſecond of February, 1798, that being in the houſe of Pierce St. John, he was addreſſed by William Ryan, who, in the courſe of converſation, offered him a watch if he would take the defenders oath.

Michael Hogan, of Newport, ſwore before William Anderſon, a magiſtrate, dated the twelfth of March, 1798, that, on the firſt of ſaid month, he was invited by Daniel Reddy, into his houſe to drink, and in the courſe of converſation, he offered him fifty guineas if he would murder Robert Lloyd, and Francis Quinn, eſquires; and informed him, that, in the courſe of a few nights, the united men would put Mr. Waller, of Caſtle Waller, and Mr. Anderſon, of Foxhall, to death; and he ſhewed him the plan of a pike, according to which he was to get fifty made by a blackſmith.

Oliver Brown, of Boolaree, ſwore an information before George Bennet, eſquire, dated the eighteenth of April, 1798, that on the night of the firſt of March, 1798, a number of people, about four hundred, aſſembled on the hill of Tullagh, where they formed themſelves into ranks, under officers and ſerjeants; that James Keary, and Daniel Colliſon acted as officers, and that the ſaid party, marched three abreaſt into the village of Templetooky.

John Maher, of Ballingarry, ſwore before William Deſpard, eſquire, on the eighth of May, 1798, that on the night of the twenty-ninth of April, Denis Maher, of Graſhagh, gave him a written paper, containing a kind of catechiſm, or conſtitution of the United Iriſhmen, and ſwore him the oath of ſecreſy, and to be true to the ſaid conſtitution until they met again, which he told him would be the Sunday after, at Kilbechan chapel; and informant declared, that he took ſaid oath through fear of the ſaid Denis Maher and the party that attended him.

I ſhall defer diſcuſſing at preſent the policy and the good effects of whipping and free quarter, but the reader may form ſome judgment of it from the following inſtance: Mr. Otway, of Caſtle Otway, near Nenagh, had undoubted proof that the people in his populous pariſh were ſworn, organized, and well ſupplied with arms; and that they were ſoon to riſe and maſſacre all the loyal ſubjects. He then took up a fellow, well known to have been ſworn, and threatened to whip him, unleſs he diſcloſed his ſecrets of the conſpiracy; but he called God to witneſs his innocence, and offered to make an affidavit of it; but Mr. Otway ordered him to receive twenty-five laſhes in the preſence of ſir James Duff; but he perſiſted in profeſſing his ignorance of the plot. Having been tied up next day, when his ſkin was tender from the preceding whipping, he acknowledged his guilt, that the pariſh was organized, and the people were well armed with pikes. Soon after he was taken down, which convinced the conſpirators that he had made a full acknowledgment of what he knew. They then inſtantly became emulous in making confeſſions, and in ſurrendering arms; and, in the ſpace of a few hours, ſeventeen hundred pikes were ſurrendered; and father Kennedy, the pariſh prieſt, voluntarily acknowledged, that he had been ſworn by father Meara, a prieſt who had ſworn many others, though he had been previouſly examined by Mr. Otway, and ſwore that he was perfectly ignorant of the conſpiracy. —It appears alſo, that father Meara, pariſh prieſt of Nenagh, had ſworn many prieſts in his neighbourhood; and that father O'Brien, of the pariſh of Doone, and he, were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy; and they were both ſentenced to be tranſported.

No. XII.

Some outrages committed by the Defenders and United Iriſhmen in the year 1795.

THIS month (January,) an attempt was made on the houſe of Mr. Sterne Tighe of Carrick, in the county of Meath, by a body of defenders, but they were repulſed after many ſhots fired on both ſides. The ſame night they plundered the houſe of Mr. Monaghan of Caſtletown-delvin of arms. In the ſame neighbourhood many houſes were attempted, ſeveral cows were houghed, and other damages done.

March twenty-firſt at Carrickmacroſs, a private of the Galway militia was murdered by three defenders.

March twenty-fifth, the houſe of Mr. Grattan of Bensfort, in the county of Meath, was attacked by a body of defenders, who broke into the hall, but were repulſed by him and his ſervants. A ſhort time before, in his abſence, they forcibly entered it, and carried off ſome fire arms, plate, and other valuable articles.

This month, (May,) near Sligo, between two and three thouſand defenders had the temerity to attack a company of the Derry militia, who repelled the attack, after killing thirty, and taking many of the inſurgents. About the ſame time, a numerous body of them aſſaulted a company of the Tyrone militia, quartered at Tuam, who in their defence killed eighteen, and took and wounded a great number of them.

June twenty-ſecond, a party of defenders broke into the houſe of Coote Molloy, eſquire, near Boyle, in the county of Roſcommon, but his ſon having ſhot one of them dead in the hall, the remainder fled ; he alſo wounded another, who turned approver.

During the ſummer of this year, the counties of Meath, Weſtmeath and Kildare, were dreadfully agitated by the defenders. In ſhort, moſt of the reſpectable inhabitants of them were obliged to keep ſoldiers in their houſes for their protection. Mr. Thomas Ryan, a magiſtrate of the county of Kildare, when returning to his houſe, after having aſſiſted at the committal of ſome defenders, was way-laid and ſurrounded by a large number of theſe ruffians who fired ſeveral ſhots at him, and gave him a ſevere wound in the temple with a muſket ball.

The houſe of Mr. Lillé, near Caſtlepollard, county of Meath, was attempted by a numerous body of them ; but after a gallant defence he repulſed them.

June twenty-fourth, they attacked the houſe of Mr. Murdock of Heathſtown, county of Weſtmeath, and robbed it of arms. Four of them were ſoon after taken, and condemned to be hanged on the evidence of one Sommers his ſervant. The night before the execution the defenders aſſaſſinated Sommers.

In July, William Finlay, of Ginnetts, in the county of Kildare, eſquire, was fired at in mid-day, while walking in his demeſne, and the ball lodged in his arm.

In the county of Meath, the houſe of the reverend Mr. Knipe, a proteſtant clergyman, was attacked in the night, by a large body of defenders. In his defence he killed one of them; in revenge, they afterwards murdered him, and mangled his body with ſavage barbarity.

In Auguſt, in the neighbourhood of Finglas, the houſes of Mr. Rowe, and many others, were plundered of arms.

The houſe of the reverend Mr. Mc. Alliſter, near Summer-hill, county of Meath, was robbed by the defenders of money and arms. Near Slane, many cows and bullocks were houghed by them. In Eaſt Meath, many outrages too tedious to mention were committed; where, improving in cruelty, they often cut off the udders of cows.

Mr. Talbot's houſe in the Phœnix park was robbed of arms.

Auguſt fourth, they attacked the houſe of Mr. Pentland, of Holywoodrath; and, becauſe he refuſed to ſurrender his arms, they burned his hay and corn.

Auguſt fifth, not ſatisfied with houghing eleven cows, the property of Mr. Read, near Old Caſtle, they burned to the ground his houſe and offices; and this becauſe he proſecuted two ruffians for burglary and felony.

A body of them burned to aſhes the houſe and furniture of Mr. Peter Brady, of Mace-town, county of Meath.

In September, the houſe of Mr. Monfort, of Gladſton, in the county of Weſtmeath, was attacked by ſome defenders, who ſet fire to it; however, he ſallied out with his ſon and a ſervant, and repulſed them; but the houſe and furniture were conſumed.

Many houſes were forced and plundered, and various outrages committed near Drogheda, and in the county of Meath.

The houſe of Mr. Walſh, who keeps flour-mills near Drogheda, was forced and robbed of arms.

That of Mr. Taylor, who keeps the Black Lion, was attacked; but, after a vigorous defence, the defenders fled.

They forcibly entered the houſe of Mrs. Fulham, near Navan; and, becauſe ſhe mildly reaſoned with them on the impropriety of their conduct, they ſhot off the roof of her ſkull.

The ſame banditti attacked the houſe of one Mullins, in the county of Meath, who alarmed his neighbours, and ſeized one of them.

They forcibly entered the houſe of Mr. Walſh near Swords, took his arms, and made him ſwear the defenders oath.

The houſes of ſir Henry Wilkinſon, of Corballis, near Swords, county of Dublin, and of alderman Lynam near Pickardſtown, were forced in the night and plundered of arms.

The latter end of December, a moſt horrid murder was committed near Trim, by a party of defenders, on James Hyland and his wife, merely becauſe they ſuſpected that they had given information againſt ſome of their body. They ſhot the man through the forehead, and his wife through the back, as ſhe endeavoured to make her eſcape.

Soon after notices were poſted on all the neighbouring chapels, announcing that all thoſe who gave information againſt, or ſearched for defenders, ſhould be ſacrificed in the ſame manner as Hyland and his wife.

The confeſſion upon oath of Henry Ledwich who took refuge in the goal of Mullingar, before ſome magiſtrates thirtieth January, 1796. He is a private in the 12th dragoons, and voluntarily made a very uſeful diſcovery of a murder and robbery intended to be committed in the houſe of Lavallin Nugent, eſquire, of Tulla, in the county of Weſtmeath. Deponent was two years a defender, and to get rid of them, enliſted about two months ago in the ſaid regiment. The firſt oath he took was to be true to the king, and to his brethren, when occaſion required;—the ſecond was to be true to his brethren, and to join the French when they would land, and to deſtroy the members of every religion but their own. Deponent was ſworn a defender in the county of Cavan, but never acted as ſuch till about a month ago, and was out but three times with them, in Weſtmeath, whither he came from the county of Cavan to avoid them. Deponent was ſpoken to by one Clarke a publican, who was a committee man and treaſurer to the defenders, and lives at Parſon's-town, and has ſeduced many perſons. Deponent's motive for giving information about the Nugent family was, that his family had ſerved under them in the wars of Ireland. That Clarke has the country under contribution, and iſſues his orders to paſs ſuch perſons as pay their ſubſcriptions. Deponent was at the robbery of

Mr. John Dillon, tenant of count Dalton, and took from him two guns and a caſe of piſtols; and at that of Mrs. Thompſon at Parſon's-town, from whom they took one gun, three guineas, and ſix ſhillings; and at that of K. Kenny's, where they got fourteen guineas, two ſhillings, and two guns, after firing many ſhots through the doors; and alſo at that of Mr. Leſtrange's: That about a dozen defenders went uſually on an expedition.

On the firſt riſing they were to ſeize on the caſtle of Dublin, and to maſſacre the proteſtants every where.

No. XIII.

THE ſubſtance of an information ſworn by a white ſmith, in the city of Dublin, in the month of June, 1798, before John Claudius Beresford, eſquire, who had him arreſted on a charge of being concerned with the United Iriſhmen. His name is concealed, leſt he ſhould be aſſaſſinated for being an informer.

That he was ſeduced and made an United Iriſhman the firſt day of May, 1797, and belonged to a ſociety of twelve, of which Rowland Goodman, a ſlator, was ſecretary.

That he hoped to riſe to the rank of an officer in a ſuperior committee, which regulated his, but which he had never ſeen, but he ſaw among their rules, ſet out in a printed paper, that no blackmouth or blackbean, ſhould ever riſe; and he diſcovered afterwards that theſe appellations ſignified a proteſtant, and Goodman reported him to be ſuch.

That one Hely, a chimney doctor, was ſubſtituted as ſecretary in the place of Goodman; and carried to the ſuperior committee a propoſal and plan for burning the caſtle of Dublin, which was approved of. Informant aſked Hely how it was to be done? and when he was about to inform him of it, the reſt of the committee prevented him, becauſe, as informant believed, he was a proteſtant.

Hely told informant, that Horiſh* was a ſound good fellow, and much attached to the cauſe.

Rowland Goodman, and John Graham, aſked informant to make pikes for the United Iriſhmen; but, on his heſitating, ſuſpicions were entertained of his ſincerity in the cauſe;

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* A maſter ſweep, deeply concerned in the conſpiracy, who was ſaid to be engaged in a plan to burn the caſtle and many other buildings and houſes.

and Goodman went to his wife, and ſaid, he feared that he was not to be depended on, and that he would hang thouſands. One Maſterſon ſaid, if he makes the pikes he will do; if not, Browne will *out-him*; which was a cant-word for killing informers.

That a plan was formed in his committee, and carried up to the ſuperior one, to ſeize the ſoldiers who lined the ſtreets, when the lord lieutenant was going to the houſe of lords; that three men armed with daggers were to attack each ſoldier, and diſarm him, and, if he reſiſted, put him to death; that they were to enter the houſe of parliament to kill ſuch members as were not their friends, and at the ſame time to get poſſeſſion of the caſtle. At laſt, ſtrong ſuſpicions being entertained of informant, the queſtion for his expulſion was put, and every member of the committee, but one, voted for it.

That no perſon of his committee had any knowledge of, or connection with, the ſuperior committee, but the ſecretary.

While he was in the ſociety, a plan was formed, and ſent up to the ſuperior committee, "That each committee ſhould ſupply two men, who were not afraid of loſing their lives, and that they were to form aſſaſſination committees of five, to kill the leading men of the kingdom."

That they endeavoured to keep the object a ſecret from him; but ſome of the members informed him, that it was to *do-out** the leading men of the kingdom.

He underſtood that every Roman catholick in the kingdom was in the united cauſe; that the militia and yeomen of that perſuaſion were attached to it; and that they were to kill all thoſe of a different religion in action.

He was informed that all the popiſh ſervants in Dublin were United Iriſhmen; and he ſaw many of them at their different meetings.

They made it a religious cauſe, and often ſaid, that a Roman catholick would certainly go to heaven, if he killed three proteſtants.

They reſolved never to lay out ſixpence with any proteſtant.

Such fanatical converſation was very common in their clubs.

The caſtle was to have been attacked in front, and in rear, from Ship-ſtreet.

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* *Do-out* was a cant-word for aſſaſſinating.

The leading men in government, particularly the Beresford family, were to be *done-out.* There was to be a general riſing; a ſky-rocket was to be the ſignal for it, and informant was to get twenty-four hours notice of it.

The following regiments of militia were conſidered as moſt attached and ſteady to the united cauſe: The Kildare, Weſtmeath, Longford, Kilkenny, and King's county.

The following paper, found by alderman Alexander in a box, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Sheares, was read on his trial:

Note. The words in italicks were interlined: thoſe between crotchets were ſtruck acroſs with a pen.

" *Iriſhmen,*

[" Your country is free; all thoſe monſters who uſurped its government to oppreſs its people are in our hands, except ſuch as have"]

" Your country is free, and you are about to be avenged, [already] that vile government which has ſo long and ſo cruelly oppreſſed you, is no more; ſome of its moſt atrocious monſters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the reſt are in our hands [waiting their fate.] The national flag, *the ſacred green,* is at this moment flying over the ruins of deſpotiſm, and that capital, which a few hours paſt [was the ſcene] witneſſed the debauchery, [the machinations] plots and crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotiſm *and virtue.* Ariſe then, united ſons of Ireland! ariſe like a great and powerful people, determined to [live] be free or die; arm yourſelves by every means in your power, and ruſh like lions on your foes; conſider that [in diſarming your enemy] for every enemy you diſarm, you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful. In the cauſe of liberty inaction is cowardice, and the coward ſhall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be ſeized, and transferred to thoſe gallant [patriots] *ſpirits* who want, and will uſe them: Yes, Iriſhmen, we ſwear by that eternal juſtice, in whoſe cauſe you fight, that the brave patriot, who ſurvives the preſent glorious ſtruggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or ſhall fall hereafter in it, ſhall receive from the hands of a grateful nation, an ample recompence out of [thoſe funds] that property which the crimes of our enemies [ſhall] have forfeited into its hands, and his name [too] ſhall be inſcribed on the national record of Iriſh revolution, as a glorious example to all poſterity; *but we likewiſe ſwear to puniſh robbery with death and infamy.*"

"We alſo ſwear, that we will never ſheath the ſword until every [perſon] being in the country is reſtored to thoſe equal rights, which the God of Nature has given to all men,—until an order of things ſhall be eſtabliſhed, in which no ſuperiority ſhall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin, but that [which] of virtue and talent [ſhall intitle to."]

"As for thoſe degenerate wretches who turn their ſwords againſt their native country, the national vengeance awaits them: Let them find no quarter unleſs they ſhall prove their repentance by *ſpeedily* deſerting, exchanging the ſtandard of ſlavery for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may ſhare the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland.

"Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breaſts, and have [already to] joined the national ſtandard; receive [thoſe] with open arms, ſuch as ſhall follow ſo glorious an example; they can render ſignal ſervice to the cauſe of freedom, and ſhall be rewarded according to their deſerts: But for the wretch who turns his ſword againſt his native country, let the national vengeance be viſited on him, let him find no quarter. Two other crimes demand——

"Rouſe all the energies of your ſouls; call forth *all* the merit and abilities which a vicious government conſigned to obſcurity, and under the conduct of your choſen leaders, march with a ſteady ſtep to victory; heed not the glare of a [mercenary] hired ſoldiery, or *ariſtocratick yeomanry*, they cannot ſtand the vigorous ſhock of freedom, [cloſe with them Man to Man, and let them ſee what vigour the cauſe of freedom can.] Their trappings and their arms will ſoon be yours, and the deteſted government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, ſhall learn, that the treaſures, [ſhe, it] *they* exhauſt on [their mercenary] its accoutred ſlaves, for the purpoſe of butchering Iriſhmen, ſhall but further enable us to turn their ſwords on its devoted head."

"Attack them in every direction by day and by night; avail yourſelves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, *and with which you are better acquainted*

quainted than they: Where you cannot oppoſe them in full force, conſtantly haraſs their rear and their flanks: Cut off their proviſions and magazines, and prevent them as much as poſſible from uniting their forces: Let whatever moments you cannot [paſs in] devote to fighting for your country, be [devoted to] paſſed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone, muſt occupy every mind, and every hand in Ireland, until its long-oppreſſed ſoil be purged of all its enemies."

"Vengeance, Iriſhmen, vengeance on your oppreſſors—remember what thouſands of your deareſt friends have periſhed by their [murders, cruel plots,] *mercileſs orders*; remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military maſſacres, and their legal murders. Remember ORR."

Letter from John Sheares, found on Samuel Neilſon, on the evening of the 23d of May.

SIR,

I HAVE ſought you in every direction, but unfortunately in vain. It is now too late to uſe many words upon the ſubject of our intended interview—let it ſuffice to ſay, that I am acquainted with the deſtructive deſign you meditate, and am reſolved to counteract it, whatever it may coſt me—reſt aſſured that nothing ſhall check a reſolution, which honour, private affection and publick duty unite to demand the immediate execution of, and that however unwilling I may be at any other moment to take the only ſteps which your obſtinacy may render neceſſary this evening, for the preſervation of my friends and my country, I will without heſitation take them. The ſcheme you have undertaken I view with horror, whether its effects be conſidered as relating to my impriſoned friends, the deſtruction of whoſe property and lives muſt be the conſequence, even of your ſucceſs, or as affecting Arthur O'Connor's exiſtence, the precarious chance for which you thus cruelly leſſen, or, (what is ſuperior to every other conſideration) as enſuring the ruin of Ireland's freedom.—In ſhort, Mr. to be candid with you, the ſcheme is ſo totally deſtitute of any apology, even from the plea of folly or paſſion, that I cannot avoid attributing its origin to a worſe cauſe, and nothing can convince me of the contrary, but your immediately foregoing ſo pernicious an enterpriſe. In theſe ſentiments I am not ſingular, nor in the reſolution which ariſes from them; and ſhould you doubt me, you muſt purchaſe conviction at a very ſevere coſt: My reſolution, and that of my friends, is this, if you do not by nine o'clock this evening, give us every neceſſary and ſacred aſſurance, that you will counteract and prevent the perpetration of this plot againſt all that you ought to hold dear, notice of it ſhall be given to the government without a moment's delay—for we do prefer that a few miſguided (not to ſay guilty) individuals ſhould periſh, than that every remaining hope of our country's ſucceſs, and the lives of our moſt valued friends ſhould be ſacrificed, by the accompliſhment of a ſtupid, perhaps wicked, undertaking. Do not feed yourſelf with hope that any conſideration ſhall deter me from fulfilling this threat—if every poignard you could command were at my throat, I would do my duty—I did think well of you—I wiſh to do ſo ſtill—you alone can prevent me. J. S.

I dine at 52, Abbey-ſtreet, where I ſhall expect your anſwer before eight o'clock.

No. XIV.

Three papers found in the pocket-book of lord Edward Fitzgerald, and in his poſſeſſion, at the time of his arreſt.

No. I.

T. Keathy,	Enverneſs fencibles	50	with	1	Batt^{n} of
Salt,	Londonderry	47	-	1	
Naas,	Armagh	250	-	1	
	Green-Horſe	22			
Connell		-		1	
Clane,	Armagh	50	-	1	
Narragh Rab^{n}	K^{s} county M. Longford 6th dragoons Louth M.	500	-	2	
Kilkea,	Do. Do. Do.	500	-	1	
Kilcullen,	9th dragoons	80	-	0	
	Tyrone M.	30			
	Suffolk	50			
	Orange Yeo^{n}	90			
Carbery,	Inverneſs fencibles	50	-	0	
Ophilia ſundr^{s}		600	-	2	
County ſundry returns		2319	with	10	bat^{s} of
		1500			
		3819			

No. II.

No. II.

50 chains of 6 foot long, with 50 padlocks.
1000 ſpike nails, 4, 6, 8 inches.
200 round ſtaples.
20 cramp irons, ⊓ in this form.
50 large ſledges.
50 ſmall ones.
50 hammers.
50 groove irons.
100 hatchets.
300 ſhovels and ſpades, or as many as can be procured.
150 hooks for ſcaling ladders, the catching point to have a hackle face.

No. III.

[*In the hand-writing of lord Edward Fitzgerald.*]

Suppoſe R. force divided into three columns. The left *of the Kildare line* * to [column] to [aſſemble at] Cloncurry, or between it and Clonard-bridge; a detachment to be ſent to Clonard-bridge, as ſoon as poſſible; that *body* [column] to advance by Kilcock, Maynooth, Leixlip and Chapelizod, towards Dublin.

No. XV.

An attempt to murder the reverend Mr. Jones in the county of Kildare.

AS the reverend Mr. Jones, curate of the pariſh of Moyglare, in the county of Kildare, was riding between Kilcock and Maynooth, on the eighteenth of January, 1799, he was informed by a gentleman that ſome armed rebels were riding about the pariſh in queſt of him, for the purpoſe of murdering him; on which he proceeded towards Maynooth as faſt as poſſible; but his horſe having loſt a ſhoe, he ſtopped at a ſmith's forge, where it was ſoon replaced. When he was about to mount, he ſaw ſome horſemen galloping towards him, on which he put ſpurs to his horſe and fled with the greateſt precipitation; but his horſe growing reſtif, and refuſing to proceed farther, he diſmounted, croſſed a ſmall river on foot, ran behind a farm houſe, lay down, and endeavoured to cover himſelf with ſtraw; but one of the men coming up, curſed the woman of the houſe for having concealed him; ſaid, he would cut him to pieces as a yeoman and a clergyman, and called to his comrades to come to his aſſiſtance; on which Mr. Jones ſtarted up, and inſtantly one of the men diſcharged a gun at him. The ball hit him on the upper part of the forehead, inflicted a ſevere wound, and made him ſtagger ſome paces; but recovering, he ran at the aſſaſſin, and endeavoured to prevent him from charging his gun again. While he was attempting to do ſo, the other gave him many violent blows with the but-end of his gun; on which he ran towards ſome men who were ploughing in an adjoining field, and who remained tame ſpectators of this horrid tranſaction, without offering him any aſſiſtance. Mr. Jones perceiving that they purſued him cloſe, and that he could not poſſibly fly from them, and deriving courage from deſpair, he turned about ſuddenly, ſeized the piſtol of one of them, and while in the act of ſtruggling with him, the other, by repeated blows of the but-end of his piſtol on the head, at length knocked him down. As the laſt reſource, he lay proſtrate, pretending to be dead, and while one of the ruffians went in purſuit of the horſes, the other laid his foot on his body, placed the muzzle of his piſtol cloſe to his head, and having fired it off, the ball produced only a ſmall fracture, but which was attended with a great effuſion of blood. Though he ſuffered very great pain, he remained motionleſs, pretending to be dead; but the aſſaſſin, fearing that he had ſtill ſome remains of life, charged his piſtol a ſecond time, and fired it on his hip, and being then certain that he was lifeleſs, he left him. The names of the aſſaſſins were Adams and Fox. The former, after he had perpetrated this atrocious act, exultingly boaſted, that he had put out of the world a yeoman and an orangeman, at the ſame time damning his orange blood. Mr. Jones, with a laudable ſpirit, had acted as a yeoman during the rebellion. After the laſt ſhot was fired, they boaſted that they had ſent his ſoul to preach in hell. The ploughman, one of the calm ſpectators of this bloody deed, was uncle to one of the villains, and the driver of the plough was his brother-in-law. Mr. Jones, having heard that they were taken up and confined in the provôs priſon in

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* The words in italicks had a line drawn through them in the original.

Dublin, repaired thither, recogniſed them, and having proſecuted them, they were convicted of this horrid crime and hanged.

Mr. Henley, of Summer-hill, in the county of Meath, in paſſing near Maynooth in the autumn of 1798, in his chaiſe, a party of ruffians having ſtopped him, dragged him out of it, and would have murdered him, but that his poſtillion ſwore he was a Roman catholick, on which they let him paſs; but one of his ſervants, who followed him on a jaunting-car having ſaid ſomething that diſpleaſed them, they murdered him.

In the month of October, 1798, captain Walſh, of the Kilkenny regiment, quartered at Kilcock, going to dine at Maynooth, about three miles off, was attended by two dragoons to eſcort him at his return; at the turnpike, which is about half way, eight ruffians ruſhed from behind a wall, and fired four ſhots at the dragoons, which fortunately only hit their belts and their ſaddles. They fired two ſhots at captain Walſh, quite cloſe to him, and one of the balls paſſed by his ear. The dragoons having drawn their carbines, the aſſaſſins fled with great precipitation, but the encloſures prevented the dragoons from purſuing them; however, they ſhot one of them. They were deſerters from ſir Fenton Aylmer's corps of yeomanry. Their vengeance was directed againſt the earl of Ormond, on account of his well-known loyalty; for one of them cried out at firſt, that they had got the bloody Ormond.

Captain Rawſon, who commands the Athy yeomanry, compoſed and publiſhed the following exhortation, in hopes of conciliating the deluded multitude:

MY neighbours have hitherto conducted themſelves in a peaceable manner; but ſhould any of them have been unfortunately ſeduced to enter into illegal aſſociations, or to procure pikes or other weapons, with views hoſtile to the king and government, their lives and properties will be at the mercy of the ſoldiers.

I beſeech them to fly the many evils that muſt attend a perſeverance in error. Nothing ſhall be left undone on my part to protect the peaceable and well-conducted from ſuſtaining any injury, or even thoſe who have erred, provided they make ſeaſonable atonement by returning to their allegiance.—Such is the lenity of government, that ſhould any miſguided perſons ſurrender their arms, and acknowledge their errors, they ſhall find protection and forgiveneſs. —Some perſons have baſely and maliciouſly endeavoured to agitate the publick mind by reports, that certain ſocieties called orangemen have been formed for the extirpation of Roman catholicks: I declare ſolemnly, that I do not know, nor do I believe, that any ſuch ſociety exiſts, or ever has been formed in the country. I am convinced in my mind, that ſuch infamous reports were propagated for no other purpoſe but to diſunite the proteſtants and Roman catholicks; and to kindle the moſt implacable hatred in the latter againſt the former, to anſwer the purpoſes of rebellion. It is hoped then, that the members of both theſe orders will go hand in hand in love, in harmony, and reſpect for the laws; and in their joint adoration of the Almighty, and in praying that he will unite all deſcriptions of chriſtians in mutual affection, and in defence of their king and country. Such union would be worthy of Iriſhmen, and ſuch is the conſtant and fervent prayer of

THOMAS JAMES RAWSON,

Glaſſealy, 27th January, 1798.

N. B. The above was ſent to and read at all the chapels in the country, and diſperſed through every part of it.

In Auguſt, 1798, information was given to captain Rawſon, upon the oath of a creditable perſon, that the proteſtants of Athy and its vicinity, were to be maſſacred on the following Sunday, at the time of divine ſervice; the plan was, to ſet fire to ſome cabins outſide the town, near the chapel; a cry of fire was to be given; and it was ſuppoſed the yeomanry would ruſh irregularly to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing the flames. Three hundred men, who were to be concealed in Walſh's inn-yard, were to ruſh out, gain poſſeſſion of the gaol and court-houſe; and on a ſignal being given, the mob at the fire were to ſeize the yeomanry, and diſpatch them; and then, at their leiſure, all the remaining proteſtants, men, women, and children, were to be butchered. There was an heſitation about giving information to a proteſtant, who was married to a Roman catholick, not to go to church that day, as was his conſtant practice; but it was determined to let him die with the reſt, as he might diſcover.

The informations of the above helliſh plot were ſent to government, and one hundred and twenty of the Fermanagh militia, under the command of major King, by forced marches, arrived at Athy, on Saturday evening, to the aſſiſtance of the yeomanry, who, but for divine protection, muſt have fallen an eaſy prey to the nefarious plot.

At a late hour at night, the chapel of Athy was burned: Large rewards were offered by the proteſtant gentry, the magiſtrates, the yeomanry, and ſome of the towns people. Nothing tranſpired that has as yet become publick, until Timothy Sullivan, late a ſoldier of the South Cork, who had volunteered for general ſervice, was about to leave the town. He then told a ſerjeant, that the officers and men of the regiment were in a very perilous ſituation, and had much cauſe to be watchful. The ſerjeant gave information to his officers, major Hennis and captain Langton, who had Sullivan examined; and the reſult of their enquiry will appear by his depoſition.

County of Kildare,
to wit.

TIMOTHY SULLIVAN, late a private ſoldier in the South Cork militia, maketh oath, that he was a centinel at the gate next Mrs. Dooley's houſe on the night the chapel of Athy was burned; ſaith, he was ſolicited by James Noud to ſwear againſt three men undermentioned, and that he refuſed, declaring his want of knowledge of the tranſaction; that he was afterwards followed to Kildare by Patrick Kelly, a Roman catholick prieſt, and Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, who, having got him into a private place, offered him 400l. to ſwear againſt the three men undernamed, for burning the chapel; and on his perſiſting in his want of knowledge of the tranſaction, and refuſing to ſwear, ſaid Kelly and Fitzgerald went away; that on the night of the ſixth of April inſtant he was in company with ſaid Kelly, ſaid Noud, Patrick Dooley of Athy, and Joſeph Hendrecan; that ſaid Noud, in preſence of the others, preſſed him to ſwear againſt a ſoldier of the South Cork regiment, and two yeomen, videlicit, John Mc. Keon, John Drill, and John Willock; and though he denied his knowing any thing of the buſineſs, yet he was ſtill preſſed, under promiſes of large rewards, which they had made up in the country; and after he had ſworn, he might deſert, and he would find protection at the houſes of the undernamed rebel captains, whoſe names were written down by ſaid Dooley, videlicit, James Ryan, Patrick Dowling, Terence Toole, James Whelan, Cornelius Moore, Patrick

Magher, and Thomas Connell, and at Engliſh's of Mageny, where they uſed to meet in committee; that they were all actively employed in engaging large numbers to be prepared for a publick riſing on the twenty-ſeventh of April inſtant, when they expected French aſſiſtance; that rebel leaders from the counties of Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow, and Queen's county, met at Engliſh's on the firſt Sunday in every month, in order to concert their plans; that Maguire and Dalton, two rebel leaders from the county Wicklow, had thouſands under their command, ready to turn out at a moment's notice; that Mr. Fitzgerald of Geraldine,* was their great friend; and that he was then in Dublin, ſettling about the buſineſs of riſing with ſome of their friends there; that forty thouſand would come from Roſcrea and Tipperary ſide, to aſſiſt the cauſe here; that this country was to be the central ſituation for the firſt attack; that all the county Kildare rebels were to meet at Mageny-bridge; that the riſing was to be general, in order to prevent the military knowing where to act. Saith, that early in the morning of the ſeventh inſtant, he again ſaw ſaid Patrick Kelly, who deſired him to wait behind a party he intended going with to Kildare; that ſaid Kelly would be at Geraldine, where he would have an horſe and ſervant of Mr. Fitzgerald's, with coloured clothes; that they would then proceed to a magiſtrate for examinant to lodge the wiſhed-for examination; that he could then deſert, and a place of concealment would be provided by ſaid Kelly, and would ſend ſaid Sullivan's wife after him.

Sworn, &c. &c. &c.

The original examination, as ſworn before a magiſtrate on the ninth of April, one thouſand eight hundred, is in the Crown-office; and the names of the rebel captains, as written by Dooley, are in the magiſtrate's hands.

There is not a doubt but that many other chapels were burned wantonly in the night in the province of Leinſter, to throw the odium of it on the proteſtants.

County of Kildare,
to wit.

THE examinations of faith, that, on or about the fourteenth of April laſt, Patrick Dooley, James Noud, and Joſeph Hendrecan, all of Athy, were committed to Athy gaol; that informant ſhortly after was informed by ſaid Dooley, that they (meaning the diſaffected) were in expectation of the French coming ſhortly to this country; that there was a new conſtitution totally different from the old one; that they were making pikes on a new plan; that he had a converſation with a particular friend of his from the lower part of the county of Weſtmeath, who informed ſaid Dooley, that the people there were going on faſt with the buſineſs; and that ſaid Dooley knew that the people in the lower part of the county Kildare were going on with it too, but that it had not properly reached up here yet; that the ſaid Dooley was as well armed, accoutred, and prepared, as any man on the night they (meaning the rebels) were to have attacked Athy; that he had a cartridge-box before him, and another behind, both full of ammunition, two piſtols and a ſword; that when his houſe was ſearched, they could not be found, as he had them concealed behind the fire-place.

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* This gentleman commanded a corps of yeomanry which was diſmiſſed for diſaffection, and he was impriſoned ſome time, but afterwards liberated.

That on or about the ſixteenth of April laſt, Terence Toole, of Fonſtown, (who to informant's knowledge was a rebel captain,) and Cornelius Moore of Gurteen, with others, were apprehended and committed to ſaid gaol; that a converſation ſhortly after took place in preſence of informant, between ſaid Dooley, Toole, and Moore, about the chapel of Athy which had been burned; ſaid Dooley told ſaid Toole and Moore, that he knew the cauſe of their being committed to gaol, which was, "that the ſaid Dooley, with Mr. Kelly the prieſt, and James Noud, had offered Timothy Sullivan, a ſoldier of the South Cork militia, 400l. to ſwear againſt John Willock, and John Drill, two of the yeomen, and a ſoldier of the South Cork, as orangemen, for burning the chapel;" that he, ſaid Dooley, had written down the names of ſaid Toole and Moore, with ſeveral others, in whoſe houſes the ſaid Sullivan would be concealed, after he ſhould ſo ſwear; that he, ſaid Dooley, gave ſaid Sullivan a written order, requiring ſaid Toole and Moore, and ſaid other perſons, to conceal ſaid Sullivan; and ſaid Dooley repeated, that ſuch was the cauſe of their being confined, as he was afraid ſaid Sullivan had made a diſcovery; and that ſaid Dooley, Kelly, and Noud, had offered him ſaid ſum to hang three of the loyal men; and ſaith, ſaid Dooley further declared that he had mentioned the buſineſs of hanging ſaid orangemen to Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, eſquire; and that ſaid Fitzgerald replied, that if ſaid three orangemen could be hanged, he would get him, ſaid Sullivan, 400l. from government, and make up as much more amongſt themſelves ; and that he would then, if poſſible, get Rawſon's yeomanry broke ; ſaith, ſaid Dooley alſo informed ſaid Toole and Moore, that the ſaid Sullivan was to quit the army, and be protected by other perſons in the Queen's county, and ſo on from place to place, until he got home to his own country ; ſaith, ſaid Toole, in the courſe of ſaid converſation, told ſaid Dooley and Moore, that the party under the command of Patrick Dowling, of Fonſtown, who were to have attacked Athy, expected Queen's county aſſiſtance ; that he, ſaid Toole, had gone acroſs the river Barrow, to the Queen's county, to ſolicit it ; and that the Queen's county people would not aſſiſt ; and on ſaid Toole's return with the account of ſuch refuſal, the ſaid party under ſaid Dowling, as principal in command, broke up and diſperſed.

Sworn before a magiſtrate the 2*d May*, 1800.

[*The original is in the Crown-office.**]

Note. By any poſſibility the above informant could not have had any communication with Timothy Sullivan.

After Sullivan's having given information was become publick, Mr. Fitzgerald mentioned, that the perſons who burned the chapel, were Drill, Willock, and a Cork ſoldier ; on the report reaching captain Rawſon, he had the two yeomen arreſted, and committed to the guard-houſe.

A long range of ſtables in the poſſeſſion of Mrs. Dooley, a publican, were converted into a temporary chapel ; and in three weeks after the firſt burning, theſe were ſet fire to at nine o'clock at night ; the military and yeomanry inſtantly aſſembled, and by great exertions got the fire under, without the interference or aſſiſtance of any papiſts, except two ſervants, and two only of the Roman catholick inhabitants of the town. Captain Rawſon then applied to Mrs. Dooley to ſend her hoſtlers, leſt the high wind ſhould again fan up the flames ; but ſhe poſitively refuſed, ſaying, that her men (poor fellows) were tired, having had two gentlemen's horſes to do up, and that they were gone to bed, and ſhe would not diſturb them ; and with much difficulty ſhe was prevailed on to lend ſome veſſels, to put water on the yet-burning ſtraw. After doing every thing poſſible, the military and yeomanry were diſmiſſed; and about one o'clock at night, the fire again broke out and conſumed the whole of the building.

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* To the lenity of general Dundas on the Curragh, or what is commonly called his capitulation, the dreadful ſtate of the county of Kildare, and the adjacent counties, is to be imputed ; and it is to be lamented, that wide-extended mercy has produced the ſame effect in every part of the kingdom, wherever it has taken place.

On the following day, a number of gentlemen met at the ſovereign's, and Mr. Fitzgerald came there; Drill and Willock were brought in cuſtody, and no charge being preferred againſt them by Mr. Fitzgerald, or any other perſon, they were diſcharged. They have brought actions for defamation.

Captain Rawſon felt much for the diſtreſs of the reverend Mr. Keegan, the pariſh prieſt, a man of moſt exemplary conduct; and offered him the uſe of a large houſe he had lately purchaſed near the town, for a temporary chapel: He accepted the offer; and the houſe was prepared accordingly. His good intentions were fruſtrated, as the rebellious had more influence than their worthy paſtor, and not one man would attend him in the houſe of a heretick. Such is the force of fanaticiſm!

The affidavit of Thomas Davis, of Proſperous.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. THE examination of Mr. Thomas Davis, late of Proſperous, in the county of Kildare, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath and ſaith, That for many nights previous to the night of the twenty-third of May laſt, this examinant and his family were very much alarmed, leſt they ſhould be attacked by the rebels, commonly called United Iriſhmen; that examinant thought that he and his family were in ſome degree ſecure by the arrival of detachments of the Ancient Britons, and the North Cork militia; that, however, examinant ſtill continued to be alarmed, as his houſe was at a conſiderable diſtance from the barracks. Examinant ſaith, that he was awakened about the hour of one o'clock in the forenoon, by the barking of a large dog he had; and ſome time after he was alarmed by the firing of ſome ſhots. Examinant ſaith, that on looking out of his window, he perceived a great body of people, armed with pikes and fire-arms, between whom and the ſoldiers in the barracks a conſtant firing was maintained; that as the balls paſſed by this examinant's houſe, (and one of them cloſe to his head,) he withdrew, and let down the window; that ſoon after examinant ſaw the barracks on fire, and heard the ſoldiers exclaim, "The houſe is on fire: We ſhall be burned or ſuffocated: We can fight no longer!" That ſoon after examinant ſaw the roof of ſaid barrack fall in. Examinant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels, whoſe numbers had encreaſed ſo much as to fill the ſtreets of Proſperous aforeſaid, and to cover the adjacent fields, on the falling in of the roof of ſaid barrack, gave many ſhouts, which ſeemed to rend the ſkies, and made this examinant and his family thrill with horror; that the ſaid rebels exclaimed, that the day was their own, and they would then plant the tree of liberty. Examinant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels knocked at his door, and deſired to have it opened, expecting to find there a party of ſoldiers, who had been billetted there a ſhort time before, and Mr. Stamers, who had lodged therein when he went to receive his rents, as part of the town of Proſperous aforeſaid belonged to the ſaid Stamers. Examinant ſaith, that as the ſaid rebels approached his houſe in a large body, ſix of them preceded the reſt, mounted on ſome of the horſes which they had taken that morning from the Ancient Britons at Proſperous aforeſaid; that examinant, as ſoon as he came out of his door, was ſurrounded by a party of the ſaid rebels, who preſented their pikes at him, and who he expected, from the ferocity of their looks, would inſtantly have put him to death; that one of ſaid rebels held a muſket at examinant's breaſt, with his finger on the trigger; that another of the ſaid rebels, who was a turf cutter, held a drawn ſword over examinant's head; and examinant verily believes, they would have inſtantly put him to death, but a young man in the crowd, who ſeemed to have ſome influence, interpoſed, beat down the muſket which was preſented at his breaſt, and ſaid, they ſhould not kill him. Examinant ſaith, that he knew many of the ſaid rebels to whom he and his family had been very kind; that ſoon after the ſaid rebels went in queſt of the ſaid Stamers, who lodged at ſome diſtance from the ſaid town; that having ſeized him, the ſaid Stamers, they led him through the ſtreet, by examinant's houſe, ſurrounded by a number of pikemen, while a low fellow held a piſtol at his head. Examinant ſaith, that as he paſſed by the houſe of examinant, he, the ſaid Stamers, caſt a melancholy farewell look at examinant and his family; that ſoon after the ſaid rebels maſſacred the ſaid Stamers. Examinant ſaith, that ſoon after he went out, with an intention of enquiring for his friend Mr. Norris, an inhabitant of Proſperous aforeſaid; and that before examinant had gone far, he was again ſurrounded by the ſaid rebels, who, he verily believes, would have put him to death but for the interference of the perſon who had ſaved him before. Examinant ſaith, he diſcovered ſoon after that Mr. Brewer, a reſpectable manufacturer of ſaid town, who had employed many of the ſaid rebels, had been maſſacred by them, and that his body had been mangled with ſavage barbarity Examinant ſaith, that they alſo maſſacred a poor old man, of the age of ſeventy years, and upwards, who ſerved as a ſerjeant in his majeſty's forces, having conſidered him as an orangeman, though examinant is convinced in his mind that the only reaſon why the ſaid rebels murdered the ſaid ſerjeant was his being a proteſtant. Examinant ſaith, that when the ſaid rebels had committed the ſaid barbarities, they exclaimed with ſavage joy, "Where are the hereticks now? Shew us the face of an orangeman!" Examinant ſaith, that many women who were acting with the ſaid rebels uſed expreſſions of that tenor, as often and as loud as the men; and that ſome old women who were amongſt them, ſeemed to brighten up on the occaſion, and to ſhew as much fervent joy as the youngeſt amongſt them: That ſome of the ſaid women kiſſed and congratulated their fathers, their huſbands, or their brothers, on the victory they gained, and exclaimed with joy, "The kingdom is our own, for Dublin and Naas have been taken, and are in poſſeſſion of our friends—down with the hereticks! down with the orangemen!" Examinant ſaith, that many of the wretches who had been actors in that bloody ſcene, had come into the town of Proſperous aforeſaid the preceding day, and in the preſence of captain Swayne, of the city of Cork militia, (whom with a party of his regiment, they had maſſacred that morning, viz. the twenty-fourth of May,) and alſo in the preſence of their pariſh prieſt, of the name of Higgins, had declared their contrition for their paſt errors, and gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of their loyalty in future; that many of the ſaid rebels ſurrendered their pikes to the ſaid Swayne; and as ſuch ſurrender was conſidered as a teſt of their repentance, and as neceſſary to entitle them to a written protection, numbers of them lamented that they could not obtain ſuch protection, as they never had a pike; and that many of them declared, they would ſell their cow to purchaſe a pike, if they knew where it could be bought. Examinant ſaith, that notwithſtanding theſe declarations, many of the ſaid rebels appeared in the rebel ranks, well armed with pikes. Examinant ſaith, he is convinced in his mind that the ſaid rebels would have plundered and burned all the other loyal houſes of Proſperous aforeſaid, and would have murdered the remaining proteſtant inhabitants thereof, but that a patrol of the Ancient Britons and the city of Cork militia, being a part of the detachment they had murdered that morning, unexpectedly approached the town; and that the ſaid rebels, on their appearance, fled towards the bogs and moraſſes. Examinant ſaith, he could not refrain from ſhedding tears at ſeeing ſuch ſcenes of ſavage barbarity; and that a ſervant who continued faithful to him, deſired him not to ſhew any ſigns of concern, leſt he might draw on him the anger and vengeance of the rebels.

THOMAS DAVIS.

Sworn before me, the 16*th of September,* 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

The aſſaſſination of Mrs. Dale.

WHEN the general inſurrection took place in the county of Kildare, on the 24th of May, 1798, Patrick Dowling, a rebel captain, having aſſembled his corps, diſpatched a party to bring before him Joſeph Dale, who lived at a ſhort diſtance from Dowling's habitation. Dale being a proteſtant, and dreading the fate of perſons of the ſame perſuaſion, came very reluctantly. He was then informed, that he and his wife would be put to death, unleſs he joined Dowling's party, which he conſented to do, on obtaining a promiſe that his wife ſhould ſuffer no injury. Dale, on marching by his own door with the rebel party, perceived his wife in tears, which was the laſt time he ſaw her alive. Dowling and his party having marched towards Athy, in order to attack it, were ſuddenly intimidated, and immediately diſperſed, on ſeeing captain Rawſon and his loyal Athy yeomanry, conſiſting of proteſtants, advancing towards them. Dale, on returning to his own houſe, found it open, and the floor covered with blood. His fears ſuggeſted what had happened; for, on going to the garden behind his houſe, he ſaw the earth newly turned up; and on removing part of it, he diſcovered the mangled body of his unfortunate wife. It was proved on the trial of Elizabeth Byrne, James Byrne her ſon, Mary Dowling, the wife of captain Dowling, with Winifred and Elizabeth Dowling, her daughters, held at Naas, at the Lent aſſizes, 1801, for that county, that Mary Dowling had addreſſed a number of women who had collected at her houſe, and informed them, that they muſt go murder Catherine Dale, the orange whore. Upon which they aſſembled a number of boys, and, on entering the houſe, found the deceaſed with a prayer-book in her hand. James Byrne knocked her down with the churn-ſtaff; on which Elizabeth Byrne dragged her body out of the houſe into the road, where ſhe was ſtoned to death by the boys, who were ſupplied with ſtones for that purpoſe by the women. Theſe facts were proved by two of the boys, who were thus employed in this barbarous murder. They were, at the time of giving their evidence, not more than fourteen years old; and, conſequently, at the time of the murder, they could have been but eleven. They underwent a long and ſtrict croſs-examination, and yet were perfectly conſiſtent even in the moſt minute circumſtances. They were aſked by the learned and humane judge Downes, why they joined in murdering Mrs. Dale? and they anſwered, becauſe ſhe was a proteſtant. Their evidence was confirmed by a poor proteſtant yeoman, who had eſcaped from the rebels, and lay concealed behind a hedge, and by another man, whom Elizabeth Byrne compelled to bury the body of the deceaſed, under a threat of reporting him as a cowardly raſcal to the rebels, if he dared to refuſe. Theſe wretches met the fate which their crimes deſerved, having been convicted and hanged.

No. XVI. 1.

The following addreſs to the inhabitants of the county of Wicklow was printed and generally diſtributed:

WE, the magiſtrates of the county of Wicklow, after the moſt ſerious deliberation, the moſt correct information, and the moſt cautious delay, have at length conſidered it as our indiſpenſable duty, to have recourſe to the ſtrong meaſure of proclaiming the county to be in a ſtate of diſturbance, as the only means to cruſh the ſeeds of rebellion, to repreſs outrage, and to protect innocence.

It is with extreme reluctance that we find ourſelves thus compelled to impoſe a temporary reſtraint, in ſome particulars, on the freedom of the inhabitants: But this reſtraint will ceaſe with the occaſion; and will, by preventing its abuſe, ſerve the cauſe of real liberty. The impartial judgment of the publick, when the preſent ferment ſhall be ſufficiently ſubſided to permit calm and diſpaſſionate reflection, will bear teſtimony to the moderation of our conduct—And we appeal to the Searcher of Hearts for the purity of our intentions.

During the courſe of ſeveral months, we have held repeated meetings; at which we received too certain proofs that a ſpirit of diſaffection had been diffuſed through the country; that ſeditious meetings were held, and illegal arms concealed. We held our repeated warnings, that unleſs thoſe arms were ſurrendered to the magiſtrates, and thoſe ſeditious practices deſiſted from, it would be incumbent on us to purſue meaſures of rigour. The event has not been ſuch as we had reaſon to expect; the ſame diſloyal conduct has been continued, with the addition of many atrocious inſtances of violence and outrage. While any hope remained that theſe outrages were caſual and local, and not the effects of a ſyſtematick plan of plunder and inſurrection, we heſitated—we endeavoured to conciliate—we deferred perhaps beyond the bounds of propriety this act of neceſſary ſeverity: We are now called upon by every motive of prudence and duty to adopt it; and having adopted, we ſhall vigorouſly and ſteadily ſupport it.

But while the arm of juſtice is thus ſtrengthened, let it be remembered, that it is only ſtrengthened to cruſh the traitor, to puniſh the aſſaſſin, to reſtrain the plunderer. In no point are the rights of the peaceful and honeſt man infringed: No perſon can fall under the cenſure of the inſurrection laws, or feel their vengeance, but ſuch as diſturb the peace of the publick; ſuch as conſpire the deſtruction of the innocent; and ſuch as, forgetting their ſacred duty to the country which gave them birth, endeavour to entail on it all the miſeries of civil war, of foreign invaſion, of deſolation and maſſacre; and to proſtrate its honour and independence at the feet of an inſolent enemy, who have treated with equal tyranny the countries they have conquered, and the countries they have ſeduced.

Let us therefore implore you by every thing ſacred, as you reſpect religion, as you regard your unhappy country, as you value your domeſtick happineſs, awake, ere yet too late, from this fatal deluſion; withdraw from this infamous conſpiracy; prove your repentance by ſurrendering illegal arms, and refraining from ſeditious meetings: Act thus, and fear not the laws; re-eſtabliſh the character this country has, until lately, ſuſtained for probity, virtue, and order; and behold in us your friends and protectors; who, on your returning ſenſe of loyalty, will loſe all memory of your temporary errors, and will, with the ſincereſt joy, reſtore you again to the full enjoyment of that glorious and inimitable conſtitution which has rendered theſe kingdoms the admiration of the world; whoſe ineſtimable value, by thoſe who poſſeſs the bleſſing, is too often not juſtly appreciated; but which, if loſt for ever, would, for ever, be regretted with deep and fruitleſs ſorrow.

Reſolved, that we admire and highly approve of the ſpirited manner in which Abraham Chritchley, of Ballyboy, eſquire, and his family, repelled the attack of traitors upon his houſe and property on Sunday the twenty-fifth of March laſt; and we do hereby pledge ourſelves to him, and to each other, to give the moſt decided aſſiſtance and ſupport to him, and to all other perſons of every perſuaſion and deſcription whatſoever, upon whom ſimilar outrages may be attempted.

Reſolved, that the thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby given to the reverend Edward Bayly, for the very ſpirited and loyal addreſs propoſed by him to the meeting this day.

Lord Powerſcourt having quitted the chair, and William Hoey, eſquire, being voted into it:—

Reſolved, that the thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby given to the right honourable lord viſcount Powerſcourt, for his very polite and attentive conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,

JAMES M'CLATCHY, *clerk of the peace.*

April 3*d*, 1798.

2.

County of Wicklow, to wit. } THE information of Terence Kinſelagh of Coolahullen, who being duly ſworn and examined, depoſed and ſaith, That he was ſworn a United Iriſhman—oath of ſecrecy—about twelve months ago, by William Darcy of Kilniner, labourer; that he underſtood the purpoſe of the

United Iriſhmen was to riſe in rebellion againſt the king and government ; and that it was their intention to deſtroy all perſons who were not of their own religion of popery ; that for that purpoſe a number of pikes were made, and that he ſaw pikes in the ſhop of William Hopkins of Ballycoog, and that he has heard that John Doyle of Ballykillavver did alſo make ſeveral ; and that to the beſt of his belief there were pikes made for the following town lands: Killahurler, Aſhhinck, Newtown, Ballyfad, Killnener, Croghan, Glinoge ; and that the number, as well as he can judge, amounted to three or four hundred.

TERENCE KINSELAGH.

Sworn before me, the 28*th day of Auguſt*, 1798,
EDWARD BAYLY.

Informant bound to proſecute at the next and every enſuing aſſizes, until diſcharged, in the ſum of 50l.

3.

COUNTY WICKLOW.

Publick Notice for ſurrender of arms.

WHEREAS a large body of troops has been ordered into this county for the purpoſe of protecting the well-affected inhabitants, and ſuppreſſing the ſeditious and treaſonable ſpirit which has of late diſgraced the character of this once-loyal and induſtrious county, and which has manifeſted itſelf in various acts of aſſaſſination, robbery, and outrage , and as it is well known that arms, pikes, and other weapons, are concealed in conſiderable quantities for the purpoſes of inſurrection and rebellion, and that notwithſtanding repeated and earneſt admonitions from the magiſtrates to the people, whoſe arms have been, and ſtill are contumaciouſly retained, and no appearance has been hitherto manifeſted of a returning ſenſe of duty :

Lieutenant-general Craig, commanding the eaſtern diſtrict, previous to carrying into execution his orders for coercion, and before the calamities which will attend the obſtinately-diſaffected, who are well known, are actually inflicted, conſiders it to be his duty, as well as an act of humanity, to give this publick notice, that he has it in command to aſſure thoſe wicked and deluded people, if they do not immediately ſurrender at ſome of the following depôts, Bray, Newtown-mount-kennedy, Wicklow, Arklow, Coolatin, Rathdrum, Hacketſtown, Baltinglaſs, Dunlavin, and Bleſſington, or to the magiſtrates or officers commanding the troops in their vicinity, all fire-arms, ſwords, bayonets, pikes, or pike-ſhafts, old ſcythes and ſpears, and every other offenſive weapon, that they muſt expect to be treated with the utmoſt ſeverity.

It is his ſincere wiſh that he may not be compelled to have recourſe to ſuch rigorous meaſures, but by a *timely ſurrender of their arms, which can alone denote their real repentance and determination to return to their former peaceable demeanour and habits of induſtry.* Thoſe that act ſo may reſt aſſured of protection, both from the magiſtrates and officers commanding the ſeveral detachments, who are hereby required to uſe their utmoſt diligence to prevent the well-affected, or ſuch as ſincerely return to their allegiance, from ſuffering in perſon or property the ſmalleſt injury.

Such as neglect or deſpiſe this publick and final warning can have no excuſe to offer, and on themſelves and families muſt reſt the conſequences.

PETER CRAIG, *lieutenant general,*
commanding the eaſtern diſtrict.

Dated this 11*th May*, 1798.

4.

A liſt of proteſtants maſſacred in the county of Wicklow during the rebellion, and an account of ſome of the outrages committed therein. The number on the left hand indicates where the affidavits of the ſufferers or their repreſentatives are regiſtered in the archives of the houſe of commons. Each affidavit was verified by the ſufferer and the pariſh miniſter, upon oath, and atteſted by a neighbouring magiſtrate. It is mentioned where perſons were killed in battle fighting againſt the rebels.

No. THE reverend Chriſtopher Robinſon, curate of Stratford on Slaney, narrowly eſcaped from the rebels, the twenty-fourth of May, 1798; one Patrick Lea, a
4 rebel, ſnapped a piſtol four times at him. His houſe and all his property were deſtroyed, by which he, his wife and ſeven children, were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs.

Sworn before alderman Manders of the city of Dublin,
9th July, 1798.

The

202 to 250 The houſes and property of forty-nine perſons were burned by the rebels at Arklow the 9th of June.

404 Hannah Wallis ſwore that her huſband, who was pariſh clerk of Ballyhack church, was murdered by the rebels.

418 Judith Frayne ſwore that her huſband, who lived in the pariſh of Caſtle Ellis, was murdered by them.

799 Ann Cahoe ſwore that her huſband was murdered, who lived in the pariſh of Killtegan, and left two children.

Mary Saunders ſwore that her huſband was murdered the 25th of June, and left two children of the ſame pariſh.

805 Margaret Elliſon ſwore that her huſband was killed the 25th of June, lived at Hacketſtown, and left four children.

1332 Sarah Free, of Stoops, ſwore that her huſband was murdered the 17th of June at Vinegar-hill, belonged to the pariſh of Carnew, and left four children.

1411 Eliza Foley ſwore that her huſband was murdered the 25th of June and left one child; he was of the pariſh of Carnew.

1412 Anne Jackſon of Graige was murdered the 25th of June.

1533 Eliza Freeman ſwore that her huſband was murdered at Denoloſſory, and left two children; he was of the pariſh of Denoloſſory.

1635 Jane Carleton of Kilguagan, ſwore that her huſband was taken from his houſe and murdered the ſecond of July, and left one child; he was of the pariſh of Aghald.

1679 Mary Waddock of Tomriland, ſwore that her huſband was murdered the fourteenth of June with much cruelty.

1731 Suſannah Gore of Marigar, ſwore that her huſband was murdered, and left two children; he was of the pariſh of Tomriland.

1736 Mary Twamly of Roſſinaſtraw, ſwore that her huſband was murdered, and left eight children.

1748 Eliza Bolton, of Rathdrum, ſwore that her huſband, a weaver, was killed there, and left one child; he was of the pariſh of Clara.

Eliza Mitchell, ſwore that her huſband was mur-
1827 dered the ſixteenth of September at Carnew, and
left four children; he was of the pariſh of Carnew.

John Hope, yeoman, taken the 10th of June, brought to Vinegar-hill and piked; was of the pariſh of Carnew,

John Brady, do. do. do. of do.

John Foſter, piked the Sunday before the battle of Vinegar-hill, at Tinahely, was of the pariſh of do.

John Walker, ſhot and piked the day after do. at Shrule, was of the pariſh of do.

Thomas Braddel, piked at Monaſeed, pariſh of do.

Joſhua Scott, do. at do. do.

Matthew Dowſe, of Ballynabarny, pariſh of Kilpipe, was killed near do.

On the ſecond of July, killed at the battle of Ballyrahin, captain Chamney, his nephew Joſeph Chamney of Ballyrahin, captain Nixon of Nurney, James Twamley of do. Chriſtopher Twamley of do. Michael Leonard of do. and James Bardon of do. in the pariſh of Coolakenny; all proteſtants.

Taken from Coolkenno town the ſame day and piked, in cold blood, George Daviſon, Joſeph and William Halfpenny, Thomas Charlton, and alſo William Mires of Crownalay. The ſame day William Watters and John Reſtly of Coolatin, pariſh of Carnew, were piked. The ſame day George Driver, William Rice and Anneſley Green of Tinahely, pariſh of Kilcomen, were piked; all proteſtants.

The ſame day, James Smith, and John Waters of Croſs Patrick, were piked.

John Waddock, a papiſt, was taken out of his bed and murdered, for having ſeized a rebel with a piſtol in his hand, returning from the battle of Newtown-mount-kennedy.

John Beaghan was murdered in cold blood, pariſh of Tomriland.

Mr. Robert Freeman, ſen.	do.	pariſh of Tomriland.
John Burbridge	do.	do.
Henry Marks	do.	do.
John Maſon	do.	of Raheen.
John Langrel	do.	of Cappagh.
Samuel Langrel	do.	of Ballynabarny.
William Carter	do.	of Ballintornhigh.

Thomas Hatton was murdered while attending his farm at Tomriland.

Joſeph Elliſon,
John Bolton,
John Goggin,
Were three ſupplementary yeomen, and, having gone into the mountains to aſſiſt Mr. Chritchley in collecting cattle, they fell into the hands of the rebels, who put them to death with extreme torture with pikes.

Edward Dockrell, of the pariſh of Glanely, was piked to death, with extreme torture.

John Wheeler, and Samuel Wheeler his ſon, were taken from their looms at Mr. Allen's woollen manufactory, which they deſtroyed, in the pariſh of Greenan, and were carried to Glenmalure, where they were mangled with pikes in a moſt ſhocking manner; the father received ſixty pike wounds.

Michael Twamley, of Coolafancy, and George Heppenſtal of Roſnaſtraw, were taken off ſeveral miles and piked to death.

Moore and Chriſtopher Kavanagh of Mount Pleaſant, carried to Ballymanus and piked to death.

Peter Twamley, of Coolſkenno, was piked to death.
Peter Twamley, of Crownaleagh, do.
Roger Pierce, of Ballythomas, do.
Edward Hopkins, of Currindog, do.

Thomas Bryan,
Joſeph Bryan,
James Bryan,
Taken from their houſes in the evening and butchered, two brothers and a ſon, of Ballyknockan.

Joſeph Tate, of Coolſlake, piked to death.
Chriſtopher Cooper, of Newbridge, do.
John Leeſon, of Ballyteſkin, do.

Edward Keegan, yeoman in Mr. Beauman's corps, two of Hompeſch's dragoons taken in Glenmalure, and two commiſſary generals drivers taken at Killballyowen, and killed at Aughavanagh.

On the 6th of October three men of the name of Hall, a ſon and two brothers, of the Caſtletown corps of yeomanry, were murdered near Wicklow.

In the ſame month, two farmers, of the names of Stewart and Synnott, were murdered near Hacketſtown.

One Cooke was murdered at Hollymount the ſame month.

George Carr was murdered the 28th of June at Loughpark.

Lawrence and John Farren, two papiſts, entered the houſe of William Moody of Coolabeg, county of Wicklow, the 29th of September, 1798, and raviſhed Anne his wife, one after the other, one held her for the other; and they ſaid, "We will ſow croppies in you, you heretick bitch!" She had ſeven children near her while they perpetrated this barbarous act, for which they were afterwards hanged.

A proteſtant child of four years old was put to death at Tinnebawn, on the borders of the county of Wexford. All the houſes of the middle and lower claſs of proteſtants, with very few exceptions, were burnt in the county of Wicklow, and the manſion houſes of the gentlemen ſuffered the ſame fate, except ſuch whoſe proprietors could afford to keep a guard in them.

A proclamation, containing denunciations againſt the government and againſt hereticks, was circulated in the pariſh of Rathdrum and county of Wicklow, in the Spring of 1798, and begins thus; it was the production of a popiſh ſchool-maſter who was a ſecretary among the United Iriſhmen:

A notice and caution to the Publick.

"WHEREAS we, the united loyal ſubjects of different counties to liberty, are credibly informed, that the orange-men and hereticks in general of the pariſh of Rathdrum and county of Wicklow, and other parts, by the authority of their diabolical government and their own infernal inſtitution, are circulating through different parts of theſe counties, a proclamation for all United Iriſhmen of every perſuaſion whatſoever, and croppies in general, to bring in all their guns, pikes, and arms of all ſorts, and to diſcover all in general one of another, who made them United Iriſhmen," &c. &c.

This alludes to the manifeſtoes iſſued by the magiſtrates, offering the moſt conciliating terms to the diſaffected, inviting them to return to their allegiance, and offering them a full pardon if they complied with them.

County of Wicklow, to wit. } THE informations of Joſeph and John Thomſon, of Roundwood in ſaid county, yeomen, father and ſon, who, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, ſay, That ſhortly after the patron of the Seven Churches in June, 1798, they were taken priſoners by the rebels, and after ſome time they were brought to the Seven Churches and kept priſoners in an old yard. When the Wexford rebels joined thoſe of the county of Wicklow, they aſked them, what they, the informants, and the other priſoners were? They received for anſwer, that they were bloody orangeman. The Wexford men ſaid, why are you keeping them there, they ſhould die? They were then driven by a mob of the rebels to the butt of the ſteeple. They ſurrounded them, and made them kneel down and were going to pike them, when ſome of the rebels cried out, that, as they were proteſtants, their blood ſhould not be ſpilled on that bleſſed ground. They were then taken to another part of the Seven Churches, again put on their knees and ſurrounded, firſt having been ſtripped of their ſhoes, hats, and clothes; and again ſome of the rebels cried out that it was bleſſed ground, and no proteſtant blood ſhould be ſpilled there, and that they ſhould be taken to the mountains, there to be piked; that ſome of them, ſo far interfered in their behalf with the officers, that at laſt their lives were ſpared on condition of their joining the rebels, which they did, till they had an opportunity of eſcaping.

JOSEPH THOMSON.
JOHN THOMSON.

Taken and ſworn before me, this 20th of June, 1799,
WILLIAM COLTHURST.

Though numbers of the rebels had fallen by the ſword and the gibbet in the province of Leinſter, a ſpirit of diſloyalty continued for many months after to be as great and univerſal as it was previous to the eruption of the rebellion, particularly in the county of Wicklow.

It appeared on the trial of Joſeph Reilly and David Condron, by court martial, the twenty-eighth of March, 1799, that they attempted to ſeduce and attach to their cauſe ſome ſoldiers of the Fermanagh regiment; and that they formed a conſpiracy to murder William Booth, a proteſtant, and his family, and to burn his houſe and offices. The ſoldiers pretended that they were Roman catholicks, to gain the confidence of the rebels. They deſired the ſoldiers to go to maraud at Booth's houſe; and that he would entertain them if they ſaid they were proteſtants. Condron declared to one of the ſoldiers, that no perſon would be allowed to live in the country contiguous to Roundwood, that was not a true brother.* He declared that they were well furniſhed with arms; that they were to have taken Enniſkerry, and expected to be joined by the King's county militia.

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* It appears that the words true brother were uſed by captain Sharky of the defenders, in the proſpectus found on him in the year 1789. See Appendix, No. II.

On the trial of Charles Doyle, at Wicklow, the twenty-ſecond of March, 1799, it appeared on the evidence of John Harriſon and Arthur Cooper, two ſoldiers of the Fermanagh regiment, that they ſuppoſed them to belong to the King's county regiment, and therefore conſidered them as friends. Doyle aſked Harriſon, whether he was a true catholick? and on being anſwered in the affirmative, he ſaid "God help the poor catholicks of Ireland! if it was not for the militia raiſed there, not one of them would be alive at this time." He alſo ſaid, what do you think of the French fleet that were ſeen off the coaſt? They are to land, not as they did before, but in two or three places, which will give all the true brethren in the kingdom an opportunity of joining their friends. He ſaid, that they were all true brothers in the Glyn, in which they lived, except Booth, who was a bloody orangeman. He deſired him to meet him again on a particular day; and that he would procure for him from his delegate a liſt of the members of his corps; and he requeſted that he would bring a liſt of true brothers in his regiment, that he might return it to his delegate. He told him that they were ſoon to have a grand meeting of brethren in the Glyn, to inſpect all their arms, and ſee whether they were fit for an engagement. He ſaid, that they had delegates at that time employed in collecting money for the cauſe at Clonard, in the county of Meath, and at Carbery, in the county of Kildare. He told Harriſon, that if he would deſert from his regiment, he ſhould have the rank of captain among the brethren. He alſo ſaid, that the buſineſs would be ready for a riſing on the ſixteenth or twentieth of April; and that they would be joined by ſome friends from Dublin, and the King's county; that in order to be made a captain, he muſt aſſiſt in murdering Mr. Colthurſt, becauſe he was active in taking up pikes. He ſaid, he had a pike hid in the hill, the head of which, covered with bacon, leſt it ſhould ruſt, was concealed in one place, and the handle or ſhaft in another.

In the month of April, 1799, five ſoldiers of the Fermanagh regiment were tried at Wicklow, for having conſpired to murder their officers, of which three were ſentenced to be hanged, and two to be tranſported. Theſe unfortunate men fell a prey to the deluſive arts of ſeduction, too often ſucceſsfully practiſed on the king's troops.*

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* The great numbers of the popiſh militia and yeomen who were diſaffected, and the great ſuſceptibility in that order of being ſeduced, demands the ſerious conſideration of the Imperial government.

Early in the month of June, 1798, the rebels attacked and entered the town of Bleſſington, and burned the manſion of the marquis of Downſhire, which, with the furniture, was valued at 12,000l. and many good houſes belonging to Mr. Patrickſon. A few days after they burned or deſtroyed every good houſe in it, except the poſt-office, and Mrs. Farley's. In ſhort, they burned and deſtroyed not only the houſes of the proteſtant gentry, but thoſe of the inferior claſs of that order, and carried off all their cattle for ſome miles round Bleſſington; and the army and the yeomanry retaliated by burning the houſes of thoſe who were notoriouſly diſaffected and had joined the rebels. The rebels burned alſo the houſe of earl Fitzwilliam, who has a very large eſtate in the county of Wicklow, and whoſe great generoſity and benevolence to his numerous tenantry are univerſally known.

After the rebellion had exiſted ſome time, and had ſpread univerſal deſolation in that country, the marquis of Waterford repaired to his beautiful manſion at Hollywood, and, with his uſual humanity and benevolence, announced that he would rebuild all the houſes of the lower claſs of people which had been burned or deſtroyed, provided they would return to their allegiance, and accept the amneſty humanely offered to them by government; but, inſtead of being touched with gratitude by his generous offer, they burned his houſe on the thirteenth of September.

John Mulligan, of Paddock, in ſaid county, depoſed, the twenty-firſt of May, 1798, before lord Powerſcourt, lord Monck, and John Edwards, eſquire, that on the night when the report was ſpread that the orangemen were out to murder the Roman catholicks, he was met and informed by George Coleman of the Long-hill, that the orangemen were to maſſacre all the Roman catholicks; and that he ſhould not get intelligence of it, unleſs he was ſworn an United Iriſhman; and that he was accordingly ſworn by the ſaid Coleman, to whom he gave ſoon after 6d. to buy iron to make a pike head. The ſaid Coleman, and others, cut ſome aſh trees on lord Monck's land to make pike handles; and ſaid, that they expected the French would land and gain the battle; and then that they would have their land cheap.

Roger Coleman, of Ballyteſkin, in ſaid county, ſwore before the ſaid magiſtrates the twenty-firſt of May, 1798, that in the month of November he met one Buſhe, a ſchoolmaſter, on the commons of the Long-hill, and ſuppoſing him to be a United Iriſhman, aſked him to ſwear him into that ſociety; becauſe he was informed, and believed, that the French would come, and that his life would be in danger unleſs he was ſworn.

William Kelly of Killcroney, in ſaid county, depoſed before lord Monck, that he was ſworn an United Iriſhman by one Burke, a ſchoolmaſter, for the ſame reaſon; ſworn the twenty-fourth of May.

Garret Quin, farmer, of Glenene, depoſed before lords Powerſcourt and Monck the twenty-fifth of May, 1798, that he was ſworn an United Iriſhman by one Kelly, a cabinet-maker; and that Charles Gallagher told informant, that they were to aſſiſt the French when they landed, and to fight for Ireland againſt king George.

County of Wicklow,
to wit.

ISAAC HARRISON, of Ballinagee, this day came before me, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That about three weeks ago Daniel Lamb, of Ballinagee aforeſaid, in the county of Wicklow, informed him, that a letter had been received from one Byrne, now impriſoned in Dublin, that the French were expected every day, but certainly not later than the laſt day of May inſtant; that, as ſoon as they arrive, it is intended to murder lord Powerſcourt, lord Monck, Mr. Quin, Mr. Colthurſt, and ſuch gentlemen in the neighbourhood; and farther ſaid, Iſaac Harriſon has heard, and does believe, that Daniel Lamb and many more United Iriſhmen, being apprehenſive that information has been given againſt them, intend to riſe and maſſacre all well-affected perſons in the neighbourhood, either this day or to-morrow.

Sworn before me, May 5th, 1798,
MONCK.

his
ISAAC + HARRISON,
mark.

Witneſs preſent,
E. QUIN.

State of the archdioceſe of Dublin, in the autumn and winter of 1798.

1 VICARAGE of Kilſallaghan, three miles from Finglas: Mr. Collis, the vicar, was obliged to abandon his pariſh and to retire to Dublin through fear of the rebels,

who broke into his houſe, and plundered it; moſt of his proteſtant pariſhioners were obliged to fly to Dublin to ſave their lives.

2 Vicarage of Garretſtown: Hector Monroe, vicar, was obliged to fly to ſave his life; and all his proteſtant pariſhioners were obliged to abandon their houſes for the ſame purpoſe.

3 Pariſh of Clonmethan: Lord Strangford, rector, Galbraith Fenton, curate; moſt of the proteſtant pariſhioners obliged to fly.

4 Vicarage of Hollywood: John Echlin, vicar; all the proteſtants but one obliged to fly for their lives.

5 Vicarage of Luſk: Philip Ryan, vicar; all the pariſhioners obliged to fly.

N. B. All the above are in Fingal, and the moſt remote is not more than ſixteen miles from Dublin.

6 Pariſh of Hollywood: William Porter, rector; all the houſes in the town burned by the rebels; the church converted into a barrack; the glebe-houſe much damaged; all the proteſtant pariſhioners, except one, obliged to fly.

7 Vicarage of Donard: Arthur Conolly, vicar, his houſe and all his property deſtroyed; and many proteſtant pariſhioners obliged to fly from their houſes.

8 Vicarage of Donoghmore: Doctor Edward Ryan, vicar; ſome of the proteſtant pariſhioners murdered, the remainder obliged to fly; the houſes of moſt of them burned; no ſervice in the church for ſeven months.

9 Vicarage of Bleſſington: Hill Benſon, vicar; the church greatly damaged by the rebels; moſt of the proteſtant pariſhioners obliged to fly.

10 Vicarage of Narraghmore: Reverend dean Keatinge, vicar; obliged to fly and reſide in Dublin; glebe-houſe much injured by the rebels; many of the proteſtant pariſhioners murdered; and the remainder obliged to fly to preſerve their lives.

11 Rectory of Fonſtown: Walter Baggot, rector; the church almoſt deſtroyed; one-half of the proteſtant pariſhioners murdered by the rebels; the reſt obliged to fly for their lives.

A ſong of the United Iriſhmen.

ROUSE, Hibernians, from your ſlumbers!
See the moment juſt arrived,
Imperious tyrants for to humble,
Our French brethren are at hand.
Vive la, united heroes,
Triumphant always may they be,
Vive la, our gallant brethren,
That have come to ſet us free.

Erin's ſons, be not faint-hearted,
Welcome, ſing then Ca Ira,
From Killala they are marching,
To the tune of Vive la.
Vive la, united heroes, &c.

To arms quickly, and be ready,
Join the ranks and never flee,
Determined ſtand by one another,
And from tyrants you'll be free.
Vive la, united heroes, &c.

Cruel tyrants who oppreſſed you,
Now with terror ſee their fall!
Then bleſs the heroes who careſs you,
The orange now goes to the wall.
Vive la, united heroes, &c.

Apoſtate orange, why ſo dull now?
Self-willed ſlaves, why do you frown?
Sure you might know how Iriſh freemen
Soon would put your orange down.
Vive la, united heroes,
Triumphant always may they be,
Vive la, our gallant brethren,
That have come to ſet us free.

This was found on the mother of Dogherty, an United Iriſhman who was killed by Woollaghan at Delgany, in the county of Wicklow in autumn 1798. She was ſeen to throw it out of her pocket, yet ſhe ſwore ſhe never ſaw it.*

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* By means of ſongs the paſſions of the multitude were very much raiſed.

No. XVII.

A copy of a letter addreſſed to the earl of Mountnorris, by the undernamed pariſh prieſts and their flocks; and ſigned by them at their reſpective chapels, in the county of Wexford.

November 26th, 1797.

MY LORD,

WE the pariſhioners of   having heard with aſtoniſhment and concern the very extraordinary reſult of the meeting at Gorey, the twentieth of this month, beg leave to aſſure your lordſhip, that we are unconſcious of having incurred the ſtigma ſo ungenerouſly thrown upon us, of diſloyalty and diſaffection; we therefore appeal to your lordſhip, as our neighbour, as a magiſtrate, and as a friend to humanity, to receive our oaths of allegiance, and to aſſure his excellency the earl of Camden, that we are as firmly attached to the conſtitution as any other members of the community, whatever our enemies may inſinuate to the contrary.

We further entreat your lordſhip's interference with government to avert a compliance with the prayer of the memorial,* agreed to on Monday laſt, as being unſupported by evidence, and therefore ill founded.

A ſtriking proof of the tranquillity of this peaceable country appeared at the convention at Enniſcorthy, when, after the ſtricteſt inveſtigation, there were not the ſlighteſt grounds for any pariſh in this diſtrict being proclaimed.

Allow us to aſk your lordſhip, Whether any act of outrage has been committed to juſtify or palliate ſo cruel a meaſure? Should your lordſhip's exertions prove abortive, we mean to beg of you, as one of our governors, to call a meeting of the county; and we truſt that the ſenſe of that meeting will evince how unwarrantably we have been pointed out as proſelytes to defenderiſm; for the congregate body will always protect the individual's good name, which is as dear to him as his life. Before we take leave of your lordſhip, we humbly requeſt you will accept of our tribute of gratitude for your oppoſition to the determination of the twentieth; and you will add to the obligation by conveying our acknowledgments to the ſeven other magiſtrates who ſo liberally ſtepped forward to juſtify us from an imputation which we reprobate as unprovoked and unmerited.

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* This alludes to a memorial ſent to government to have nineteen diſaffected pariſhes, comprehending many Unions, proclaimed: and thoſe prieſts and their congregations addreſſed his lordſhip to avert that meaſure, though theſe pariſhes were at that time deeply engaged in the conſpiracy.

In conſequence of this, lord Mountnorris, and ſome more magiſtrates at his deſire, attended thoſe prieſts at their reſpective chapels, and ſwore the following oath, on the altar:

Union of Blackwater, Killina, and three more pariſhes—Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt.

Millina—Nicholas Synnott, pariſh prieſt.

Union of Roſmanogue and two more—Francis Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt.

Kilcormuck, (the chapel is at Boulavogue)—John Murphy, curate, a rebel general, who was hanged at Tullow.

Killina—Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt.

Monomoling—Michael Lacy, pariſh prieſt.

Caſtle-ellis contains the following chapels, Blackwater, Killila, Ballivaloe and Ballivalden—David Cullen, pariſh prieſt.

Ballycanew—Michael Murphy, a rebel general, ſhot at the battle of Arklow.

Kilmuckridge and Killincooley—Michael Lacy.

Clogh—Francis Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt; John Redmond, his curate, a noted rebel, was hanged.

Ardemin, called the River chapel—Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt; Nicholas Stafford, his curate, a notorious traitor.

Gorey and Killinahew—Francis Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt.

Kilbride and Ferns—Edmond Redmond.

Donamore and Kiltiriſk—Nicholas Redmond.

Balwaldin and Blackwater—David Cullen.

N. B. The Roman catholick biſhops made ſubdiviſions of the pariſhes, and they are denominated from the place where the chapels ſtand.

A copy of an oath, ſworn by nineteen prieſts and their congregations, comprehending many Unions, in the county of Wexford, before lord Mountnorris and other magiſtrates, in the month of November, 1797.

I DO ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, upon the Holy Evangeliſts, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his

majeſty

majeſty king George the third, and to the ſucceſſion of his illuſtrious family to the throne. That I will, to the utmoſt of my power, ſupport the conſtitution as by law eſtabliſhed. That I will uſe every poſſible exertion to prevent and ſuppreſs all tumult, riot, or ſecret conſpiracy. That I am not an United Iriſhman, and that I never will take the oaths of the united men. That I will give up all kinds of arms, or offenſive or defenſive weapons, in my poſſeſſion, and that I will inform againſt any man keeping arms without being regiſtered. All the above I moſt ſolemnly ſwear in the preſence of the Almighty, and as I hope to be ſaved through the merits and mediation of my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, without any equivocation or mental reſervation whatſoever. So help me God.

Copy of a certificate given by the proteſtant clergymen, church-wardens, and proteſtant pariſhioners, of different pariſhes, in the county of Wexford, of the loyalty and peaceable deportment of their Roman catholick fellow-ſubjects, at the inſtance of the latter, in the month of December, 1797.

WE, the miniſter, church-wardens and proteſtant pariſhioners of the pariſh of Kilcormuck, in the county of Wexford, do hereby ſolemnly declare, that we know of no diſpoſition to turbulence or diſloyalty now exiſting in any part of the ſaid pariſh. We ſee the generality of the inhabitants of our pariſh as quiet and as induſtriouſly employed as in the moſt peaceable times. Given under our hands, the third day of December, 1797.*

THOMAS HANDCOCK, *rector.*

It is remarkable that John Murphy, the popiſh curate of this pariſh, laid a plot to aſſaſſinate Mr. Handcock and his congregation, on Whitſunday, when in church, but very fortunately the breaking-out of the rebellion prevented them from going to divine ſervice.

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* This does not appear like cruelty or oppreſſion in the proteſtants of Ireland, ſo baſely and falſely imputed to them by traitors, to palliate their diſaffection!

The following addreſs was preſented to the viceroy, the eighteenth of April, 1798:

Pariſh of Killenerin, and barony of Gorey; ſigned by John Synnott, pariſh prieſt, &c. ſir Thomas Eſmond, of Ballynaſtra, baronet, Laurence Doyle, of Springhill, Laurence White, of Scarnagh, James Doyle, of Mayfield, and one thouſand three hundred and ſixty inhabitants of ſaid pariſh. Dated Killenerin chapel, April the twelfth, 1798, *and publiſhed in the Dublin Journal the third of May,* 1798.

To his excellency John Jeffries Pratt, earl Camden, lord lieutenant and general governor of Ireland.

WE, the Roman catholick inhabitants of the pariſh of Killenerin, in the barony of Gorey, and county of Wexford, do think it our duty to come forward at this criſis of internal diſturbance, thus publickly to declare our unalterable attachment to his ſacred majeſty king George the third; and we do hereby declare, and in the moſt ſolemn manner pledge ourſelves, to ſupport with our lives, fortunes and influence, his majeſty's happy government eſtabliſhed amongſt us, determined as we are to exert ourſelves for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion and ſedition. And we do likewiſe ſolemnly pledge ourſelves, ſhould any perſon attempt to diſſeminate amongſt us ſeditious or levelling principles, all of which we hold in the utmoſt abhorrence, that we will uſe our utmoſt endeavours in bringing ſuch miſcreants to condign puniſhment. And we do further aſſure all our proteſtant brethren, of our ſincere affection for them, and our abſolute determination to co-operate with them in every means in our power, for the ſupport of this happy conſtitution, the ſuppreſſion of rebellion, the welfare of his majeſty's government, and in love and loyalty to his ſacred perſon.

And we do requeſt of the right honourable the earl of Mountnorris, and ſir Thomas Eſmond, baronet, to preſent theſe our declarations to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

The following prieſts and their congregations adopted the ſame addreſs:

1. Caſtlebridge chapel, ſigned by Michael Redmond, pariſh prieſt, and one hundred and fifty Roman catholick pariſhioners.

2. Ballynamonaboy chapel, ſigned by Nicholas Synnott, pariſh prieſt, and above one hundred and ſixty pariſhioners.

3. Ferns and the Union ditto, ſigned by Edward Redmond, pariſh prieſt, and others, for themſelves and one thouſand five hundred of the Union, by and with their conſent.

4. Kilmallock ditto, ſigned by Redmond Rooke, pariſh prieſt, and above one hundred and ſeventy pariſhioners.

5. Gorey ditto, ſigned by Barnaby Murray, and others, for themſelves and ſix hundred and forty-five other Roman catholicks of the pariſh.

6. Kilcormick ditto, ſigned by John Murphy,* curate, for himſelf and ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven of the inhabitants at the chapel of Boulavogue, on Monday, April the ninth.

7. Tomb, Killincher, Roſsmanogue, Clough and Ballyconeen, ſigned by Francis Kavenagh, pariſh prieſt of ſaid Union, for himſelf and eight hundred inhabitants.

8. Ballycanoe, ſigned by M. Murphy,† coadjutor prieſt, for himſelf and ſeven hundred and ſeventy-three pariſhioners.

9. Ardemine, ſigned by Nicholas Stafford, pariſh prieſt, and three hundred and ſixty pariſhioners.

10. Donoghmore, ſigned by Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt, for himſelf and congregation, conſiſting of five hundred and thirty.

11. Kilmuckridge, Killincooly, and half the pariſh of Monomolin, ſigned Michael Lacy, pariſh prieſt, and eight hundred and thirty-four perſons of ſaid pariſhes. Dated April the eighteenth, 1798, and publiſhed in the Dublin Journal of May the fifth.

One hundred guineas reward was offered by the pariſhes of Killenerin, Arklow, and Kilgorman (that is the Roman catholick inhabitants,) for the diſcovery of wicked and deſigning perſons, who ſpread a report that all the different churches in the neighbourhood were to have been attacked on Sunday the twenty-ninth of April, and that a general aſſaſſination of their proteſtant brethren was to have taken place.

Signed by WILLIAM RYAN,
Pariſh prieſt of Arklow and Kilgorman.
JOHN SINNOTT,
Pariſh prieſt of Killenerin.
D. MURPHY,
Pariſh curate of ditto.
Sir THOMAS ESMOND, *baronet.*
LAURENCE DOYLE, *and others.*

In this they aſſure their proteſtant brethren, that they wiſh to have no intereſt ſeparate from theirs, &c.

No.

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* He was a rebel general. † He was killed heading the rebels at Arklow.

No. XVIII. 1.

The diploma of the reverend father John Murphy.

EGO doctor dominus Franciſcus de Aquilar et Rivon, preſbiter, Hiſpalenſis doctor theologus, ejus regiæ univerſitatis portionarius atque prebendatus metropolitanæ ac patriarchalis eccleſiæ ipſiuſmet civitatis, adminiſtratorque actualis hujus ſanctæ domus hoſpitii venerabilium ſacerdotum, pauperum atque infirmorum ſalutem, fidem facio dominum Johannem Murphy, preſbiterum Hibernicum diœceſis Fernenſis, qui ad has partes ſtudiorum cauſa tranſivit atque exiſtit a die decimo tertio menſis Julii, anni milleſimi ſeptingenteſimi octogeſſimi uſque ad preſens, in prædicta domo vivere ac ſubtentari pie cum aſſiſtentia ad ſpiritualia exercitia, cum bono exemplo, ac obedientia ; vacandoque, cum applicatione, ad ſtudia philoſophica ac theologica, majoris collegii divi Thomæ Aquinatis ordinum prædicatorum : Propter quod prædictum dominum Johannem Murphy dignum ac idoneum exiſtimamus ad ſuæ patriæ redditum, ut ſacram miſſionem ſpiritualique officia ademplere poſſit ; in quorum teſtimonium præſentibus literis ſubſcripſi die vigeſimo nono Martii, anni milleſimi ſeptingenteſimi octogeſſimi quinti Hiſpali.

Doctor Franciſcus de Aquilar et Rivon.

The teſtimonium of the reverend father John Murphy, obtained in the univerſity of Seville, in Spain.

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IN DEI NOMINE. AMEN.

NOS, infra ſcripti, rector, regens, ac collegiales cathedratici ſacræ theologiæ, et artium almi majoris collegii, ac generalis ſtudiorum ſcholæ publicæ, pontificiæ, ceſareæ, ac regiæ ſancti Thomæ Aquinatis, ordinis prædicatorum civitatis Hiſpalenſis, notum facimus omnibus, ac ſingulis præſentes literas inſpecturis, D. Joannem Murphy, ex diœceſi Fernenſi oriundum, in publicis ſcholis noſtris philoſophiæ cathedras tribus integris annis Melchione Canono, alœxove theologiæ attente, ſollicite, ſineque notabili interruptione, audiviſſe; in quorum fidem hoc illi inſtrumentum ſigillo

parvo hujus noſtri majoris collegii munitum damus, juridice denuntiati in ſupradicto majori collegio, die quinto menſis Martii, anni Domini milleſimi ſeptingenteſimi octogeſſimi quinti.

Signed by

F. FRANCISCUS DE LEON,
Rector ac theolog. moralis cathed.

And a number of others, whoſe names are now illegible.

[SEAL.]

Father John Murphy's journal; found by captain Hugh Moore.

Saturday-night, May 26, at 6 A. M. 1798.

BEGAN the republick of Ireland in Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, barony of Gorey and pariſh of Kilcormick, commanded by the reverend doctor Murphy, pariſh prieſt of the ſaid pariſh, in the aforeſaid pariſh, when all the proteſtants of that pariſh were diſarmed, and amongſt the aforeſaid, a bigot, named Thomas Bookey, who loſt his life by his raſhneſs.

26. From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the republick attacked a miniſter's houſe for arms, and was denied of, laid ſiege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces; the ſame day burned his houſe and all the orangemen's houſes in that and all the adjoining pariſhes in that part of the country.

The ſame day a part of the army, to the amount of one hundred and four of infantry and two troops of cavalry, attacked the republick on Oulart-hill, when the military were repulſed with the loſs of one hundred and twelve men, and the republick four killed; and then went to a hill called Corrigrua, where the republick encamped that night, and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without reſiſtance, and the ſame day took another town and *ſate* of a biſhop.* At three in the afternoon, the ſame day, they laid ſiege to Enniſcorthy, when they were oppoſed by an army of ſeven hundred men, then they were forced to ſet both ends of the town on fire, and then took the town in the ſpace of one hour, and then encamped on a hill a hill near the town, called Vinegar-hill, where they remained that night.

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* It alludes to Ferns.

BRYAN BULGER,*
DARBY MURPHY, his hand and pen,
dated this 26th day of

Orangemen are men that formed alliance to kill and deſtroy all the catholicks of this kingdom.
GARET LACEY.

28th. At three in the afternoon, which was Whitſunmonday, they marched towards Wexford, and encamped on a hill that night, called the Mountain.

2.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE examination of Samuel Whealey, of Dranay, in the pariſh of Kilcormuck, and county of Wexford, farmer, who, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath and ſaith, That he, this examinant, received information from ſome of his friends and neighbours of the proteſtant religion, on the firſt day of May laſt, that there would be an inſurrection of the United Iriſhmen on that night, at the hour of one o'clock, and that a ſignal would be given to them for that purpoſe, by the lighting of a fire on the top of mount Leinſter ‡ in ſaid county, which was to be anſwered by fires lighted on the higheſt hills in all the adjacent counties, as a ſignal for a general inſurrection; that in conſequence thereof he and his proteſtant neighbours were on their guard for many nights after, but that examinant could not perceive any ſuch fire until Saturday evening the twenty-ſixth day of May laſt, when about ſun-ſet examinant ſaw a fire kindled on an adjoining hill, called Corrigrua,† in ſaid county, and that examinant ſaw a few minutes after another fire, on a riſing ground, contiguous to the houſe of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, in ſaid county, and about a quarter of a mile from the houſe of examinant; and that ſoon after the ſaid John Murphy, and ſome other men, repaired to the houſe of one William Goff, a near neighbour of examinant, and that the ſaid John Murphy cried out aloud, "Pull him out! Pull him out! Have you got him?" to which anſwer was made, "Aye, aye;" and that ſoon after examinant ſaw the houſes of John and Robert Webſter, both proteſtants,* in a ſtate of conflagration, and which houſes were ſet on fire by the ſaid John Murphy and his party. Examinant ſaith, that ſaid John Murphy, and his party, proceeded to a townland called Mullaunree, in ſaid county, and ſet fire to the houſe of James Denniſon, a proteſtant farmer, after having put him and his family to flight. That he and his family ſat up all night, as the ſaid John Murphy, and his party, were proceeding in their deſtructive progreſs; and that being very much alarmed and terrified, one of this examinant's ſons, a private in the Ballaghkeene cavalry, repaired to captain White, who commanded ſaid corps, to inform him thereof, and his other ſon went to Enniſcorthy, to communicate intelligence thereof to the yeomanry and king's troops quartered there. That early on the morning of Whitſunday laſt, the ſaid John Murphy, after having burnt many proteſtant houſes in the neighbourhood, attacked that of the reverend Mr. Burrowes, a proteſtant clergyman, and that ſoon after examinant ſaw the houſe of the ſaid Mr. Burrowes on fire; that the ſaid John Murphy proceeded in his deſtructive progreſs, burning the houſes of proteſtants, until he arrived at the hill of Oulart,† in ſaid county, where the ſaid Murphy encamped, with a numerous body of rebels, and where he, the ſaid Murphy, was joined by one Edward Roche of Garrylough, attended alſo by a conſiderable body of rebels. Examinant ſaith, that having been informed that the ſaid rebels meant to burn his houſe on the night of Whitſunday, he, this examinant, ordered his family to take the furniture thereout, and which they accordingly did; that on the ſaid night, as ſoon as it grew dark, the ſaid rebels, headed by ſaid John Murphy, and the ſaid Edward Roche, went to the houſe of examinant, and burned the ſame; and that examinant lay concealed in a ditch, ſo cloſe to the ſaid houſe while burning, that examinant could with difficulty bear the heat thereof. Examinant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels carried off, or deſtroyed, the whole of examinant's furniture, except one bedtick; that a great number of rebels went the next day in queſt of examinant, in order to put him to death, but that examinant lay concealed in ditches at Dranay aforeſaid. That two or three days after the burning of his houſe, the two daughters of examinant dug a hole a hole in the bawn of ſaid houſe, and having laid ſome oak planks thereon, and having covered the ſame with ſtraw, and afterwards with the aſhes of his houſe ſo burned, examinant lay concealed in ſaid hole for about the ſpace of one month; and that examinant during that time was ſupplied by his wife and daughters with food, but in the night only, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered; examinant ſaith, that during his concealment, the rebels came often and examined the ruins of ſaid houſe, and the fields and ditches in its vicinity, for examinant, declaring at the ſame time, that they would put him to death; and that the ſaid rebels often ſaid during their ſearch, at one time that he was a bloody orangeman, though examinant ſaith he never ſaw an orangeman, nor knew what they meant by that appellation, except that examinant has been univerſally informed that they meant a proteſtant by the word orangeman. That one day that the ſaid rebels went to the ruins of ſaid houſe, in queſt of ſaid examinant, they the ſaid rebels knocked down the ſon of examinant, of the age of nine years, with the but-end of a fire-lock, becauſe the ſaid ſon refuſed to point out where his father lay concealed, and that ſaid rebels put examinant's ſon on his knees three different times, and ſwore they would ſhoot him, unleſs he would do ſo, but that his ſaid ſon declared his ignorance thereof. Examinant ſaith, that during his concealment at Dranay aforeſaid, a great number of proteſtants were ſhot contiguous to examinant's houſe by ſaid rebels, as they were flying acroſs the country from various quarters from the mercileſs rage of ſaid rebels; and that Michael Shea, Anthony Thackberry, Samuel Judd, Benjamin Judd, Clement Goff, James Shaw and Henry Lancaſter, were of the number of proteſtants ſo ſhot or killed with pikes. That when the king's troops were victorious at Vinegar-hill, examinant's daughters called to his relief three of the Ancient Britons, who conveyed examinant to Oulart aforeſaid, on horſeback, as examinant was unable to walk, having had a bad fever from his confinement, and that he was afterwards conveyed by his two ſons to Gorey, in ſaid county, where Mr. Peppard gave examinant a ſmall houſe, as examinant's houſe at Dranay aforeſaid, and all his ſubſtance, were deſtroyed.

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* This, it is ſuppoſed, was written by one Bulger, who attended father Murphy as aid-de-camp.

‡ Plate II. 6. † Plate II. 7.

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* Of Garrybrit.

† Plate III. 2.

SAMUEL WHEALEY.

Sworn before me, the 24th day of
September, 1798,
WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURNE.

3.

County of Wexford, to wit. JOHN ROSSITER, of Grange, in ſaid county, came before me this day, one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county, and voluntarily made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That he, this deponent, heard and believes that John Murphy, aſſiſtant prieſt of Boulavogue, was at the head of the rebels who had burned the houſes of the two Webſters of Garrybrit, and killed lieutenant Bookey, &c. ſome hours before the houſe of the ſaid John Murphy was burnt by his Majeſty's troops.

Sworn before me, this 27th day of July, 1798,
JAMES BOYD.

his
JOHN + ROSSITER,
mark.

County of Wexford, to wit. PETER CRAWLEY, of Glandaw, in ſaid county, farmer, this day came before me, and voluntarily made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That the reverend John Murphy was at the head of the rebels, and had burnt the houſes of John Webſter and Robert Webſter, both of Garrybrit, in ſaid county, farmers and proteſtants, long before the houſe of the ſaid John Murphy was ſet on fire by the Enniſcorthy cavalry; and further, that lieutenant Thomas Bookey, of the Camolin cavalry, and John Donovan, a private of ſaid corps, were killed by the ſaid rebels, with the ſaid John Murphy at their head, many hours before ſaid Murphy's houſe was ſet on fire.

Deponent further ſaith, no houſe was burned in the ſaid John Murphy's pariſh by the army, until he the ſaid John Murphy and party had burnt the ſaid Webſters' houſes as aforeſaid.

PETER CRAWLEY.*

Sworn before me, &c.
RICHARD NEWTON KING.

4.

Copy of an affidavit made before the honourable judge Downes, by T. C. Burrowes, late of Kyle, county Wexford.

THIS deponent ſaith, That the late reverend Robert Burrowes, this deponent's father, was rector of the pariſh of Kilmuckridge, in the county of Wexford, and reſided with his family, conſiſting of this deponent's mother, this deponent, who is aged between fifteen and ſixteen years, and two brothers and two ſiſters, all younger than this deponent, upon the lands of Kyle, within about half a quarter of a mile of the village of Oulart, which is diſtant about ten miles from the town of Wexford.

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* Crawley was a lieutenant-colonel in the rebel army.

That upon Saturday evening, the twenty-ſixth of May laſt, ſeveral of the pariſhioners of Kilmuckridge, and other loyal inhabitants of the neighbourhood of this deponent's father, with their families, took refuge in his houſe from an attack which they ſaid was to be made on them by a numerous body of rebels; that they continued in ſaid houſe until eleven o'clock of ſaid night, when a man named Murphy came to the houſe and informed deponent's father, as this deponent has heard and believes, that he, ſaid Murphy, was himſelf an United Iriſhman, and warned deponent's father to protect himſelf againſt an attack which was intended to be made at day-light in the morning; that this deponent looked out about the houſe, and that, it being an uncommonly light night, they could clearly diſcern men crowding about the adjacent cabins, and lurking about the hedges and ditches; that having fire-arms and ammunition ſufficient for eight or nine perſons in ſaid houſe, they reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; that they accordingly barricaded the lower part of the houſe, and ſtationed themſelves at the upper windows at different ſides of it. Deponent ſaith, that about ſun-riſe of ſaid morning, a numerous body of rebels, amounting to three or four hundred perſons, as this deponent believes, armed principally with pikes, approached ſaid houſe and attacked the ſame, and ſet fire to a range of thatched out-houſes belonging to and adjoining ſaid dwelling-houſe, and fired ſeveral ſhots at the windows at which this deponent and ſaid men were ſtationed; and notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours of this deponent and ſaid men, by firing ſeveral ſhots at ſaid rebels, and killing and wounding ſeveral of them as they approached ſaid houſe, the ſaid rebels ſet fire to the kitchen door, which ſhortly after came to the ſtaircaſe and other parts of ſaid houſe.

This deponent ſaith, that after a defence of about half an hour, being in danger of being ſuffocated by the ſmoke, or conſumed by the flames, and one Murphy, a prieſt, who headed ſaid party, having promiſed protection to deponent's father, upon condition of ſurrendering his arms, deponent and his father iſſued from ſaid houſe, and this deponent and his father gave up their fire-arms, whereupon a ſhot was immediately fired at this deponent, and deponent's father was attacked and murdered by ſeveral men, and this deponent himſelf was ſeverely wounded by a ſtab of a pike through the body, and left by the ſide of his father apparently dead; and that ſeven of the nine men, who were armed by this deponent's father in defence of the houſe, were murdered, and that the houſe and furniture, plate, clothing, leaſes, ſecurities for money and property of every kind contained in ſaid houſe, were deſtroyed, and that the entire ſtock upon the grounds belonging to this deponent's father, except four cows and two calves, were taken away by ſaid rebels; that this deponent, about three o'clock in the afternoon of ſaid day, after the ſaid mob had departed, was found languiſhing in the lawn before ſaid houſe, and conveyed upon a door to the village of Oulart, where deponent's mother and brothers and ſiſters had been received; and that on Tueſday, the twenty-ninth of ſaid month, this deponent, his mother and brothers and ſiſters were eſcorted by a party of ſaid rebels to Caſtle-Anneſley, about five miles diſtant, and kept in cuſtody of a party of ſaid rebels, until Wexford was re-taken; and general Needham having diſcovered where they were, ſent a party of the Durham fencibles, who eſcorted this deponent and the reſt of the family of this deponent's father to Wexford, where deponent's mother, his brothers and ſiſters are now living. And deponent ſaith, that deponent's mother and her family have been deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence, by the loſſes ſuſtained by ſaid rebels, and are now reduced to a ſtate of great indigence.

T. C. BURROWES.*

Sworn before me, this 12th
day of July, 1798,
W. DOWNES.

5.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. THE information of George Williams, farmer, and Elizabeth Williams, wife of the ſaid George, both of Ballyadams, in the pariſh of Kilmuckridge and county of Wexford;

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* This amiable young man died in the ſummer of 1800 of the wound which he received.

ford; who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, make oath and ſay, That the ſaid George is tenant to William Bolton, of Iſland, in ſaid county, eſquire, and that ſaid George Williams, who, with his wife, commonly reſides at Ballyadams, frequently ſlept at the houſe of the ſaid William Bolton, his landlord, for ſome time previous to the twenty-ſeventh of May laſt. Informant, George Williams, ſaith, he was alarmed on the morning of the ſaid twenty-ſeventh of May, about the hour of four o'clock, in the ſaid houſe of Iſland, where he had ſlept the preceding night, by the barking of dogs, and the noiſe of a concourſe of people, tumultuouſly aſſembled in different parts of the country, and alſo by the firing of ſhots. That, on mounting to the upper ſtory of ſaid houſe of Iſland, he ſaw the houſes of many proteſtants on fire in different parts of the adjacent county, and great numbers of the lower claſs of people aſſembled together in a tumultuous manner, and moving from one part of the country to the other. This informant, George, ſaith, that he ſaw among other houſes, thoſe of the following perſons in a ſtate of conflagration: Edward Webſter's, John Davis's, Edward Fox's, the reverend Mr. Burrowes's, at Kyle, in the pariſh of Kilmuckridge, James Johnſon's, Joſeph Aſton's and James Aſton's, John Rath's and James Rath's, William Walſh's, Richard Burke's, Edward Thackaberry's, Francis Colbyrne's, Robert Johnſon's, Charles Francis's, Blakeney Ormſby's, and the houſes of many other perſons, whoſe names this informant cannot at this time recollect; all of whom were of the proteſtant religion. This informant, Elizabeth, who had paſſed the preceding night at her own houſe at Ballyadams aforeſaid, ſaith, that ſhe was alarmed during the whole of the night by the barking of dogs; and that, on riſing about four o'clock, on the morning of Whitſunday laſt, ſhe ſaw great numbers of people moving about in a tumultuous and riotous manner, and ſome perſons on the tops of houſes, looking out, as this informant verily believes, for ſignals; and that two boys, the ſervants of the ſaid George, were on the top of the houſe of the ſaid George Williams, at Ballyadams aforeſaid, looking out in the ſame manner. This informant, Elizabeth, ſaith, that being much terrified at ſuch alarming appearances, ſhe repaired to her huſband, at Iſland, aforeſaid, for protection. Theſe informants ſay, that about the hour of ten o'clock, on the ſame day, Hawtrey White, eſquire, captain of the Ballaghkeene yeomen cavalry, arrived at the houſe of Iſland aforeſaid, and informed the ſaid William Bolton that the rebels had aſſembled in ſo large a body, that his corps, joined to the yeomen of Gorey and Camolin, were not ſufficiently ſtrong to face them; and the ſaid Hawtry White recommended to the ſaid William Bolton, to make his eſcape to the town of Gorey, in ſaid county, as faſt as poſſible. Theſe informants jointly ſay, that the ſaid William Bolton and his family ſet out ſoon after for Gorey aforeſaid, conſiſting of himſelf, Mrs. Bolton and ten children, he and his eldeſt ſon on horſeback, the remainder of his family in his chaiſe and on cars. Theſe informants jointly ſay, that they attended the ſaid William Bolton and his family in their retreat; and that when they had advanced about one mile from Iſland aforeſaid, the ſaid William Bolton, who preceded the party, was ſurrounded by a large party of rebels, who robbed him of his arms. That the ſaid William Bolton and his eldeſt ſon on horſeback, and the chaiſe containing Mrs. Bolton, and ſome of the children, were ſuffered to proceed, but that three cars, containing ſome more of her children, and ſome maid-ſervants, were obliged to retreat to ſome farm-houſes in the neighbourhood; and that one of the ſaid children, a ſon, of about the age of twelve years, alarmed at the ſcuffle which took place, jumped off of the car, and made his eſcape in a circuitous manner, over hedge and ditch, to Gorey aforeſaid. Informants ſay, that the ſaid rebels diſmounted and diſarmed the ſteward of the ſaid William Bolton, and that ſome of them cried out, "Cut at him!" And theſe informants ſay, they are convinced in their minds that they would have murdered the ſaid ſteward, whoſe name is Richard Bolton, but that ſome of them, who happened to have a regard for him, ſaved his life by their interference. Theſe informants ſay, they were ſo much alarmed at the blood-thirſty diſpoſition of the ſaid rebels, that they retreated precipitately, and that theſe informants were cloſely purſued by the ſaid rebels a conſiderable way; but theſe informants eſcaped, and arrived at their own houſe, at Ballyadams aforeſaid, where he, the ſaid George, was diſarmed of his gun by ſome rebels. That on their arrival at their houſe, they found two boys, who were in their ſervice, plundering it of different articles. That this informant, George Williams, aſked one of the ſaid ſervants (both of whom were of the popiſh religion) what he, the ſaid George, ſhould do to ſave his life? and that the ſaid ſervant replied, pointing at the ſame time, "You had better go to that country, which is inhabited by Romans, (meaning Roman catholicks) as the men who reſide there are gone to the proteſtant country, to burn the proteſtants' houſes, and lie down there till night, and then you can make your eſcape." Theſe informants ſay, that when they had gone about a mile and a half from their houſe, they ſaw many houſes in Ballyadams aforeſaid in flames, and that the houſe of theſe informants was alſo in flames. Theſe informants ſay, that ſoon after they were purſued by a body of rebels from Ballyadams aforeſaid; and they verily believe, that the ſaid rebels were ſent in purſuit of theſe informants by their two ſervants whom they left behind them; but they eluded the purſuit of the ſaid rebels by altering their courſe at different times, and by creeping under the cover of hedges, till they arrived at the ſea ſhore; that having aſcended on a high bank near the ſea, they ſaw a great number of proteſtants' houſes on fire; that they ſaw, at ſome diſtance on the ſea ſhore, a woman, who they feared would betray them to the rebels; but, on approaching her, they found her crying bitterly, and lamenting the ſtate of the country; and, as ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſervant to Mr. Burkett, a gentleman farmer whoſe houſe was contiguous, they aſked her, whether ſhe thought her maſter would give them ſome nouriſhment, as they had fled from their own houſe, and narrowly eſcaped with their lives from the rebels, who had plundered them of all their ſubſtance, and that they were almoſt famiſhed? Theſe informants ſay, they were well treated by ſaid Burkett, who gave them a plentiful meal; and that the ſaid Burkett, who is of the proteſtant religion, fearing that his houſe would be burned, had taken out a great part of his furniture, which lay near the ſhore, and that a new-born child lay crying in a cradle near the ſea-ſhore. That ſaid Burkett lamented his ſituation to theſe informants, and expreſſed his fears that the rebels would deſtroy him and his family, as he was a yeoman in captain White's corps of cavalry; and the ſaid Burkett implored theſe informants, on their arrival at Gorey, in ſaid county, to excuſe his non-attendance there, as he could not abandon his family, who he feared would be murdered, and that all his ſubſtance would be deſtroyed, if he left them unprotected. Theſe informants ſay, they were informed by ſaid Burkett, that he was under the neceſſity of ſoliciting the protection of a mean popiſh ſervant, who lived with him, to ſave his life, the lives of his family, and his ſubſtance from being deſtroyed, and that his reliance on him aroſe ſolely from his being of the popiſh religion; and that the ſaid ſervant ſeverely rebuked him, the ſaid Burkett, for making free with this informant George, becauſe he was a loyal ſubject and a yeoman. That they arrived at Gorey in the evening, much haraſſed and fatigued, without any clothes but what they had on their backs; and that their houſe and out-offices have been burnt, and that all their ſubſtance has been deſtroyed or carried off, except four cows and two yearlings, and a few metal pots. Theſe informants ſay, that ſoon after their departure from their houſe at Ballyadams aforeſaid, Mary Thackaberry, the mother of this informant Elizabeth, was attacked, near Ballyadams aforeſaid, by Michael Redmond, ſervant to theſe informants, about the age of twelve years, who threatened to put her to death with a pike, which he then had in his hand; and threatened, at the ſame time, to burn her other daughter's houſe, unleſs ſhe would deliver to him ſome wearing apparel of the ſaid George, which the ſaid Mary had in her cuſtody; and that the ſaid Mary, who is very old and infirm, was obliged, from motives of fear, to give the ſaid wearing apparel to the ſaid Michael Redmond.

GEORGE WILLIAMS,
ELIZABETH WILLIAMS.

Sworn before me, the 27th day of Auguſt, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING,
Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

6.

County of Wexford, to wit. THE examination of John Horton, of Ballingale, of the pariſh of Ferns in ſaid county, who being duly ſworn and examined upon oath, ſaith, That on the twenty-ſeventh day of May laſt, examinant was in the houſe of the reverend Francis Turner, of Ballingale aforeſaid, and that then and there examinant ſaw James Maher and William Beahan, both of Ballycarney, in ſaid county, with a large number of rebels, armed with pikes and guns, who violently attacked ſaid Francis Turner's houſe, and did then and there murder the ſaid Francis Turner, William Chriſtian, Thomas

Dowſe, and three men of the name of Ganford; and that examinant ſaw the aforeſaid William Beahan come into the room where the ſaid Francis Turner lay dead and flouriſh a ſcythe blade, and ſaid "You lye there, my lad, in lavender, like Larry Ward's pig." Examinant further ſaith, that in a few hours after he ſaw the aforeſaid James Maher fire at the Newtownbarry cavalry, at Tombrack, in ſaid county.

his
JOHN + HORTON,
mark.

Taken, ſworn and acknowledged before me, being firſt truly read to examinant, this 16*th March,* 1799, *at Newtownbarry, in ſaid county,*
JOHN JAMES.

Examinant bound in the ſum of 50l. to proſecute.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. THE examination of James Doyle, aged ſeventeen years, ſervant to William Turner, eſquire, who being duly ſworn and examined on oath, ſaith, That on Whitſunday laſt, examinant being at his maſter's brother's houſe, the reverend Francis Turner, of Ballingale, in the county of Wexford, about the hour of two o'clock in the afternoon, a large party of armed rebels, amounting to three hundred and upwards, came to Francis Turner's houſe aforeſaid, who called to them from one of the windows not to attempt his houſe, or he would tranſport them; whereupon they fired at him, and wounded him in the jaw; ſaith, they afterwards broke into his houſe, and demanded of him to deliver up his arms; upon his refuſal, they murdered him and ſeveral other proteſtant neighbours, who came to his houſe for protection, and then burned and deſtroyed his houſe and concerns; ſaith, ſaid party of rebels was headed by Denis Carthy, of Ballycarney, who was armed with piſtols, and fired ſeveral ſhots into the window of ſaid houſe, in ſaid county of Wexford, likewiſe Luke Kehoe, Matthew Bulger, Murtha Nowlan, James Ryan, John Hendrick, John Meade, —— Furlong, Peter Bryan, Mogue Redmond, Mogue Bryan, Martin and Michael Rorke and William Beahan.

JAMES DOYLE.

Sworn before me, the 17*th day of March,* 1798,
WILLIAM JAMES.

County of Wexford, to wit. } THE examination of Cambia Carthy, wife of Mr. William Carthy, of Ballycarney, in this county, who being duly ſworn and examined, depoſeth and ſaith, That on the morning of the twenty-ſeventh of May laſt, Denis Carthy, of the city of Dublin, Moſes Redmond, of Ballycarney, farmer, with many other perſons unknown to informant, left the houſe of ſaid William Carthy, of Ballycarney, with the profeſſed intention of going to the houſe of the reverend Francis Turner, of Ballingale, in this county, to deſtroy the ſame; that in about three hours after, he, the ſaid Denis Carthy, returned to the ſaid houſe of William Carthy, accompanied by James Maher, of Ballycarney, publican; and both the ſaid Denis Carthy and James Maher, did there and then declare, that they, with a number of other perſons unknown to informant, had broke open and afterwards burned the houſe of the ſaid Francis Turner, of Ballingale, and that they had ſhot the ſaid Francis Turner, and afterwards burned him in his houſe; and that the ſaid James Maher did declare to informant, that a quantity of blood, which appeared on his breeches, was the blood of the ſaid Francis Turner; and the ſaid Denis Carthy and James Maher did declare, they had alſo killed, at the houſe of ſaid Francis Turner, five other men, one of whom fell by the hands of the ſaid Denis Carthy, as he the ſaid Denis Carthy did declare.

CAMBIA CARTHY.

Sworn, taken, and acknowledged before me, this 24th July, 1798,
SOLOMON RICHARDS.

Informant bound in 20l. to proſecute when called on.

No. XIX. i.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE information of Benjamin Warren, of Kilcormuck, in the county of Wexford, yeoman, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, informeth and ſaith, That he was taken priſoner by the rebels, at Kilcormuck aforeſaid, on the twenty-ninth day of May, 1798, and was conveyed to the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill, in ſaid county, together with another proteſtant priſoner, of the name of Samuel Weſt, of Kilcormuck aforeſaid;

ſaid; that on the arrival of this informant at ſaid rebel camp, they put him into the walls of an old mill, where there were many other proteſtant priſoners; informant ſaith, that half an hour after the ſaid rebels led out informant to put him to death, for no other reaſon than becauſe he was a proteſtant. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels aſked him, in what religion he would die? when informant anſwered, he would die a proteſtant as he had been bred ſuch. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels then ſaid to informant, "You bloody orange thief, you are damned, and will go to hell the inſtant we put the breath out of you." Informant ſaith, the rebels thereon gave him ſeveral ſtabs of pikes in the body and neck, and that while ſome of the ſaid rebels were wounding informant, others were engaged in tearing off, with great vehemence, the clothes of informant. Informant ſaith, that he ſuffered the moſt excruciating pain from his wounds, and was ſo exhauſted by the loſs of blood, that he lay motionleſs and ſpeechleſs for ſome hours. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebels led out ſoon after thirteen proteſtants, whom they put to death with pikes one after the other in the ſaid rebel camp, and that the body of one of the ſaid proteſtants fell on this informant, which put him to very great pain, and almoſt extinguiſhed what little remains of life there were in him. Informant ſaith, that next morning, finding he had ſtrength enough to creep all-fours, he crept to the gripe of a ditch near the road, where he remained till it was dark, and then informant contrived to make his eſcape. Informant ſaith, he heard, and which he verily believes to be true, that the rebels ſhot, or butchered with pikes, twenty-four proteſtants on the ſaid day on Vinegar-hill aforeſaid. Informant ſaith, that father Murphy, pariſh prieſt of Kilcormuck aforeſaid, was commander in chief in ſaid rebel camp, and that this informant applied to the ſaid Murphy to ſave his life, but that ſaid Murphy replied, he would not interfere about him, as he was going to take Wexford, and that he would leave them (meaning the rebels) to do as they pleaſed with them. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid father Murphy was the firſt perſon who promoted an inſurrection in the county where he lived; and that, on Saturday the twenty-ſixth, and Sunday the twenty-ſeventh of May laſt, he, at the head of a rebel mob, cauſed all the proteſtant houſes in the ſaid pariſh of Kilcormuck to be burned, except three or four which were ſaved. Informant further ſaith, that among the priſoners ſo killed on ſaid day were Henry Hatton, eſquire, portrieve of Enniſcorthy, in ſaid county, and a yeoman in captain Richards's corps of cavalry, Thomas Colbourne, of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, victualler, George Stacey, of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, two men of the name of Gill, of a place called the Oiled-gate, between Enniſcorthy and Wexford, Benjamin Stacey, of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, farmer, Jacob Minchin, of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, cabinet-maker, Edward Briſket, of Enniſcorthy, aforeſaid, merchant, George Sparrow, of ſaid town, farmer, Joſeph Maud, of ſaid town, farmer, and a yeoman in captain Cormick's corps, William Tugman, of the pariſh of Enniſcorthy, weaver, and ſeveral others whoſe names informant cannot at this time recollect. Informant ſaith, he heard, and which he verily believes, that a man of the name of Murtagh Bryan, a common executioner, ſhot twenty-four proteſtants in one day on Vinegar-hill, aforeſaid; that he obtained a glaſs of whiſkey for every perſon ſo ſhot. Informant ſaith, he was informed, and verily believes, that one Luke Byrne, an opulent farmer, aſſaſſinated many proteſtants, and among others, one Samuel Goodiſon, an opulent farmer, of Glendaw, in ſaid county.

Sworn before me, this 23d day of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING,
Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

his
BENJAMIN + WARREN,
mark.

2.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit.

THE information of Richard Sterne, of Enniſcorthy, in the county of Wexford, ſtaymaker, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That, on Whitſun-monday laſt, when the king's troops and the yeomanry were obliged to evacuate the town of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, which they had defended for ſome hours againſt the rebels, captain Richards of the Enniſcorthy cavalry, recommended to this informant, and to many other proteſtant inhabitants of ſaid town, to accompany them in their retreat, which they were about to make, to Wexford from Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, to eſcape the furious rage of the popiſh rebels, who in great numbers had attacked ſaid town, commanded by the reverend father

John Murphy, of Boulavogue, in ſaid county. Informant ſaith, that he being an infirm old man, and having carried on his back a grandchild of the age of five years, he was unable to keep up with the ſaid troops in their march for Wexford; and therefore that he, this informant, accompanied by his wife and a ſon, who was far gone in a conſumption, concealed themſelves in a wood, called Ringwood, within half a mile of Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, where this informant and his ſaid family remained four days and four nights, without receiving any nouriſhment whatever, except ſome potatoes and about a pint of milk from a fiſherman who lived on the banks of the river Slaney; that he, this informant, ſooner than periſh with hunger, went out of the ſaid wood, on or about the fifth day, in the morning, after he had made his eſcape from Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, and that he, this informant, was taken priſoner on the high road near Enniſcorthy, aforeſaid, by a numerous body of the ſaid rebels, who were headed by the ſaid father John Murphy, to whom the ſaid rebels conducted this informant; and that they aſked the ſaid father Murphy what the ſaid rebels ſhould do with this informant, and that the ſaid Murphy deſired the ſaid rebels to diſcharge informant, as they were on their march to Wexford. Informant ſaith, that nevertheleſs the ſaid rebels kept this informant in their cuſtody; that the ſaid rebels led this informant a ſecond time before the ſaid father Murphy, who preceded the ſaid rebels on horſeback with a large crucifix in his arms, and that they aſked the ſaid Murphy a ſecond time, what they ſhould do with this informant? and that the ſaid Murphy replied, they, the rebels, might do as they choſe with this informant; that the ſaid rebels rebuked and abuſed this informant for not having proſtrated himſelf before the ſaid crucifix, and frequently pricked him with their pikes for not having done ſo; that the ſaid rebels frequently told him, this informant, that he was a heretick, that he was damned, and would go to hell; that ſaid rebels ſtrongly urged informant to be chriſtened, to receive the ſacrament from their prieſt, and to go to maſs, and that by doing ſo, he would be ſure of going to heaven, or to purgatory, either one or the other. Informant ſaith, he aſked the ſaid rebels, whether he would ſave his life by conforming to their religion? and that the ſaid rebels replied, he would not, but that by ſo conforming, he ſhould die an eaſy death by being hanged, inſtead of being tortured by pikes; and that the ſaid rebels ſaid to informant that they would hang him to ſave his ſoul, leſt he ſhould afterwards relapſe and become a heretick; that the ſaid rebels then conducted him to the croſs roads near the church of Killuran in ſaid county, where the ſaid rebels again urged this informant to change his religion, having threatened to put him to death with their pikes, unleſs he would do ſo; but informant replied, he would not, that he would die any death, and that inſtant, ſooner than change his religion. Informant ſaith, that a rebel ſerjeant thereon gave this informant a violent blow of a ſpade handle in the head, which ſpade handle was ſhod or pointed with iron; and that when the ſaid ſerjeant was on the point of giving him the ſaid blow, he called out to the other rebels to pike him; that he was knocked down and made ſenſeleſs and ſpeechleſs by the blow ſo inflicted by the ſaid ſerjeant; and that when he lay quite inſenſible on the ground, the other rebels gave him many ſtabs of their pikes in the body; and that one of the ſaid pike wounds paſſed through the body of this informant from one ſide to the other. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid ſerjeant gave him, this informant, a deſperate wound in the head, from whence there iſſued a great quantity of blood; that he lay ſpeechleſs and ſenſeleſs on the road where he was wounded for about an hour, when, having recovered his ſenſes, he crept to the houſe of George Ogle, eſquire, about two miles diſtant, where he received ſome nouriſhment from the ſteward of the ſaid George Ogle; and that the ſaid ſteward told informant he muſt depart, for that as he was an orangeman, (meaning a proteſtant) that his maſter's houſe would be burned; and that he, this informant, would be killed by the rebels if he kept him in it; that he thereon repaired to an adjoining wood, where this informant remained two days and two nights, during which time he received ſome nouriſhment from the ſame ſteward. Informant ſaith, he was at laſt diſcovered in ſaid wood by a rebel woman, who was conſtantly plundering the houſe of ſaid George Ogle, and who informed the rebels who were ſtationed therein, that the ſaid wood was full of orangemen; but that ſaid ſteward informed the ſaid rebels, that this informant was not an orangeman, and had nothing to do with them; and that he was a poor old man that was wounded, and that he would bring this informant to them, the ſaid rebels; that the ſaid ſteward, and the ſaid rebels, repaired to the place where informant lay concealed in ſaid wood; and that ſaid rebels declared, on ſeeing the deplorable ſtate of informant, that they would not hang or pike this informant; that he was then taken to the ſtable of the ſaid George Ogle, where he remained two days and two nights; and then, that he, this informant, was ſuffered to make his eſcape. Informant ſaith, he was ſoon after taken priſoner by another body of rebels, who conducted him to a rebel guard-houſe at Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, where he remained four days, with thirty-two other proteſtant priſoners, where informant would have been ſtarved but for ſome nouriſhment which informant received once a day from his wiſe; that he, and his fellow priſoners, were conveyed, on the fifth day, (to the beſt of informant's recollection) to Vinegar-hill, to be tried by a committee of rebel officers, on which hill, contiguous to Enniſcorthy aforeſaid, he remained two days and two nights; that ſaid rebels ſhot twenty-three of the fellow-priſoners of this informant, and in the preſence of this informant, on Vinegar-hill aforeſaid; and this informant is convinced in his mind, that the ſaid rebels had no other charge or accuſation againſt the ſaid priſoners, but that they were of the proteſtant religion. Informant ſaith, that before the execution of the ſaid priſoners, another prieſt, of the name of Murphy, harangued the ſaid priſoners, in words of the following purport: "You ſons of Belial, that withſtood our holy religion which exiſted eight hundred years before yours began, (cracking the fingers of his right hand, and then of his left,) you will ſee how theſe pikemen will treat you to-morrow, unleſs there is a great reformation in you;" that the ſaid prieſt expreſſed the ſaid words with a loud voice, and in a very angry tone. Informant ſaith, that his life was ſaved by the interference of one William Lacy, brother to a prieſt of that name, who ſeemed to have great power in ſaid rebel camp on Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, and with whom informant had been long acquainted, and from whom informant obtained a protection. Informant ſaith, that the rebels before they wounded him at Killuran aforeſaid, ſtripped informant of his hat and wig, coat and waiſtcoat.

RICHARD STERNE.

Sworn before me, this 29th
of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING,
Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

3.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit.

CATHARINE HEYDON, widow of the reverend Samuel Heydon, late of Ferns in the county of Wexford, deceaſed, and late vicar of the ſaid pariſh of Ferns, and alſo late rector of Carne in the ſaid county, having been duly examined on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, and ſaith, That examinant, her huſband, and all the proteſtant inhabitants of Ferns aforeſaid, on hearing the rebels were advancing in great force, commanded by the reverend John Murphy, a prieſt, on the morning of Whitſunday, the twenty-ſeventh day of May laſt; and that this examinant, with her ſaid huſband, was obliged to fly precipitately to Enniſcorthy, in ſaid county, along with a ſmall detachment of the North Cork militia; and depoſeth, that ſaid town of Enniſcorthy was taken by the rebels on Monday the twenty-eighth day of May laſt; and that on the ſaid day the king's troops and yeomanry, with moſt of the proteſtants there, were obliged to retreat to the town of Wexford, to avoid the mercileſs rage of ſaid rebels; by which examinant and her ſaid huſband were left unprotected, and were obliged to fly from one houſe to another for protection, as moſt of the houſes there were on the ſame day pulled down or burned by the rebels. This examinant ſaith, that ſhe, and her ſaid huſband, retreated at laſt to the houſe of one Stephen Lett, a cabinet-maker, and that two parties of the rebels came into ſaid houſe, and aſſured the ſaid Samuel Heydon, that they would not injure him, he being a good-natured man, as ſome of them declared; and that ſoon after one other rebel came into ſaid houſe, and ſaid, that his information was right, for that ſaid Mr. Heydon was there; on which ſaid Heydon replied, that two parties were there before, and ſaid he ſhould not be moleſted, at which time ſtones were thrown up at the windows; on which ſaid Lett declared, that his houſe would be deſtroyed, if he gave examinant and ſaid Heydon protection any longer, and adviſed examinant and ſaid Heydon to apply for a protection to a prieſt. Examinant ſaith, that this examinant and ſaid Heydon immediately after left ſaid houſe, and did accordingly apply to the reverend John Sutton, a popiſh prieſt, for protection, in the ſtreet of ſaid town, as they were ſurrounded by a large party of the rebels who became riotous, and joſtled examinant, and her huſband; on which ſaid Sutton cried out to ſaid rebels, "Fie! fie!" but afforded them no other protection, at which time this examinant perceived blood running from the noſe of her ſaid huſband; and that his cheek was laid open by a pike, as examinant believes. Examinant ſaith, that ſoon after he ſtaggered and fell to the ground, with this examinant, who kept her arms about him; that thereupon the ſaid rebels daſhed his head ſeveral times againſt the ſtones, for the purpoſe of extinguiſhing what life remained in him; that he ſoon after groaned and expired in this examinant's arms, during which time this examinant, and after, received from them ſeveral blows on the back; that ſaid rebels thereupon took from ſaid Heydon his watch, money, and pocket-book, containing ſeveral bank notes, the amount of which this examinant knows not, but believes ſaid pocket-book contained the amount of his whole property, both in money and bank notes. This examinant further depoſeth, that ſoon after, a ferocious rebel dragged this examinant by her arm down a ſteep hill with great violence, and over the bridge, and to the water ſide, uſing at the ſame time very inſulting and opprobrious language, and aſked examinant if ſhe would go to maſs, and damned examinant for a bitch; ſaid, ſhe was always an enemy to the Roman catholicks; and aſked examinant why ſhe had left her houſe; ſaid, they (meaning the ſaid rebels) had ſettled it this morning; and ſaid rebel declared, he would take examinant to the camp at Vinegar-hill, though ſaid rebel was dragging examinant a contrary way. Examinant further depoſeth, that ſhe called out for help, when a rebel, unknown to examinant, reſcued examinant, and conveyed examinant to the houſe of one Walſh a rebel captain, who had been that morning liberated out of priſon. Examinant ſaith, that ſoon after ſhe arrived at ſaid houſe, her aunt, a lady aged eighty-one years, or thereabouts, was brought there by her ſervant maid, after having been robbed of her ready money, and all her worldly ſubſtance, which ſhe by her will bequeathed to this examinant to a conſiderable amount. Examinant depoſeth, that during ten days ſhe reſided at ſaid Walſh's houſe, ſhe ſuffered very much from poverty, filth, and the ſociety of the moſt profligate wretches, who conſtantly uttered treaſon and blaſphemy, and often hinted that examinant had better go to maſs; and ſaid Walſh, and his wife, informed examinant that it would be at the riſque of their lives to harbour a proteſtant, as an order came from the camp not to protect any ſuch; that during examinant's reſidence at ſaid houſe, and for ſome time after, ſhe had no other clothes to wear, but what ſhe had on her back, and no bed to ſleep on for five weeks and five days. Examinant ſaith, that on leaving ſaid Walſh's, ſhe repaired to the ruinous houſe of Henry Gill, poſtmaſter of the ſaid town, which had been plundered and made a wreck of by the rebels. Examinant ſaith, that ſoon after ſhe went to the ſaid Gill's houſe, a meſſage was ſent to her by ſaid Walſh, that her life was not ſafe unleſs ſhe went to maſs; and in a few days after, about five o'clock in the morning, two rebels, armed with muſkets, broke into examinant's room, and called out to Mrs. Gill to throw this examinant down ſtairs, and if ſhe did not, they would, and her houſe ſhould be burned; on which examinant aſked them what charge they had againſt her? to which they replied, her obſtinacy had been reported yeſterday, and that ſhe muſt go to Wexford, meaning by the word obſtinacy, as ſhe verily believes, was for not going to maſs; that examinant, dreading ſhe might be abuſed by the rebels, aſked the ſaid two ruffians to ſhoot her; on which they replied, they would have nothing to do with one of her ſort, meaning, as ſhe verily believes, a proteſtant; and then ſaid examinant might ſtay there until further orders. Examinant ſaith, that Mrs. Gill told examinant, that ſhe could not any longer protect her with ſafety to herſelf, and eleven children; on which examinant went to ſeveral houſes, whoſe inhabitants refuſed to receive her, though proteſtants, from motives of fear, and the papiſts from motives of hatred; that thereupon one father Clinch, a prieſt, brother to a tenant of examinant's, informed her, that ſhe need not leave ſaid houſe, where ſhe remained in great poverty and diſtreſs, until the king's troops arrived; after which time ſome of the officers, from motives of compaſſion, ſupplied this examinant with proviſions. This examinant ſaith, that the loſs ſhe ſuſtained by having her houſe plundered of houſehold furniture, and other valuable articles, amounts to between five and ſix hundred pounds, excluſive of the money and notes her ſaid huſband was plundered of at Enniſcorthy aforeſaid. This examinant ſaith, that her late huſband, by his livings and his agency from the right honourable lord Monck, including the glebe-houſe and lands at Ferns aforeſaid, enjoyed a yearly income of ſix hundred pounds and upwards.

CATHARINE HEYDON.

Sworn before me, this 31ſt day of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

Part of a converſation which Lewis Bulger had with Mrs. Heydon, after the death of her huſband in Enniſcorthy. He had lived fourteen years with her as butler, and was very active in plundering her houſe at Ferns as ſoon as the rebellion broke out.

A FEW days after the death of Mr. Heydon, and while Mrs. Heydon was in the utmoſt diſtreſs in Enniſcorthy, Lewis Bulger viſited her, told her he would ſave her jaunting-car, and convey her in it to her own houſe; ſhe ſaid ſhe had no houſe, as it belonged to the biſhop, until he appointed another incumbent. "The biſhop!" ſaid Bulger with much contempt; "the biſhop has no houſe now! it may be mine, or that man's," pointing to a pikeman who ſat in the room; "but the biſhop has nothing to do with it; there will be no laws now, for in about three months, every thing will be ſettled in a much better way than they were." He told her, that ſhe might live happily again in her own houſe, provided ſhe would become a Roman catholick, and be ſurrounded by none but by perſons of that religion. She anſwered, that ſhe had charity for perſons of every religion, but that ſhe would live and die in the faith in which ſhe was brought up. Bulger then ſaid, you are liable to be ſhot if you appear in the ſtreet; there will be but one religion on the face of the earth; this is all the handywork of God; and as a proof of the divine interpoſition in favour of the rebellion, he ſaid, "Father John Murphy catches red-hot bullets in his hand."* If a prieſt were to bleſs a piece of meat, the moſt hungry dog would not touch it; this is a common opinion among the lower claſs of papiſts: A prieſt can bring a lighted candle out of a tub of water: He ſaid to her, ſure you won't remain there; ſhe anſwered, that ſhe had no houſe to go to, but that ſhe hoped ſoon to meet his maſter in heaven: On which he obſerved, "I will promiſe you, that you will never meet him there?"

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* All the prieſts actively concerned in the rebellion endeavoured to perſuade their flock that they could do ſo.

What can be expected from a populace drenched with ſuch ſuperſtitious and deleterious doctrines; and who believe that their prieſts can ſuſpend and counteract the operations of nature! What a fruitful ſource of treaſon muſt that opinion be, that the divine will was viſible in favour of a rebellion, formed for the proſtration of the proteſtant ſtate, and the excluſive eſtabliſhment of the popiſh religion, by which alone the maſs of the papiſts believe they can be ſaved!

4.

County of the city of Dublin,
to wit.

THE information of Edward Stacey, of Tomgara, in the county of Wexford, farmer, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he, this informant, was taken priſoner at his own houſe at Tomgara aforeſaid, by four rebels armed with muſkets and ſpears, on the ſixteenth day of June, 1798; and that having led informant to a ſolitary place, about a mile and a quarter from his houſe, one of the ſaid rebels aſked informant of what religion he was, to which informant replied, he was born and bred a proteſtant; on which one of the ſaid rebels aſked informant, whether he did not know that while his body was creeping on earth, that the ſouls of him and all his ſort were burning in hell? Informant ſaith, that he anſwered ſaid rebel by telling him he believed no ſuch thing. Informant ſaith, he was then led by ſaid rebels to a deep marl pit which was full of water, and then that one of ſaid rebels aſked informant whether he could ſwim, and that he ſhould have his choice of leaping into ſaid pit, or of being ſhot; to which informant replied, that he would not be acceſſary to his own death. Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid rebels aſked him in what he believed; to which informant replied, that he believed in the great God that made the heavens and earth; on which the ſaid rebel aſked informant, whether he believed that the virgin Mary was bleſſed above all women; to which informant replied, that he believed ſhe was. Informant having anſwered, becauſe it was left on record, that all generations ſhould call her bleſſed; and that the ſaid rebel ſaid thereon, "You vagabond, how ſhould you know what was left on record?" Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebels then compelled him to go on his knees with his back turned towards them; and that one of the ſaid rebels then fired a muſket at informant, charged with a ball, which ball entered at informant's rump, and paſſed through his private parts. Informant ſaith, he fell to the ground as if dead; that his wife, having heard the ſhot, came up to him, and had informant carried to his own houſe, where he continued confined to his bed for ſix weeks, and at length recovered, though informant had not the aſſiſtance of a doctor or a ſurgeon. Informant ſaith, that the rebels deprived him of his arms on the twenty-eighth day of May preceding. Informant ſaith, that his nephew, Benjamin Stacey, was ſhot in the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill for being a proteſtant; and that George Stacey, the ſon of informant, was killed at Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, for the ſame reaſon. Informant ſaith, that of the four rebels who took informant priſoner as aforeſaid on the ſixteenth day of June, Edward Sinnot was the only perſon he knew; that informant was the near neighbour of ſaid Sinnot, and had been in a ſtate of friendſhip with him; and yet the ſaid Edward Sinnot was the perſon who ſhot informant as before mentioned. Informant ſaith, he verily believes that twenty-three proteſtants were maſſacred on account of their religion, and for no other reaſon, within one mile and a half of the houſe of informant; and that the following perſons were among thoſe who were ſo maſſacred: John Clifford of Caſtle Anneſley, eſquire, John Lord, his ſervant, James Johnſon, Robert Johnſon, Robert Aſton, William Abraham, John Colburne, William Johnſon, James Shaw, Charles Ormſby, Eyre Ormſby, John Johnſon, Elizabeth Stacey, ſiſter-in-law of informant, George Greenlee, Margaret Greenlee his ſiſter, Henry Rouſom, Robert Aire, Edward Earle, Joſeph Aſton.

EDWARD STACEY.

Sworn before me, 24th of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING,
Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

5.

A copy of Mrs. Margaret Hunt's petition, whoſe huſband, a lieutenant in the Enniſcorthy yeomanry, was murdered at Vinegar-hill.

THAT her huſband, fighting againſt the rebels at Enniſcorthy on the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, was wounded in the morning of ſaid day by a gun-ſhot in the belly; and on the ſaid day received ſeven wounds in his head, three in his body, and one in his arm.

That having in part recovered the ſeveral wounds of ſaid twenty-eighth inſtant, he was on the day following ſeized and taken out of his bed by ſaid rebels, one of whom ran up and fired a loaded piſtol at him, by which he fell; another, ſuppoſing him not killed, fired a ſecond piſtol, and a third fired at him, while down, with a muſket.

That having ſurvived all this barbarous and cruel treatment, he was dragged from his bed by ſaid rebels, and was afterwards confined with petitioner in a cold guard-houſe for nine days, where they had no bed, and but little food.

That from thence he was dragged to the rebel camp at Vinegar-hill; from thence to a priſon near ſaid hill, where he was ſhot; that after his body lay expoſed on the publick high road for many days, not being ſuffered by ſaid rebels to be buried or given up to petitioner.

MARGARET HUNT.

Sworn before me, 29th July, 1798,
RICHARD NEWTON KING;

And verified on oath by her and the reverend Joſhua Nunn, vicar of Enniſcorthy, who ſwears he was an eye-witneſs of a great part of the ſaid ſavage treatment.

[*No.* 200, *archives of the houſe of commons.*]

6.

County of Wexford, to wit. } EDWARD ST. LEGER of Bormont, in the county of Wexford, having been duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That on the firſt day of June laſt, he was made a priſoner by a party of rebels, and brought to the old wind-mill on Vinegar-hill, in ſaid county, and which the rebels uſed as a priſon. That he remained in ſaid priſon about half an hour, when he was releaſed at the interceſſion of one Fenlon. Deponent ſaith, as he was leaving the priſon, he ſaw a man ſitting on the ground without clothes, with a bit of a ragged blanket thrown over him, that he never ſaw ſo horrible a figure, that his eyes were out, his head and body ſwelled, his cheeks covered with ulcers; that on deponent's exclaiming, "My God! what miſerable object is that?" the man attempted to ſpeak, but was unable to articulate, and from the ſounds he uttered, deponent believes his tongue had been cut out. Deponent ſaith, that a rebel with arms in his hands, who deponent believes was one of the guard, told deponent that the man was under puniſhment, and mentioned ſomething of a ſlow death; meaning, as deponent believes, that the wretched object was condemned to ſuffer a ſlow death.

EDWARD ST. LEGER.

Sworn before me, this 10th day of January, 1799,
JOHN W. LYSTER.

7.

County of Wexford,
to wit.

THE information of John Pickering, of the Shelmalier yeomen cavalry, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That on or about the ſecond of June laſt, about mid-day, a large body of rebels appeared near the town of Enniſcorthy, and in a field of Mr. Beal's immediately joining the road, that amongſt others he ſaw a man, commonly called Gray Thomas, a proteſtant, who lived at Newcaſtle, near the houſe of Mr. John Hay, and that he ſaw the ſaid Mr. Hay make a deſperate ſtroke of a ſword at the ſaid Gray Thomas, without any provocation that informant could hear, which ſtroke divided a conſiderable portion of his ſkull, and that immediately afterwards a ſhot was fired by a perſon * unknown at the ſaid Gray Thomas, of which he immediately died; but informant is of opinion, that the firſt wound he received from the ſword of ſaid John Hay would have proved mortal; and informant further ſaith, that, upon the murder being committed, the rebels ſhouted and exclaimed that they had put one devil out of the world; after which Mr. Hay addreſſed the rebels, in words to the following effect: "Boys,

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* Laurence Furlong was convicted of this crime at the Spring aſſizes of Wexford, 1801, and hanged. It was proved on ſaid trial, that John Hay (the priſoners having been led out of Beal's barn for execution), ſaid, that they would not have luck or grace while a proteſtant was left alive; on which Gray Thomas approached him with his hat off, and expreſſed a hope that he would protect him, as he had been his friend and neighbour; and that thereon he ſaid, By G—d, I will protect you, and inſtantly cleft his ſkull. That then he aſked, was there no perſon to finiſh the fellow? on which L. Furlong knelt down, and ſhot him through the heart with a muſquet; for which the popiſh multitude applauded him with acclamations.

if there is any among you of the ſame profeſſion (meaning, as informant declares, a proteſtant) put him to death immediately; and if you know any of you to harbour or protect one, I will myſelf put ſuch perſon to death, for they will betray you hereafter." And informant further ſaith, that during the whole of this tranſaction he was not above ſix or ſeven yards from the ſaid John Hay, being detained a priſoner by the rebels. JOHN PICKERING.

Sworn before me, this 28th December, 1798,
being firſt duly read to him,
NATHANIEL CAVENAGH,
a magiſtrate.

Witneſs preſent,
ARM^s. BROWNE,
Firſt lieutenant Shelmalier cavalry.

8.

An authentic account of the behaviour, conduct and confeſſion, of James Beaghan, who was executed on Vinegar-hill, on Saturday the twenty-fourth day of Auguſt, 1799: taken before Chriſtian Wilſon, eſquire, high ſheriff of the county of Wexford, and J. H. Lyſter, eſquire, one of the juſtices of the peace for the ſaid county.

THE day but one before his execution, two popiſh prieſts went to viſit him, and upon their entering his cell, he exclaimed againſt them in theſe words: "Begone from me, you accurſed, who have been the cauſe of my eternal damnation; for were it not for you, I never would have been guilty of murder."—Having ſo ſaid, he turned from them, and requeſted that they might be put out; and in ſome ſhort time after, he requeſted that captain Boyd might be ſent for, to whom he made the following confeſſion:

I, James Beaghan, acknowledge and confeſs that I am guilty of the crime for which I am to ſuffer; but that I did not commit it from ill-will to the people that were murdered, but from the order of * Luke Byrne; I could not diſobey him—no perſon dare refuſe to obey the orders of the commanders. I am ſure that any man in command could ſave the lives of the poor; every man that was a proteſtant was called an orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the pooreſt man in the country. Before the rebellion, I never heard there was any hatred between Roman catholicks and proteſtants, they always lived peaceably together. I always found the proteſtants better maſters and more indulgent landlords than my own religion; during the rebellion, I never ſaw any one interfere to prevent murder, but one Byrne, who ſaved a man. I think all that were preſent were as guilty as thoſe that perpetrated the murders. It was thinking that we were all equally guilty, that prevented me from flying the country. The women were numerous, and were as bad as the men. The rebels treated the priſoners with great ſeverity, very different from the way that I have been uſed in goal. They thought it no more a ſin to kill a proteſtant than a dog; had it not been that they were ſo ſoon quaſhed, they would have fought with each other for the property of the proteſtants. They were beginning before the battle of Vinegar-hill. Ever ſince the rebellion I never heard one of the rebels expreſs the leaſt ſorrow for what was done; on the contrary, I have heard them ſay, they were ſorry that whilſt they had the power they did not kill more, and that there were not half enough killed. I know that the rebels were determined to riſe if the French ſhould come; and I believe they did not give up half their arms. There are guns, bayonets and pikes hid in the country.

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* Luke Byrne, a prieſt, and a commander in the rebel army.

* Now, gentlemen, remember what I tell you: If you and the proteſtants are ever in the power of the catholicks again, as they are now in yours, they will not leave one of you alive; you will all go ſmack ſmooth; even thoſe who campaigned with them, if things had gone well with them, would in the end have been killed. I have heard them ſay ſo many times.

his
Taken before us, Auguſt 23, JAMES + BEAGHAN,
1799, mark.
CHRISTIAN WILSON, *ſheriff.*
J. H. LYSTER, *juſtice of the peace.*
(A copy.)

Having arrived at the place of execution, captain Boyd brought him aſide, and read his confeſſion, and aſked him if it was correctly taken down, to which he anſwered in the affirmative. Juſt as the executioner was about to turn

him

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* From this mark Beaghan ſpoke without having been aſked any queſtions, and with an earneſtneſs and in a manner that ſhewed his ſincerity.

him off, he called out ſaying, “Stop!” and lifting up his cap, ſaid with a very loud voice, “Captain Boyd, you have taken down my confeſſion perfectly correct; if it was not for the prieſts I never would have been guilty of murder, nor have dragged five unfortunate perſons out of the windmill to be murdered.” Amongſt theſe five, were the ſons of old Minchin the carpenter.

9.

A liſt of ſome of the proteſtants maſſacred in the dioceſe of Ferns and county of Wexford, ſpecifying the pariſh or townland where they reſided and were killed, with an account of many atrocities. The ſurviving ſufferers made application to the commiſſioners appointed by parliament for part of the fund appropriated for their relief, and their loſs was ſubſtantiated by their own affidavit and that of the pariſh miniſter, and was certified by their landlord and by a neighbouring magiſtrate. Such affidavits were numerically regiſtered in the archives of the houſe of commons. The number in the left column refers to the number of the affidavit.

No. 69 Samuel Atkin, tide-waiter at Wexford, maſſacred at the bridge of Wexford.

James Auſtin of Ballyadams murdered; left a wife and ſix children.

James Aſton of Kilmuckridge murdered there.

47 Reverend Thomas Troke, curate, murdered on Vinegar-hill firſt of June, his widow in a ſtate of derangement from her misfortunes; one of her children was ſtarved to death, and another died from the ſame cauſe.

2 William Daniel, ſurveyor, murdered on the bridge of Wexford twentieth of June, 1798, left a widow and ſeven children in the utmoſt diſtreſs.

3 Middleton Robſon, exciſe officer, murdered ſame time and place.

5 Reverend Arthur Conolly, his houſe and all his property deſtroyed.

7 Reverend Simon Little, reduced to the utmoſt want and indigence with his wife and four children, by the deſtruction of all his property at Killan.

44 Lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalſh yeomen infantry, killed the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, in defence of Enniſcorthy.

56 John Clarke, weaver, maſſacred on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June.

58 John Smyth, hatter, do. do.

58 Thomas Crane, hoſier, do. do.

58 Abraham Heneſy, do. do.

69 Kenneth Mathewſon, do. do.

58 Thomas Ganford, do. do.

69 George Tully, clothier, do. do.

69 Richard Whitney, farmer, do. do.

60 Reverend Ulyſſes Jacob, curate, obliged to fly on Whitſunday from the pariſh of Donamore.

69 Edward Turner, eſquire, a magiſtrate, murdered at the bridge of Wexford twentieth June, 1798.

78 Robert Earl, murdered near Arklow, and all his property deſtroyed.

101 Jane Reſtwicke ſwore, that her huſband was burned at Scullabogue.

102 Elizabeth Powel ſwore, her huſband was burned at do.

113 Mary Reel ſwore, her huſband was burned at do.

114 Frances Tweedy ſwore, her huſband was burned at do.

121 Ann Barrett ſwore, her huſband was ſhot through miſtake by a Heſſian, while ſtanding at his door.

123 Ann M'Coy ſwore, her huſband was ſhot on the bridge of Wexford.

124 John Giffard ſwore, that his father, Milward Giffard, ſurveyor of exciſe, was ſhot at Scullabogue.

122 Suſanna Turner ſwore, her huſband, Samuel Turner, a ſchool-maſter at Taghmon, was ſhot at Scullabogue.

134 Eliza Box ſwore, her huſband was murdered by the rebels near the Carrig ferry-bridge, the thirty-firſt May, 1798.

131 Henry Roe, M. D. was obliged to fly from Gorey when colonel Walpole was defeated, and had all his property deſtroyed.

145 John Hatchel, hatter, maſſacred at the bridge of Wexford.

158 David Dalton, gauger, of the Enniſcorthy yeomanry, was murdered at Wexford.

159 ——— Tomkin, of Ballygullen, was murdered by the rebels.

169 Robert Miller, of Tintern, burned at Scullabogue.

170 David Cruin, of Tintern, burned at Scullabogue.
171 Thomas Power, and his ſon aged 15 years, do. do.
172 John Pierſon, ſhoe-maker, burned or ſhot at do.
173 Patrick Power, maſon, do. do.
174 George Smith, ſlater, do. do.
175 Joſhua Box, weaver, and ſon aged 12 years do. do.
176 Samuel Boyce, ſhoe-maker, do. do.
177 George Boyce, butcher, do. do.
178 George Canney, weaver, do. do.
179 James Duffield, do. do.
180 Thomas Eakins, do. do.
181 James Carliſle, labourer, do. do.

18[illegible] Reverend James Morgan, rector of Horetown, was driven out of the county, with a large family, and deprived of ſubſiſtence.

190 Robert Wheatley's ſon was murdered at the church of Gorey.

270 The Reverend George Howſe, rector of the union of Inch in the dioceſe of Dublin and county of Wexford, was obliged to fly from his houſe to ſave his life, which the rebels plundered to the amount of four hundred prounds. His wife, three ſons and three daughters, fled without any clothes but what they had on their backs.

274 Mary Rigly ſwore, her huſband was murdered by the rebels the 29th of May, at Enniſcorthy, and her houſe, offices, and all her property deſtroyed.

275 Lucy Hunter ſwore, her huſband, William Hunter, was murdered ſame time, and her houſe and property deſtroyed at Enniſcorthy.

276 Peter Bates, of Monart, farmer, ſwore his houſe, offices, and all his property, were conſumed by the rebels, who murdered his two brothers, two brothers-in-law and one uncle, the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, all of Templeſhambo.

277 Frances Gill of Monglaſs ſwore, her huſband John Gill, farmer, was murdered on Vinegar-hill the twenty-ninth of May, her houſe and property deſtroyed, and ſhe, with ſix children, reduced to great want.

278 Alice Butler of Marley ſwore, her huſband, Richard Butler, was murdered at Enniſcorthy the twenty-eighth of May, for his loyalty; his houſe, offices, &c. burned, and ſhe and three children reduced to want.

280 Joſeph Hawkins of Fairfield, murdered on Vinegar-hill for his loyalty, his houſe, offices, &c. burned, and his wife and three children reduced to want, do.

283 William Simmons, of Shannaul, burnt at Scullabogue, fifth of June, his widow and three children reduced to want.

284 Thomas Whitty, of Rattfilla, ſhot at do. do.

285 Samuel Simmons, burnt at do. do.

291 John Hogan, an opulent ſhop-keeper, impriſoned by the rebels at Wexford, and his houſe plundered to the amount of 1000l.

294 Reverend Roger Owen, loſt to the amount of 700l. and he, his wife, and ſeven children reduced to the utmoſt want, at Camolin.

295 John Harries, of Gorey-hill land, murdered by the rebels.

297 Robert Burkett of Enniſcorthy, plundered to the amount of 1263l.

298 Reverend William Hinſon, curate of Enniſcorthy, deprived of means of ſubſiſtence.

304 Jane Hatton, of Hollywood, ſwore, her father, Henry Hatton, deputy portrieve of Enniſcorthy, was murdered on Vinegar-hill, ſooner than change his religion.

328 John Whitney, of Oldcourt, was ſhot at Scullabogue, of the pariſh of Adamſtown.

329 William Neile, had one brother ſhot, and another burnt at Scullabogue, and Robert Parſlow's father was ſhot, and his brother burnt at do. do.

300 William Dobbyn, of Myſter, with his father and two brothers, were burnt at Scullabogue.

331 Elizabeth Dobbyn, widow of James Dobbyn, of Old court, burnt at do. do.

322 Patrick Dobbyn, of do. do.

360 Mary Store, ſwore, her huſband, James Store, of Windmill, near Wexford, was dragged from his houſe to Three Rock camp, and ſhot there.

366 Jane Rath, of Jameſtown, ſwore, her huſband, Joſeph Rath, was murdered at Enniſcorthy for his loyalty, pariſh of Roſſdroit.

371 Margaret Shaw, of Clough, ſwore, her huſband, Abraham Shaw, was killed by the rebels.

390 Rebecca Colebyrne, of Ballnaſtra, ſwore, her huſband

was murdered the thirtieth of May, of Monomolin pariſh.

382 George Abraham, of Ballyedmond, murdered by the rebels, the ſecond of June.

392 Henry Johnſton, of Balmurtra, murdered on Whitſun Sunday, of the pariſh of Monomolin.

395 Mary Rowſom, of Cullentragh, ſwore, her huſband, a weaver, was murdered by the rebels, of the pariſh of Monomolin.

429 John Oaks, gardener, of Hawtrey White, eſquire, of Peppard's caſtle, murdered on Whitſun Sunday.

434 Thomas Thornton, coachmaker, of Taghmon, murdered in the beginning of the rebellion.

435 John Boyd, eſquire, murdered at Wexford.

442 Reverend Richard Radcliffe, rector of Whitechurch, plundered by the rebels, and deprived of ſubſiſtence.

445 Robert Johnſtone, of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, killed in a battle near Carnew, the thirtieth of June.

450 Edward Slye, ſhop-keeper, murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's pariſh.

452 John Plumer, white ſmith and yeoman, wounded, and afterwards murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's pariſh.

454 Thomas Oaks, of Enniſcorthy, publican, murdered on Vinegar-hill, the thirtieth of May.

455 Francis Monk, and his ſon Edward, maſſacred at Scullabogue, of Roſſgarland.

456 William Jordan, of Foulkes-mill, ſhot at Scullabogue, of do.

457 John Eakins and his ſon, Thomas, burnt at do.; left a widow and five children, of do.

458 Thomas M'Donnell, ſteward of Mr. Leigh, M. P. maſſacred at Scullabogue, left a widow and ſix children, of Roſſgarland.

459 William Gray, weaver, and ſon, ſeventeen years old, both murdered at Scullabogue; left a widow and four children deſtitute.

460 John Magrath's daughter, of Ballybrack, aged eighteen years, was ſhot by the rebels; he, his wife, and ſix children reduced to want.

461 Richard Davis, of St. John's, burnt at Scullabogue; left a widow and ſix children.

462 Joſeph Stannard, and Mary, his wife, both burned at do.; left ſix children, of do.

463 Owen Field, weaver, maſſacred at do.; left a widow and ſix children, of do.

464 John Lindſay, aged twenty-one, and William, his brother, aged nineteen, burnt at do. of Clongeen.

466 John Moran, aged twenty years, maſſacred at do.; left a mother and five children, younger than him, in want and miſery, of do.

543 Mary Edmonds, of Rathaſpeck, union of Wexford, ſwore, her huſband, John Edmonds, was murdered by the rebels, and left four children.

548 John Chamley, burnt at Scullabogue, of Horetown,

549 Samuel Hall, yeoman, of Templeſhannon, killed at Enniſcorthy the twenty-ninth of May; left a widow and four ſmall children, of St. Mary's.

550 Henry Reaſon, a quaker, ſhot at Scullabogue, left a widow and two children.

551 William Fanner, burnt at do. left a widow and three children, of do.

552 John Crumpin, yeoman, in the Scarawalſh corps, murdered the twenty-fifth of July; left a widow and three children, of Drumgold.

556 Edward Byron, burnt at Scullabogue; left a widow and two children, of Horetown.

557 Joſeph Power, do. do. left a widow and children, of do.

561 Joſeph Turpin, murdered by the rebels in cold blood, at Foulks's-mill, on the fifth of June; left four orphan children, of do.

567 George Fiſher, murdered the twenty-fourth of June; left a widow and four children, of Mothel and Dyſart.

568 Anne Tracy, ſwore her ſon was killed by the rebels, who was her only ſupport; ſhe is a widow with ſeven children, of do.

588 Margaret Tugman, ſwore, her huſband, William Tugman, a weaver of Enniſcorthy, was killed by the rebels, and left eight children.

589 Francis Plumer, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, the twentieth of June; left a widow and four children.

594 Benjamin Stacey, murdered the firſt of June, on Vinegar-hill; left a widow and four children, of Templeſhannon.

595 William Power, of Enniſcorthy, murdered the firſt of June, on do.; left a widow and four children, of St. Mary's.

Samuel Radwell, killed at Enniſcorthy, the twenty-eighth of May, in battle, of Roſſdroit.

Andrew Radwell, murdered the thirtieth of May, at David's town.

1824 Anne Caulfield, her huſband murdered at Oulart.

William Hawkins killed at Enniſcorthy.

Six of that name and family were murdered, a father, five legitimate, and one natural ſon.

597 George Stacey of Enniſcorthy, wheelwright, murdered at Vinegar-hill; widow and ſix children left.

598 Joſeph Mackins, ſchoolmaſter of Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill; widow and three children left.

599 Thomas Walkins, farmer, of Clonjordan, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-firſt of May; widow and one child left.

600 James Campbell, and ſon, murdered on Vinegar-hill; a widow and four children left.

602 Thomas Simpſon, linen-weaver, murdered on do.; a widow and two children left.

606 William Caſlin murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-firſt of May; a widow and ſix children, and an infirm mother-in-law left.

609 John Croſhew, murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; a widow left.

612 William Carrol, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirty-firſt of May; a widow and ſeven children left.

Mary Maud, widow, her ſon killed on do. twenty-ninth of May, of Craken, Enniſcorthy.

616 Samuel Crumpton, killed at Enniſcorthy, thirtieth of May, of do. a widow and eight children left.

620 Samuel Barber, of Clevaſs, murdered, twenty-eighth of May; a widow and five children left, pariſh of Enniſcorthy.

622 Charles Cooper, brazier, murdered near Wexford, firſt June; widow and two ſmall children, and ſhe pregnant.

623 Benjamin Sunderland, hatter, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June; widow and five children left.

627 Eliza Pepper, of Tincurry, a ſon killed by the rebels,

bels, ſhe a widow, and ſeven children left, pariſh of Ferns.

628 Patrick Connor, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May; widow and one child left, of Enniſcorthy.

630 John Baubier, of Finchoge, near Enniſcorthy, killed the twenty-eighth of May; three ſmall motherleſs children left.

631 James Rigley, murdered, thirtieth of May, on Vinegar-hill, a wigmaker and a Chelſea penſioner; widow and three ſmall children left, of Enniſcorthy.

632 Thomas Hall, murdered on Vinegar-hill, fourteenth of June; a widow and nine children left, of Enniſcorthy.

633 William Baubier, of Enniſcorthy, murdered twentieth of June, on the bridge of Wexford; widow and two children left.

634 John Hawkins, murdered, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy, of Tomakippeen; widow, three daughters, and one grand-child left.

635 James Sutton, of Clonmore, murdered, fourteenth of June, on Vinegar-hill; a widow, one child, father and mother left, of Enniſcorthy.

637 John Smith, murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-ninth of May; a hatter; a widow helpleſs, aged ſeventy-nine, left, of Enniſcorthy.

639 Samuel Oakes of Finſhoge, killed at Enniſcorthy.

640 Michael Sutton, murdered, thirtieth of May, at Enniſcorthy, of Finſhoge; a widow and ſix children left.

643 John Copeland, killed twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy, of Enniſcorthy.

645 John Larkin, of Enniſcorthy, killed by the rebels.

648 Walter Green, ſhoemaker, murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; a widow and four children left, of Enniſcorthy.

656 Margaret Dixy, of Enniſcorthy, two ſons killed for their loyalty.

657 Joſeph Copeland, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-firſt of June, pariſh of Kilcormuck.

659 William Willis, corn-merchant, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June.

660 Edward Sly, of Blackſtoop, farmer, murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, pariſh of Enniſcorthy.

662 William Mooney, innkeeper, murdered, firſt of June, near Wexford; widow pregnant, and four ſmall children left, of Enniſcorthy.

676 Thomas Crowley, ſhoemaker, killed at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; widow and five children left, of Ferns.

678 William Richardſon, pariſh clerk and ſchoolmaſter of Ferns, killed at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; widow and five children left.

683 James White, nailer, killed at Roſs, fifth of June; widow and ſeven children left.

710 William Sherlock, of Monart, farmer, murdered the twenty-eighth of May; four motherleſs children left.

722 John Whiteacre, of Gorey, murdered.

729 Hannah Walker, of Killinahue, near Gorey, her huſband murdered on Whitſunday, and ſhe fled and left her property; two children left.

730 Robert Webſter, of Garrybrit, murdered in cold blood on the bridge of Enniſcorthy; left a widow and eleven children, property burned, his eldeſt ſon in Ballakeen cavalry, pariſh of Kilcormuck.

731 Eliza Crane, her huſband killed on the bridge of Wexford, twentieth of June.

738 Cornelius Hogan, of Gorey, killed by the rebels.

749 George Horneck, of Girrane, two ſons killed, one between Enniſcorthy and Wexford, the other ſhot at Enniſcorthy, thirtieth of May. His ſon-in-law, George Cooper, was alſo murdered, his houſe burned and property deſtroyed, pariſh of Killane. His brother Philip murdered on Vinegar-hill.

748 William Neal, two ſons killed, one on Vinegar-hill, and one at Scullabogue, of Ballybrennan.

778 Eliza Bates, her huſband killed the fourth of June, 1798, pariſh of Camolin.

857 Jane Maud, her huſband and two ſons killed; nine children left, pariſh of Clough.

866 Anne Maule, her uncle murdered, pariſh of Clough.

933 Mary Murphy, of Tomgara, her huſband killed; two children left, pariſh of Killincooly.

936 Anne Johnſon, her huſband, ſon, and apprentice, murdered, of Gorey.

958 Alice Kennedy, her huſband killed, pariſh of Clough.

986 Anne Piper, her huſband killed, pariſh of Clone.

996 Anne Hendrick, her huſband and ſon killed; three children left, pariſh of Clone.

1002 Catherine Crofts, her huſband murdered, at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May; four children left, of Clone.

1009 Jane Cooke, her huſband killed at Ballatigan.

Reverend Mr. Pentland, a proteſtant clergyman, murdered on Vinegar-hill, he was a reſident at Killan pariſh

1001 Alice Butler, her huſband killed, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy, pariſh of Templeſhambo.

1015 Margaret Stanford, of Tubberneering, her huſband killed; five children left.

1072 Jane Gibſon, her huſband murdered on the bridge of Wexford; twenty-firſt of June; two children left, of Wexford.

1094 Eliza Elliſon, huſband killed; ſix children left, pariſh of Killan.

1098 Mary Byron, her god-father, mother, uncle, and huſband, murdered at New Roſs.

1010 Jane Warren, her huſband murdered at New Roſs, her eldeſt ſon gone mad.

1126 Suſanna Whitney, her ſon murdered on the bridge of Wexford, pariſh of New Roſs.

1130 Anne Vero, of Verona, her huſband, Charles Vero, eſquire, a magiſtrate murdered at Enniſcorthy, of Roſſdroit.

1134 Alice Foxton, of Kyle, her huſband murdered, twenty-ſecond of June, near Gorey; three children left.

1136 Sarah Hinch, her huſband murdered near Gorey, pariſh of Killnehew.

1137 Mary Lord, of C. Anneſly, her huſband murdered at Kilmuckridge; ſix children left.

1143 Sarah Hubſter, her huſband murdered; five children left, pariſh of Killnehew.

1144 Eliza Baſs, her huſband, Joſeph, murdered fourth of June; two children left, pariſh of Gorey.

1146 Mary Whitty, her father murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, of St. Mary's pariſh.

1152 Elizabeth Dormer, her huſband murdered; four children left, of St. Mary's pariſh.

1156 Margaret Goodeſon, her huſband killed at Enniſcorthy; nine children and mother left, of Kilcormuck.

1158 Mary Johnſton, of Garane, her huſband killed fourth June; one child and mother left, pariſh of Kilmuckridge.

1160 Elizabeth Comerford, of Kyle, her huſband killed; five children left, of Kilmuckridge.

1194 Mary Edwards, her huſband burned at Scullabogue; one child left, of Kilavin.

1202 Mary Ralph, her huſband killed, twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy; ſeven children left, of Ferns.

1203 Alice Brownrigg, father murdered; five children left, of New Roſs.

1211 Catharine Warren, her huſband murdered; two children left, of Ballycanew.

1215 Anne Saunders, her father and mother murdered, of Ballycanew.

1217 Eſther Croſhew, her huſband and three ſons murdered, verified by the reverend Joſhua Nunn, of Roſsdroit.

1255 Elizabeth Walſh, of Carrigeen, her huſband killed twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy; one child left.

1269 Anne Love, her huſband murdered, pariſh of Ballycanew.

1272 Eſther Hawkins, her huſband murdered, fifth of June, near Enniſcorthy; three children left, of Templeſhannon.

1274 Suſanna M'Daniel, of Daphne, huſband, William, murdered twenty-eighth of May, at Enniſcorthy; four children left, of Roſſdroit.

1280 Elizabeth Sparrow's huſband, of Templeſhannon, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June; two children left.

1284 Mary Hatton's huſband, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, was portrieve of Enniſcorthy, of St. Mary's.

1288 Mary Sparrow's huſband, Henry, of Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May, of St. Mary's.

1289 Agnala M'Daniel, of Ballygeſton, huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May; five children left.

1291 Sarah Ganford, of Monglaſs; huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-firſt of June.

1292 Mary Preſcott, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twentieth of June; five children left.

1300 Hannah Birt, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered there, twenty-eighth of May; two children left.

1315 Elizabeth Jones, of Tincurry, huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, ſeventh of June; ſix children left, pariſh of Ferns.

1319 Sarah Brickley, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered; three children left.

1321 Martha Rath, of Enniſcorthy, huſband killed there; one child left.

1322 Anne Warren, of Ballinbeg, huſband killed, pariſh of Killan.

1336 Reverend Mr. Heydon, murdered in Enniſcorthy, rector of Ferns.

1354 Elizabeth Beates, of Ballynamona, ſon killed; three children left, pariſh of Tomb.

1358 Elizabeth Butler, of Ballycomeclone, huſband killed; two children left.

1375 Mary Langriſh, of Sandyford, huſband killed at Gorey, in June; three children left young.

1392 Jane Gordon, of Ballyduff, huſband murdered on Wexford bridge, twentieth of June; four children left, pariſh of Tomb.

1445 Catharine Taylor, huſband killed; five children left, pariſh of Camolin.

1463 Elinor M'Bryan, huſband killed at Enniſcorthy, twenty-fifth of June; one child left, of Enniſcorthy.

1464 Mary Saunders's huſband, of Enniſcorthy, murdered the thirtieth of May.

1467 John Stringer, killed at Enniſcorthy by the king's troops, through a miſtake.

1489 Suſanna Leech, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered firſt of June; three children left.

1491 Anne Bint, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered, twenty-eighth of May.

1496 Anne Baſſet, of Enniſcorthy, wounded at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, and murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May.

1497 Margaret Hawkins's huſband, of Greenville, Enniſcorthy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, ſeventh of June; ſix children left.

1500 Thomas Daly, of Enniſcorthy, miller and yeoman, two ſons burned at Scullabogue, one twelve years old, the other fourteen.

1502 Mary Coplin's huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May; ſeven children left, of Edermine.

1504 Rebecca Darmond's huſband, of Corrygrege, murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-ninth of May, pariſh of Templeſhambo.

1506 Elizabeth James, of Mangan, huſband murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-ninth of May; ſeven children left, of Templeſhambo.

1509 Mary Martin, of Oulart, huſband murdered near Enniſcorthy, firſt of June, pariſh of Kilcormuck.

1512 Jane Whitney, of Tinnick, huſband, Thomas, murdered near Enniſcorthy, firſt of June, pariſh of Kilcormuck.

1517 Rebecca Mowles, of Craneſul, huſband murdered, twenty-ninth of May, in flying from Enniſcorthy, to Roſs; two children left, pariſh of Clone.

1521 Anne Hawkins, huſband murdered on Vinegar-hill, twenty-ninth of May; three children left, of Clone.

1526 Margaret Thomas's huſband murdered at Enniſcorthy, twenty-eighth of May, ſexton to Ferns' church; four children left.

1566 Henrietta Parſons, of Gorey, huſband killed near Carnew, thirtieth of June, of Gorey.

1577 Mary Lett, of Newtown, huſband murdered; eight children left, pariſh of Kilmuckridge.

1579 Winifred Slator, of Smithfield, county of Dublin, huſband murdered at Scullabogue.

1652 Hannah Pender, of Clough, huſband murdered; four children left.

1667 Eliza Sutton, Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered at do. twenty-ninth May, three children left.

1672 Mary Brophy, of Curraghmore, huſband murdered at Scullabogue, of Tintern.

1681 Eliza Auſtin, of Ballyadams, huſband murdered; ſix children left.

1682 Eliza Frances, of Ballyadams, huſband killed, ſix children left.

1698 Eliza Butler, huſband killed, of Gorey cavalry, two children left, of Proſpect.

1755 Elinor Johnſon, huſband murdered, four children left, pariſh of Kilruſh.

1759 Ann Stephens, of Ballinree, huſband taken priſoner 11th June, ſtripped almoſt naked, marched, after five days impriſonment, to Vinegar-hill, without hat or ſhoes, and ſhot there, carried firſt to Gorey, her father alſo killed, three children left, of Tomb.

1761 Mary Hawkins, of Monart, huſband murdered, three children left, of Monomolin.

1769 Mary Lord, of Monomolin, huſband murdered, nine children left.

1771 Hannah Hawkins, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered near do. firſt June, four children left, of St. Mary's.

1807 Ann Griffin, huſband murdered at Vinegar-hill, ſix children left, pariſh of Killan.

1808 Jane Donovan, of Tubbergall, huſband John killed, three children left, pariſh of Kilcormuck.

1809 Mary Lawler of Wexford, killed at do. in a gun-boat, three children left.

1812 Mary Johnſon, huſband murdered, pariſh of Kilmuckridge.

1817 Mary Whitney of Adamſtown, ſon John burned at Scullabogue, pariſh of Adamſtown.

1829 Catherine Reynolds, of Monart, huſband murdered at Enniſcorthy.

1830 Catherine Murphy, of Enniſcorthy, huſband murdered at Vinegar-hill, thirtieth of May, of St. Mary's.

1831 Mary Farrel, of Enniſcorthy, her ſon, one of the five murdered in Killoughrain wood.

1833 Juliana Pepper, ſon murdered eleventh June, on Vinegar-hill, pariſh of Killan.

1837 Mary Edwards, huſband murdered at Vinegar-hill, pariſh of Wexford.

1841 Ann Ormſby, of Gorey, huſband, father, brother, and three couſins, murdered.

542 William Butler, of Clough, three miles from Gorey, murdered, widow and three children left.

1630 Ann Chriſtian, of Clobemon, huſband murdered at Ballingale, at Mr. Turner's, with torture, left four children.

949 Mary Cane, of Clone, her huſband murdered.

1277 Margaret Calliſter purſued and wounded at Enniſcorthy by rebels, twenty-ninth May, and killed unknowingly by the king's troops, twenty-firſt June.

Thomas M‘Daniel, Joſeph M‘Daniel, murdered 20th May, of Roſſdroit.

Henry Biſtot murdered 28th May, at Enniſcorthy.

Jacob Minchin, wounded on 28th May, at Enniſcorthy, afterwards murdered on Vinegar-hill.

Richard Whealy, an old man of eighty-five years, murdered at his own door, of St. Mary, Enniſcorthy.

Thomas Hall murdered, in preſence of his wife, on Vinegar-hill, being firſt cruelly whipped with a ſcourge, compoſed of whipcord and twiſted braſs wire, of do.

Thomas Cavenagh endured the ſame treatment, and ſuffered in preſence of his wife, of do.

628 Pat. Connors, killed on Vinegar-hill.

631 James Rigly murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

William Baſſet, do. do. of do.

Michael Furlong, do. do. being firſt cruelly ſcourged, do.

Edward Preſcot, do. do. of St. Mary, Enniſcorthy.

Thomas Robſon, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of St. Mary, Enniſcorthy.

William Sly, do. do. of do.

Thomas M'Brair, an officer on half pay, murdered on the hill, of do.

Richard Bennet, murdered near St. John's, of do.

Garret Murphy, murdered on the hill, of do.

Richard Murphy, murdered in Barony of Forth, of do.

Henry Drury, murdered in Templeſhannon, of do.

Thomas Rigley, murdered and burned in the market-houſe of Enniſcorthy.

Sarah Daly, wife of a yeoman, forced to Scullabogue and burned in the barn, of do.

William Daly, James Daly, only children of the above, burned with their mother in the barn, the eldeſt ſeventeen years, the other fourteen, of do.

John Plunket, ſenior, murdered at home, of do.

John Plunket, junior, yeoman, wounded in the attack on the town, afterwards thrown by the rebels from an upper window and killed, of do.

Jeremiah Smith murdered on the hill, of do.

John Smith do. do. of do.

Charles Taylor, revenue officer, murdered at Edermine, of do.

Joſeph Smith, murdered on the hill, of do.

Benjamin Sunderland, murdered on the bridge of Wexford, of do.

William Moony, murdered on the road from Wexford to Enniſcorthy, of do.

James Lett, do. of do.

Thomas Wilkinſon, do. of do.

622 Charles Cooper, murdered near Caſtle-bridge, of do.

Thomas Knight, killed in the engagement at Enniſcorthy, of do.

John Brahee, murdered on the hill, of do.

Henry Baſs, murdered fourth June, at Gorey.

James Wheatly, do. at do.

William Spencer, and William Walker, do. ſixth of June, at do.

Thomas Jolly, George Reed, Michael Patchel, John Needham, Joſhua Cheaſe, William Hill, Henry Rogers, Joſeph Reed, George Nicholſon, George Cockell, William Bates, John Cooke, William Spencer, Humphrey Spencer, all murdered twenty-ſecond June, at Gorey, called bloody Friday, with twelve more.

John Godkin, George and William Butler, Peter Clough, Stranford Clough, John Buttle, all killed at the battle of Ballyellis thirtieth June, of Kilbride.

Ralph Williams, murdered ſecond July, at Gorey.

Robert Webſter, Henry Kinch, do. twentieth June, at do.

William Buttle, do. twenty-third June, John Burke, John Ellis, John Fowler, murdered ſixth June, at do.

Robert Maude, Jonathan Sadler, George Carley, George Thomas, John Bennett, proteſtants, killed in the union of Ardcolm, the church in Caſtle-bridge.

Two brothers of the name of Bateman, compelled by their landlord John Hay, to join the rebels, were killed by the king's troops, on their return from Vinegar-hill.

——— Stephens, of Caſtle-bridge, was killed there by the rebels on their firſt riſing.

John Shee, burned at Scullabogue, of Ballybrazil.

William Jeffares, killed at the battle of Roſs.

Richard Burrell, killed by the rebels in their retreat from Roſs, of Mulrankin.

Hyacinth White, burned at Scullabogue, of do. do.

Iſaac Jeffords, killed by the army, of do. do.

Peter Burb, Robert Burb, murdered on Wexford-bridge, of do.

Samuel Murphy, James Fannin, John Warren, George Piper, Joſeph Henry, Thomas James, Samuel James, Robert Hughes, Michael Deacon, proteſtants, murdered in the pariſh of Killan.

Edward Dorman, ſhot fourth June, at Gorey.

William Prender, piked on Gorey-hill, at do.

William and Robert Bale, killed at do. twenty-ſecond of June, of Roſsmenouge.

James Dorman, do. of do.

Robert Mercy, killed tenth June, of Killtennell.

Robert Earl, do. twenty-ſecond June, of Monomolin.

William Griffin, do. twenty-ſecond do. of Ardemine.

Iſaac Earl, piked on Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Feltis, piked on Gorey-hill, of Kilnahue pariſh.

John Tomkin, do. tenth June, on Limerick-hill, of do.

James Moore, do. ninth June, at Arklow-hill, of do.

William Inman, do. thirtieth June, at Ballyellis, of do.

——— Dowger, ſecond July, piked on Gorey-hill, of do.

Roger Pierce, do. at Limerick-hill, of do.

John Maud and ſon, piked on Gorey-hill, of Clough.

John Shaw, do. of do.

William Debbin, do. of do.

Peter Stanford, do. thirtieth June, at Ballyellis, of do.

William Butler, do. thirtieth do. at do. of do.

William and Joſeph Spencer, twenty-ſecond June, of Killcaben.

John and George Hall, killed by Hacket's party, fifteenth October, of do.

John Lancaſter, twenty-ſeventh May, of Kiltriſh.

John Dangrell, do. of do.

Two Shaws, ſhot do. of do.

—— Grindly, and ſiſter, ſhot do. of do.

Henry Johnſon, of Killena, twenty-ſeventh May, of Donoughmore.

James Wrath, do. twenty-ſeventh May, of do.

Joſeph Kennedy, twenty-ſecond June, of Tomb.

Richard Errett, John Lee, John Sharp, of Clough, killed at Gorey, twenty-ſecond of June.

Timothy Foxton, killed at Gorey, ſecond June, of Kilcormuck.

—— James, father and ſon, murdered, ſtriving to eſcape from Roſs, before the battle of Roſs.

Clement Gifford, piked to death, of Roſs.

Three gentlemen, meſſieurs Bartholomew Cliffe, Richard Elliot, and Richard Anneſley, murdered at the Roar, of Roſs.

Two others, a father and a ſon, named Meany, were alſo murdered at a little diſtance in the county Kilkenny, of Roſs.

William Hoare, eſquire, of Harperſtown, captain Allen Cox, of Coolcliffe, piked on Wexford-bridge, twentieth of June.

William Eakins, of Slevoy, burned or ſhot at Scullabogue.

Robert Cook, butler to reverend Robert Hawkſhaw, do.

Do. his wife murdered.

James White, of Taghmon, killed in Roſs.

Benjamin Green, of Coolſtuff, murdered in Wexford.

Two men of the name of Eſmond, William and Thomas, burned or ſhot at Scullabogue.

James Wade, maſon of Coolſtuff, burned at do.

Peter Standford, and William Butler, killed at Ballyellis, of Clough.

William Butler, at Gorey, twenty-ſecond of June, of do.

William Dobbin, and Joſeph Kennedy, twenty ſecond June, of do.

William Jones, fourth June, Thomas Fennel, twenty-ſecond June, of do.

Richard Dugan, do. William Pendor, fourth do. Henry Rynehart, on Wexford-bridge, of do.

Reverend Mr. Burrowes, Joſeph Aſton, of Kilmuckridge.

Thomas Earl, and Edward Howlan Darcy, eſquire, twenty-ſeventh May, of do.

James Eſton, Henry Rath, Robert Johnſton, of do.

Clement Goff, killed in cold blood on his own ground of Tomnaboly, pariſh of Kilcormuck.

Anne Eſcott, a poor old ſchool-miſtreſs, wife of a Chelſea penſioner, wantonly ſmothered with others, in a pumphole, of do.

George Warren, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of Killan-

James Fannin, do. do. of do.

Allen Elliſon, do. do. of do.

Thomas James, do. on the road to Roſs, of do.

Reverend John Pentland, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

James Wade, burned in the barn at Scullabogue, of do.

Samuel Cottom, ſhot at Scullabogue, of Adamſtown.

John Cottom, do. do. of do.

John Whitney, do. do. of do.

John Parſlow, murdered near his own houſe, of do.

Thomas Parſlow, almoſt an ideot, murdered near his father's houſe, of do.

Shepherd Parſlow, eſcaped from the firſt perſecution to Roſs, returned to make up his harveſt, when he was horridly murdered by ſome of the rebellious banditti that infeſted the country, of do.

Thomas Bell, ſhot at Scullabogue, of Tintern.

David Beſley, do. do. of do.

Miles Vaughan, do. do. of do.

William Reel, burned at do. in the barn, of do.

Walter Baſſet, do. do. of do.

Thomas Kelly, burned at Scullabogue, of Tintern.

John Duffield, do. do. of do.

John Power, do. do. of do.

Jane Preſley, do. do. of do.

Ann Preſley, do. do. of do.

Walter Green, murdered on Vinegar-hill, St. Mary's, Enniſcorthy.

William Owens, an aged man, his brains daſhed out by an iron bar, of do.

John Larkin, do. in the barony of Forth, of do.

Henry Cookman, a gentleman deranged in mind, murdered in the ſtreet, of do.

J. Kenerſley, murdered on the hill, an old man, of do.

John Hill, do. do. of do.

George Sparrow do. in the town of Wexford, of do.

John Clarke, do. in Enniſcorthy of do.

Edward Flinn, do. of do.

John Walſh, do. of do.

Philip Anneſley, do. on the hill, of do.

William Clampit, John Dixcy, John Farrell, John Crumpton, and James Peppar, yeomen, ſurpriſed and murdered near the woods of Killoghoran, of do.

Thomas Cook, murdered on the road from Wexford to Enniſcorthy, of St. John's.
Joſeph Grothier, do. on the hill, of do.
William Power, do. of do.
Saunders Frain, forced by the rebels to Roſs, and put in front of the battle where he was killed, of do.
J. Engliſh, burned in the barn at Scullabogue, of do.
James Trimbly, do. of do.
J. Preſcott, murdered in the town of Enniſcorthy, of do.
Edward White, ſenior, eſquire, do. at home, of do.
Edward White, junior, do. do. of do.
William Hawkins, murdered at Davidſtown, of Templeſhannon.
John White, eſquire, do. on the hill, of do.
James Brickley, do. at Oulart, of do.
Samuel Brumpton, do. barony of Forth, of do.
John Brumpton, do. on the hill, of do.
Edward Hayes, do. do. of do.
Thomas Rath, do. at the fort of Duncannon, of do.
Samuel Hall, do. in the town of do.
Samuel Mills, miſſing, of do.
Mrs. Eſmond, ſtarved while the rebels held Enniſcorthy, of do.
Edward Hawkins, murdered on the hill, of Ballitwiſhard.
John Carton, do. do. of do.
Samuel Babier, do. on the hill, of do.
James Sutton, do. do. of do.
Miles Frain, do. at Ballimurran, of do.
Thomas Watkins, do. at home, of Templeſhambo.
Edward Watkins, do. of do.
John Stafford, do. of do.
Thomas Dormer, do. of do.
Roger Percival, murdered on the hill, of Templeſhambo.
Joſeph Brown, do. of do.
William Nanton, do. of do.
Richard Ganford, do. of do.
Stephen William Reynolds, do. on Vinegar-hill, of do.
George James, do. at home, of do.
Richard Coplin, do. do. of do.
John Hawkins, do. on hill, of do.

William Sherlock, do. at Enniſcorthy, of do.

John Sherlock, do. do. of do.

John Pounden, eſquire, firſt wounded in the engagement twenty-eighth May, then murdered, of do.

Samuel Murphy, murdered on Vinegar-hill, of Killan.

George Kearley, boat-builder, aged about ſeventy, a proteſtant, was dragged out of his houſe, put on his knees in his garden, where his brains were blown out; an innocent honeſt man.

William Thornton, coachmaker in Wexford, in endeavouring to make his eſcape to Waterford, taken near Taghmon, his eyes firſt piked out, and barbarouſly murdered the next day.

Proteſtant inhabitants of the pariſh of Ferns, murdered in the rebellion.

Thomas Bookey, eſquire, lieutenant of the Camolin cavalry, killed by father John Murphy's party.

Reverend Francis Turner, rector of Edermine, murdered in his own houſe, of do.

Robert Ganford, farmer, Richard Ganford, his ſon, Richard Ganford, his nephew, Thomas Dowſe, farmer, all murdered in the reverend Mr. Turner's houſe, all of do.

W. Richardſon, pariſh clerk, F. Smith, ditto, R. Thackaberry, farmer, W. Rudd, farmer, T. Crofts, ditto, J. Crofts, his brother, J. Crofts, his nephew, all killed in Enniſcorthy, the day of the firſt engagement, twenty-eighth of May, and all of do.

Roger Sparks, farmer, John Sindon, labourer, John Hawkins, farmer, Thomas Piper, farmer, Thomas Kendrick, farmer, Samuel Kendrick, ditto, his ſon, Samuel Crofts, farmer, William Kane, labourer, T. Mowles, farmer, all murdered on Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Pounder, farmer, John Sly, ditto, John Rickaby, linen weaver, Nicholas Jones, carpenter, John Mackee, gauger, all murdered in Vinegar-hill, of do.

John Berry, labourer, killed at Gorey, of do.

Philip Bacon, labourer, murdered on Wexford-bridge, of do.

George Graham, farmer and miller, murdered in his own houſe, of do.

Thomas Hawkins, and Edward Sly, farmers, killed in retreating to Duncannon Fort, of do.

Thomas Wallis, labourer, killed at Ferns, of do.
Francis Monk, murdered, of Horetown.
Richard Davis, do. of do.
Edward Monk, do. of do.
J. Chamney, do. of do.

Proteſtants who were murdered in the rebellion in the pariſh of Kilcormuck.

Robert Webſter, the nephew of Robert, ſenior, of Kilcormuck.

Holland Finley, Thomas Floyd, Roger Floyd, Thomas Floyd, Thomas Whitney, Samuel Weſt, Samuel Judd, Benjamin Judd, Thomas Fogan, Ann Eſcott, George Kearley, all of Kilcormick.

10.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } ANNE PIPER, alias Kendrick, widow of the late George Piper, came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, and ſaith, That ſhe and her late huſband, George Piper, lived in the Pariſh of Clone, in the county of Wexford, where their houſe and offices were burned, and all their ſubſtance was deſtroyed by the rebels, on the twenty-ninth, or thirtieth of May, 1798, for no other reaſon, as ſhe verily believes, except that they were proteſtants; for the property of all the loyal proteſtants in that county was deſtroyed. Deponent ſaith, that her ſaid huſband was taken priſoner between Vinegar-hill and Scullough's-buſh, in ſaid county, by a party of rebels, who conducted him to Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, where the ſaid rebels were then encamped; and that deponent and her ſaid huſband, with four children, remained there till next morning, viz. Thurſday the thirty-firſt of May, 1798, when they were diſcharged, in conſequence of an oath ſworn by one Thomas Hart, to the following purport: "That he, the ſaid George Piper, was a quiet innocent man;" which oath was ſworn before a rebel court-martial, at that time ſitting at Vinegar-hill aforeſaid. Deponent ſaith, that her ſaid huſband was diſcharged, but at the ſame time was informed, that he could not be ſafe without the protection of a prieſt. In conſequence of which ſhe and her huſband repaired to father Edward Redmond, pariſh prieſt of Ferns, in ſaid county, but as deponent and her huſband were going there, they were arreſted at Milltown-bridge, near Ferns, aforeſaid, by another party of rebels, well armed, who led her ſaid huſband before one William Goff, who ſeemed to be a captain of ſaid rebels, who ordered him to be put to death, and repeatedly ſaid and ſwore that he and every perſon of his profeſſion that came in his way ſhould be put to death; on which the ſaid George Piper produced a paſs obtained from one William Lacy, a rebel leader, and commiſſary to the rebels on Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, to enable him to go and to ſecure his perſon, while he went to father Edward Redmond aforeſaid; but as the ſaid Goff declared that the ſaid paſs was a forgery, ſhe, this deponent, went off with the utmoſt ſpeed to the ſaid Edward Redmond, whom ſhe ſolicited to ſave the life of her huſband, but the ſaid Edward Redmond declared that he could not, and would not do any thing for deponent or her huſband, though the father of deponent and the ſaid Edward Redmond had always lived on terms of intimate friendſhip. Deponent ſaith, ſhe returned directly to Milltown-bridge aforeſaid, and that ſhe told the ſaid rebels, though falſely, in hopes of ſaving her huſband's life, that the ſaid prieſt deſired that her huſband ſhould be conducted to him, and he was accordingly led by a party of rebels before ſaid prieſt. Deponent ſaith, that the ſaid prieſt became very angry, and much enraged, on ſeeing her and her huſband, and declared he would do nothing for her, or any of her huſband's ſort, and he ordered the ſaid George Piper to Vinegar-hill, to ſuffer, where he would get his deſerts; and ſaid, that he and all his ſort, that came in his way, ſhould die, though deponent on her knees, and with tears in her eyes, ſolicited him by the early friendſhip of their fathers, and their cloſe intimacy as neighbours, to ſave her huſband's life; but the ſaid prieſt remained deaf to her intreaties, and ordered her huſband to Vinegar-hill to ſuffer; in conſequence of which deponent ſaith, a rebel attempted to put her ſaid huſband to death with a pike, but the ſaid prieſt ſeized the rebel in his arms, and ordered the ſaid rebels to take the ſaid George Piper to Vinegar-hill, the place of ſufferance for him and all his ſort. Deponent ſaith, her ſaid huſband was immediately conducted to Vinegar-hill, and, as ſhe verily believes, was put to death there that evening, as a woman of the name of Walkin, related to the ſaid George Piper, declared, and has ſince proved, on a court-martial held at Enniſcorthy, in the aforeſaid county, that ſhe ſaw the body of the ſaid George Piper after he was killed, on the evening of ſame day, on Vinegar-hill aforeſaid.

Sworn before me, this 8th day
of June, 1799,
W. LIGHTBURNE.

her
ANNE + PIPER,
mark.

ROBERT

11.

ROBERT WHITNEY, of Moneytucker, in the county of Wexford, a member of captain Richards's yeomen cavalry, depoſes, That he was at Enniſcorthy on the twenty-eighth day of May laſt, on which day the rebels made an attack on ſaid town; that when the troops evacuated ſaid place, he returned to his houſe to protect his wife and family, was purſued, and narrowly eſcaped the fury of the rebels, by concealing himſelf in a covert of furze; that deponent and wife, feeling their ſituation unſafe and dangerous, quitted their houſe, and went for better protection to Henry Alcock's of Wilton in ſaid county, eſquire, where they remained for that night; the next morning deponent, anxious about the fate of his houſe and property, returned and found that his houſe was nearly plundered, and learned that vengeance was denounced againſt him; that in conſequence thereof, he and his wiſe on the ſame day removed from his own houſe to Lingſtown, in the barony of Forth, to the reſidence of Mr. Boxwell, diſtant about twenty miles, and remained there for a few days; in the mean time the rebels plundered him of the entire of his houſehold furniture, proviſion of all kinds, horſes, cows, ſheep, pigs, calves, fowls, &c. burned his dwelling-houſe and out-offices, propagated evil reports of his conduct, as the means of working his deſtruction; in conſequence of which, a ſearch was made for deponent by the rebels, under the command of Thomas Doyle of Moneytucker, who ſtyled himſelf a captain. Deponent was found and brought a priſoner by a guard of rebels from Lingſtown to Enniſcorthy; the charge againſt deponent was, that he was an orangeman, as his mittimus ſet forth, ſigned by John Colclough of Ballyteigue. Deponent on his way experienced ſeveral ſevere aſſaults and inſults; being brought to Enniſcorthy, deponent was put in cloſe confinement for three days, was then taken under a ſtrong guard to Vinegar-hill, where he expected every inſtant to be murdered; that many of the rebels ſharpened their pikes in his preſence, and, with a ſavage pleaſure, exclaimed they did ſo in compliment to him, that he might the ſooner be put out of pain; that he was confined in the tower of a windmill on ſaid hill, from ſeven o'clock in the morning until about five in the afternoon without receiving any kind of nouriſhment; was then marched back to Enniſcorthy, and put into his priſon again, where he remained about an hour, when he was deſired to come out by Thomas

Carty of Enniſcorthy, to a place where the rebels had juſt whipped one George Stacey a loyaliſt; without any trial or reaſon that deponent could account for, he was ſtripped of his coat, waiſtcoat, and ſhirt, and tied up to a tree, planted in the main ſtreet of Enniſcorthy, which the rebels called the tree of liberty; when one of the rebels preſent ordered him to get one hundred and fifty laſhes with a ſcourge compoſed (he was told) of whipcord and wire; before he had received this number, the cords with which his hands were bound looſed by his ſtruggling, when deponent fell on his knees to ſupplicate the rebels not to puniſh him any more, declaring that the face of God he might never ſee if he knew any thing of an orangeman; that the rebels immediately cried out that he was very ſafe in ſaying that, as he knew that no heretick could ever ſee the face of God; not content with this cruelty, they kept him in the ſtreets with a gun preſented at his breaſt, declaring that they would deprive him of his exiſtence. After ſuffering all this agony, they blindfolded him with his ſhirt tied about his head, and dragged him in this condition back to priſon, exclaiming in the moſt ſhocking manner, that if he did not relent before morning, and make ſome diſcoveries of orangemen, that they would pike him to death; that he was ordered dreſſing for the wounds he had received on his ribs and loins; the next day he was marched along with other priſoners to the town of Wexford, guarded by ſeveral rebels, who frequently goaded him with their pikes, to make him get on with that ſpeed, which his languid and reduced condition would not permit him to do; that the ſaid rebels ſtopped him three times on his way, ſwearing that they would ſhoot him; that he was confined in the coal-houſe of the barrack of Wexford, and remained there ſtanding in mire for one whole night, faſtened by cords to another priſoner, nor did he receive more food than a few cold potatoes; that deponent was removed from thence to another apartment not quite ſo bad in the barrack, and continued there a priſoner until liberated by his majeſty's forces, when they took poſſeſſion of ſaid town of Enniſcorthy.

ROBERT WHITNEY.

Sworn before me, this 13*th day*
of October, 1798,
STEPHEN RAM.

County

12.

County of Wexford, to wit. } ROBERT WHITNEY, of Moneytucker, in the county of Wexford, yeoman in the Enniſcorthy cavalry, maketh oath, That he heard the rebels ſay while their priſoner, that if any one of them killed three proteſtants he was ſure of ſalvation; and if any one of them were killed they went directly to heaven, as they were fighting the battle of Chriſt; that on the contrary, that any heretick like him went to hell immediately; that they ſaid it was propheſied many years ago, that there would be but one religion, and that it would be theirs (meaning the popiſh religion,) and any that would not comply by *fair means*, ſhould by the point of the ſword; he alſo depoſes, that the rebels (converſing about the murders that had been committed) ſaid that was the way to put down hereſy, from which he firmly believes, that it was their intention to murder all proteſtants; and he further believes, that no proteſtant can at preſent reſide with ſafety in the country; that his farm is between four and five miles from Enniſcorthy, and that he has not been there ſince the twentieth of September laſt, through fear of being murdered; he alſo depoſes, that while he was at Mr. Boxwell's in the barony of Forth, whither he fled for ſecurity, he heard and truly believes, that one Whitty a popiſh prieſt in that country chriſtened many proteſtants; and that he, with thirty-ſeven other priſoners in Enniſcorthy, were obliged in preſervation of their lives to croſs themſelves (or to bleſs themſelves) as the papiſts term that ceremony.

ROBERT WHITNEY.

Sworn before me, at Enniſcorthy,
in the county of Wexford, this
3d day of December, 1798,

WILLIAM RICHARDS.

County of Wexford, to wit. } THE information of Samuel Hendrick, of Kilconnel, in ſaid county, farmer, who being duly examined and ſworn, ſaith, That on the twenty-ninth day of May laſt, informant was taken priſoner by a number of rebels, and by them brought to Patrick Quigley, a popiſh prieſt of the pariſh of Clone, in ſaid county, in order to obtain a protection from him, to preſerve him from being murdered. That informant been brought, as aforeſaid, to the ſaid Patrick Quigley, he replied, when aſked for a protection, that informant, until married, could not obtain a protection, as his preſent marriage, viz. by the reverend Mr. Handcock, miniſter, of the pariſh of Kilcormuck, was of no uſe, as it only ſerved to gratify a brutal paſſion; and muſt therefore be married by him, or ſome other of his perſuaſion. That informant, in preſervation of his life, was again married by the ſaid Patrick Quigley, and that the ſaid Patrick Quigley, at the time of his thus being married, extorted from informant the ſum of one pound two ſhillings and nine pence.

SAMUEL HENDRICK.

Sworn before me at Enniſcorthy,
this 29th day of March, 1799,
A. JACOB.

13.

The trial of Thomas Clooney.

ON the trial of Thomas Clooney, a rebel leader, held at Wexford, the eighth of July, 1799, it appeared, on the evidence of Richard Ganford, and others, that a gang of rebels, who were ſent in queſt of proteſtants, ſeized on Whitſun Monday, 1798, at Mountglaſs, near Clooney's houſe, the ſaid Ganford, John Gill, Iſaac Rigley, his ſon, and ſome other proteſtants; that after burning their houſes, they kept them priſoners that night, and conveyed them next morning to a place called the Leap, where Clooney, and a Mr. Devereux, another rebel leader, were, at the head of a numerous body of them; that theſe two captains ordered the loyaliſts into a gravel pit, and deſired them to prepare to be executed; that ſoon after, an order was given to march to Vinegar-hill, which was inſtantly obeyed; that when they arrived at Mr. Swiney's houſe, in Templeſhannon, a ſuburb of Enniſcorthy, William Hanton, a proteſtant, was dragged out by a party of rebels, and put to death; that the remainder of the priſoners were committed to the old walls of the windmill; that John Gill applied three or four times to Clooney, to ſave his life; that at laſt he ordered the rebel guard to let Gill out to him, which they complied with; that Gill ſtood near Clooney, who was on horſe-back, for near two minutes, about three ſteps from the mill door, when Clooney turned his horſe away, as if to depart. He was then forced back into the mill, and ſoon after ſome perſon cried out, "Drag the orange rogue out!" on which Gill was forced out of the mill, and a rebel cut his throat with a ſcythe. Edward Hampton, one of the priſoners, while on his knees, preparing for death, was ſo near Gill, that his blood ſpouted on him.

14.

VINEGAR-HILL.

The trial of William Fenlon.

ON the trial of William Fenlon, the twelfth of September, 1799, at Wexford, for the murder of Thomas Hall, a proteſtant, on the fourteenth of June, 1798, at Vinegar-hill, it appeared, on the evidence of Mary Hall, widow of the deceaſed, that on the morning of that day, ſhe ſent her ſon with ſome tea to her huſband, who was at that time a priſoner in Mr. Bayle's barn: her ſon returned ſoon after, and told her that his father begged ſhe would repair directly to him, as he had been put into the windmill, on the top of the hill, and was afraid of being put to death; and on going to her huſband, he ſaid, pointing to William Fenlon, the nailer, Bill Fenlon is the perſon that will kill me. Fenlon then entered the mill, and deſired her huſband to come out with him. She aſked Fenlon, whether he would not give her huſband a trial? He anſwered, that he would, and that Daniel Flaherty (a man who had ſworn againſt her huſband) ſhould try him. She ſaid ſhe was contented, provided he was tried; and begged he would have compaſſion on her and her ten children. Fenlon then ſaid he would ſhoot him firſt, and try him afterwards. Fenlon, on that, tore her huſband out of her arms, and placed centries on each door, to keep her in. Some time after, hearing a ſhot fired, ſhe forced her way out of the door and ſaw the rebels dragging a body by the heels. Fenlon was there with a blunderbuſs and an officer's ſaſh; and on enquiring, ſhe found that the body they were dragging was her huſband's. She took the body in her arms, during which time it thundered violently, with much lightning; on which the rebels fell on their knees, and bleſſed themſelves. Some of them deſired her to throw away the body of her huſband, and to bleſs herſelf. They aſked her, "What was the reaſon of the thunder?" She anſwered, "That God was angry at their acts." "No, you whore!" replied they, "God is ſounding the horn of joy, becauſe an orangeman is killed." Her huſband, who ſhe thought was dead, ſtretched out his feet, and turned to her, ſaying, "Molly, my dear, take me from theſe people;" on which he expired. His body was black, as if from a cat-o'nine-tails, and had the mark of a bullet, that entered his breaſt, and came out at his ſhoulder. The rebels, among whom was the priſoner, refuſed to let her take the body; but ſhe ſaid ſhe would not leave it. They ſaid they would not kill her, as ſhe was with child, and ſhe would have a chriſtian,* which ſhe never had before; but that if ſhe was ſo fond of a dead huſband, they would cut him in pieces, and put him in her ſkirts.

James Hall, ſon of the deceaſed, confirmed her evidence, and added, that Morgan Byrne,† ordered a man to whip his father, and called out for one Murtagh Keane,‡ to come to ſhoot him; but ſome one anſwered, that Keane was gone to Mr. Richards's.

15.

The following facts appeared on the trial of Andrew Farrell, a leader of the rebels, charged with being concerned in various murders. He was tried the twenty-ſecond of May, 1800, *at Wexford, having eluded juſtice a long time.*

WILLIAM FURLONG, a proteſtant, declared upon oath, that he was taken priſoner by the rebels, on Whitſun Tueſday, 1798, and conducted to the windmill, where he ſaw the reverend Mr. Pentland, and the reverend Mr. Trocke, three men of the name of Gill, and about thirty more loyaliſts. Andrew Farrell had a ſword in his hand, and was called captain by the rebels. He deſired the loyaliſts to fall on their knees, and prepare for death, as they ſhould be killed directly. He then ſeized Mr. Pentland by the breaſt, and dragged him out of the mill by force, though he reſiſted as much as he could. He was inſtantly put to death, and fourteen or fifteen more immediately met with the ſame fate. Andrew Farrell told the witneſs, that he muſt know where there were arms and ammunition concealed in Enniſcorthy, and that he ſhould be ſaved if he diſcovered where they were. He ſaid he would; and on going there, his life was ſaved by a man who had been malſter to his uncle. He ſaw Farrell diſtributing powder to the rebels. He believes that only eight of the proteſtants who were in the windmill eſcaped death.

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* On a ſuppoſition, that the child muſt be brought up a Roman catholick.

† The ſon of Luke Byrne, a man of wealth and education.

‡ The common executioner, who it is ſaid put three hundred perſons to death on Vinegar-hill.

Francis Bradley, ſaw Farrell conducting to Vinegar-hill Philip Anneſley, a proteſtant, who deſired him to take his watch and money, and give them to his friends, becauſe he ſaid Farrell was taking him to be killed; but he was afraid to do ſo.

Henry Whitney, a proteſtant, who had been a priſoner in the windmill, ſaw Mr. Pentland piked to death, and he believes that twenty-five proteſtants more were put to death at the ſame time. He ſaw their bodies lying dead out-ſide the windmill. Mr. Pentland's, which was naked and bloody, lay ſeparate from the reſt.

When the priſoners were deſired to go on their knees, and prepare for death, meſſieurs Pentland and Trocke expoſtulated and begged they might be ſaved, as they were both clergymen. The former ſaid he was a northern man, and had been but a ſhort time in the country. He then offered his watch, which was taken by a man of the name of Foley.

John Gill, a witneſs, was a priſoner in the windmill, on Whitſun Tueſday. The party who conducted him into it, ſaid, captain Farrell (pointing to Gill) there is an orangemen. Gill aſked Farrell to ſave his life, as he ſaw him much in the eſteem of the rebels. He aſked him his name. He anſwered Gill. Farrell replied, that is a bad name, prepare for death, you have not an hour to live. Gill was a proteſtant name in the county of Wexford.

John Gill, of Monglaſs, was lying dead there. A party of rebels, with guns and pikes, formed a line in front of the windmill door, and behind them there were ſome men on horſe-back. On being led out, he addreſſed the rebels, and aſked them, if they would put a man to death without a trial? Andrew Martin, the executioner, who ſtood inſide the line with a drawn ſword, cried out, "Damn your ſoul, do you come here to preach?" made a ſtab at him, and wounded him in the wriſt. Some of the rebels deſired

Martin to ſtop, and aſked Gill how he would chooſe to die? He replied, as a chriſtian. A man on horſe-back ſaid, are you a chriſtian? He anſwered, that he believed in the Saviour of the world, and that he hoped to be ſaved through him. Martin then ſaid, "Oh! Damnation to your ſoul, you are a chriſtian in your own way," and directly ſtabbed him in the ſide. He then fell on his face, and was ſtabbed in the back, and beat on the head with ſome heavy inſtrument. He ſtill continued in his ſenſes. His brother was next brought out, and having been aſked the ſame queſtion, he boldly anſwered that he would die a proteſtant; on which he was inſtantly put to death. He then fainted, and continued inſenſible till his wife came for him in the evening, and ſhe found great difficulty in ſaving him, as there was an old man with a ſcythe, examining the bodies, and ſtriking it on the head of ſuch of them as had any ſigns of life. She took him to the bottom of the hill, where, finding that he had ſome appearance of life, ſhe concealed his body. Next morning he was diſcovered by a party of rebels, who carried him to the hill, where he was ſaved by a man who was to have married his daughter. About half a mile from the hill, he was met by two men, one of whom fired at him, and the ball grazed his head and ſtunned him. His wife, at her return, found him again, and from that time, till Vinegar-hill was taken by the king's troops, he lay concealed in ditches in that deplorable ſtate; but at laſt recovered, and is ſtill alive. John Auſtin, a proteſtant, was taken priſoner and conducted to Enniſcorthy by one captain Weſt, when Farrell was on parade with ſome rebels. Weſt ſaid, captain Farrell, here is an orangeman. Farrell ordered him to a rebel guard-houſe, where there were fifteen or ſixteen loyaliſts, and ſwore that he would have them all put to death the next night. A Mr. Robinſon who was there begged that Farrell would ſave them. Auſtin was ſaved by the interceſſion of a rebel. John Mooney ſwore, he ſaw Farrell head a party at the attack of Borris, the ſeat of Mr. Kavenagh. That after it, he ſaw him ſworn in a captain, on which father Kearns, the prieſt, kiſſed him. He was called St. Ruth.

Morgan Byrne and he diſputed who ſhould be eldeſt captain. The former ſaid he had ſubſcribed a long time to the United Iriſhmen; Farrell anſwered, that he had ſubſcribed full as long.

David Ogden, a witneſs, ſwore, he was taken priſoner by him at Mr. Wheeler's houſe, whither he had taken refuge. He took him and Mr. Wheeler to conduct them, as he ſaid, to Vinegar-hill; but they were releaſed by one M'Lean, who threatened to go to the hill, and diſcover there, that Farrell, on the day of the battle of Enniſcorthy, diſguiſed in woman's clothes, was robbing, inſtead of fighting, the king's army.

16.

ON the trial of Nicholas Walſh, a rebel leader, held at Wexford, the fourteenth of April, 1800, it was proved that he was a captain of rebels at Enniſcorthy during the firſt week of the rebellion, that he danced round the tree of liberty before his corps in the ſtreets of that town, and offered 50l. for the head of Mr. Jacob, or any other heretick.

On the ſeventh of June, he went to the houſe of Thomas Hall with a number of pikemen, and deſired his wife to deliver up that bloody orangeman her huſband. On her ſaying he was not at home, he went up ſtairs to ſearch for him, leaving two centinels at the front door and two at the back door. She and her children followed him up ſtairs: Walſh found her huſband in a garret, concealed in the ſet-off of the chimney, and deſired him, the orange raſcal, to come down. She, on her knees, implored mercy for him; on which he ſwore he would cut her head off in two minutes, if ſhe did not deſcend, and he threw down ſtairs two of her children. He then conveyed him to the rebel guard-houſe, and deſired his men to give three cheers for having taken the orangeman, and ſaid he ſhould be killed next day. He was kept there till the eleventh of June, when Walſh repaired thither, and aſked why the priſoners were not put to death? and ſaid he would kill the guard if they were not put to death before the next day. The priſoners, in number twenty-four, were conveyed that evening to Bayle's barn, which lies at the foot of Vinegar-hill, and was uſed as a priſon for proteſtants by the rebels. Next day meſſieurs Hunt, Reynolds, Robinſon, and one Simpſon a weaver, were murdered. Mary Hall ſaw their bodies lying naked in the fields. On the fourteenth, her huſband and ſixteen more were murdered. The rebels dragged the body of her huſband round the hill.

It was proved that Walſh, with a party of rebels, murdered William Mooney, Richard Leech, John Hawkins and James Lett, near Caſtlebridge, a week after Wexford was taken by the rebels. When they were ſhot, Walſh diſmounted, and run his ſword into one of their bodies. Moſes Allen proved that he ſaw this horrid tranſaction; and John Mooney, the brother of William, that he ſaw the four bodies lying dead.

William Furlong and John Mooney ſaw Nicholas Walſh ſworn in as captain of the rebels at Enniſcorthy, when father Kearns, the prieſt, kiſſed him and wiſhed him good luck.

George Freeman, a proteſtant, and a priſoner, proved that Nicholas Walſh, who headed a party of rebels at Vinegar-hill, compelled him to ſhoot John White, eſquire, an aged gentleman, and a magiſtrate; and the ſame day he ordered five or ſix more proteſtants to be put to death with pikes on Vinegar-hill, and to be buried in a hole; and as ſome of them had life in them at the time of interment, Nicholas Walſh ſtabbed them with pikes, and cut down one of the priſoners with his ſword.

As ſoon as the priſoners were put to death, he ordered his rebel corps to ſhout aloud, and to go off in queſt of more proteſtants.

John Harris ſwore that he was ordered to throw Mr. White's body into a hole, and that he was gaſping while he was doing ſo.

This wretch was in good circumſtances, and was well educated. He was hanged on Vinegar-hill.

17.

Vinegar-hill, 15th July, 1799.

Trial of James Beaghan, at Wexford, charged with the murder of George Piper, Thomas Piper and William Kean, on the thirty-firſt May, 1798, on Vinegar-hill.

ALEXANDER MAGEE ſwore, that he was taken priſoner in Wexford on Wedneſday the thirtieth May, 1798; that the day following he was led to the windmill on Vinegar-hill, where he found a great number of people; that ſoon after George and Thomas Piper and William Kean were put in there; that in a quarter of an hour Luke Byrne came to the door of the mill, and ordered thoſe fellows to be taken out to be ſhot. Immediately after James Beaghan ſtept out and aſked, which of them? witneſs did not hear Byrne's anſwer; but Beaghan ruſhed into the mill, and ſwore by Jeſus Chriſt he would neither pick them nor chooſe them, but would take the firſt that would come to his hand. He then laid his hand on one of the Pipers, and turned him and his brother out. Witneſs heard the report of a gun, and immediately each man was carried out. Kean was led out in the ſame manner. Beaghan then led out a ſtranger, who reſiſted, and cried out, "Murder!" on which Beaghan puſhed him againſt the wall, gave him two boxes, and ſaid, "Damn you, you heretick dog!" and having dragged him out, he was killed within three yards of the door. Next morning, about eight o'clock, witneſs was taken out to be ſhot, when he ſaw the two Pipers lying dead, with eighteen or nineteen bodies more. Witneſs was ſaved by a rebel who took compaſſion on him.

Michael Foley was tried for the murder of Mr. Henry Hatton, deputy portrieve of Enniſcorthy, April nineteenth, 1799. Henry Whitney declared, that the priſoner ſwore vehemently on Vinegar-hill, that he would have the life of Henry Hatton; that ſome perſon having tried to diſſuade him from it, he ſwore vehemently that he would quit the hill with one hundred men,* if he was prevented from killing him; on that he puſhed Mr. Hatton out of the windmill and ſhot him. Several perſons were led out of the windmill and murdered the ſame day.

James Beaghan, who was tried and convicted of the horrid crime of murder, made the confeſſion the day but one before his execution, which I have inſerted in page 335 of the Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

18.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE examination of Mr. John Semple, of Borris, in the county of Carlow, engineer, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth, and ſaith, That on the twelfth of June, 1798, and at the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon, the town of Borris in the county of Carlow, was attacked by a numerous mob, who called themſelves United Iriſhmen; and who had three pieces of cannon, and were armed with guns, ſwords, piſtols, and pikes; that the ſaid mob attacked and forcibly entered the houſe of examinant, at Borris aforeſaid, and feloniouſly took thereout all the houſehold furniture, and many books, papers, and bonds of very great value. Examinant ſaith, that as ſoon as the ſaid mob had ſo plundered his houſe, they ſet fire to the ſame. Examinant ſaith, that, at that time he was at ſome diſtance from the town of Borris aforeſaid; and that on ſeeing a ſmoke iſſuing out of ſaid houſe, he, this examinant, ran towards ſaid houſe, with a deſign of reſcuing his books, papers, and bonds, from the flames. Examinant ſaith, he was made a priſoner by the ſaid mob, who ſtripped him of all his clothes before he arrived at his houſe; and that they preſented five pikes and a muſket at examinant, with an intention, as he verily believes, of putting him to death. Examinant ſaith, he immediately threw himſelf on his knees to implore mercy, and aſked the ſaid mob what crimes he this examinant was guilty of? On which two of the leaders or captains of the ſaid mob cried out aloud, "That he, this examinant, was a vagabond orangeman, and muſt inſtantly die;" by which examinant is convinced in his mind the ſaid captains meant a proteſtant, as this examinant, who was born in Scotland, was not an orangeman, nor had any connection with orangemen. Examinant ſaith, that two others of the ſaid captains then ſaid, that examinant was too old, and not worth killing; on which another of the ſaid captains cried out aloud, addreſſing himſelf to the ſaid mob, "You vagabonds! remember your oath;" with a deſign to urge the ſaid mob to put this examinant to death; as this examinant has ſeen the form of an oath, which he heard and verily believes the United Iriſhmen, or ſome of them, had ſworn to deſtroy and murder all hereticks. Examinant ſaith, that while the ſaid mob were ſcrambling for his property which they had taken out of his houſe, he, this examinant, made his eſcape into a ſand-pit, and that ſoon after, one of the ſaid mob came up in great haſte, and exclaimed, "Have you diſpatched the vagabond? for his ſon has killed one of our beſt captains, and is killing them as faſt as they get up;" meaning to the houſe of Walter Kavenagh, eſquire, of Borris aforeſaid, to which the ſaid mob were at that time laying ſiege, and at which they were firing cannon; and this examinant ſaith, that James Semple the ſon of this examinant, was at that time in the manſion-houſe of the ſaid Walter Kavenagh, aſſiſting in the defence of the ſame. Examinant ſaith, that the ſaid mob burned thirteen houſes in Borris aforeſaid, for no other reaſon, as examinant verily believes, than becauſe the proprietors thereof belonged to the yeoman corps, commanded by the ſaid Walter Kavenagh. This examinant ſaith, he heard and verily believes that the ſaid party of United Iriſhmen was commanded by father Roche, a prieſt who was afterwards killed at Scullaghgap on the bounds of the counties of Wexford and Carlow. Examinant ſaith, that one of the ſaid mob told examinant that he had better turn to maſs, and that by doing ſo he would get a leaſe for ever of any demeſne he choſe in the kingdom.

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* He had theſe men under his command.

JOHN SEMPLE.

Sworn before me, the 14th day of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

No. XX. 1.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. THE examination of corporal Sheppard of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath and ſaith, That he this examinant, when on his march with a detachment of militia of the Meath regiment from Duncannon Fort, to the town of Wexford, was taken priſoner on the thirtieth day of May laſt, at a place called the mountain of Forth within three miles of Wexford aforeſaid, together with two howitzers, and nine privates belonging to the ſaid Royal Iriſh artillery, by a numerous body of rebels, who were encamped on the ſaid mountain. Examinant ſaith, that as ſoon as the ſaid rebels had made him and his comrades priſoners, they were going to put them to death; but that previous to their doing ſo, one of the ſaid rebels aſked them what religion they were of; and that a private of the ſaid Royal Iriſh artillery, whoſe name is Patrick Dungannon, replied, that they were all Roman catholicks, though examinant ſaith, that he and five more of his ſaid comrades were proteſtants. Examinant ſaith, he is convinced in his mind, that the ſaid rebels would have put the whole of ſaid party inſtantly to death, but that they believed they were Roman catholicks. Examinant ſaith, that he and his ſaid comrades were conducted as priſoners to Wexford, on the ſaid thirtieth day of May, and put into priſon; but that he this examinant and his comrades were committed to different apartments. Examinant ſaith, that while a priſoner at Wexford, he was taken out into a ſmall ſquare in the goal to be ſhot, and that on being placed againſt a wall in ſaid ſquare, they the ſaid rebels burned priming four times at examinant with a muſket; on which father John Murphy, a prieſt, who had entered the ſaid goal, cried out aloud, that he this examinant had longer days to live; and at the ſame time, the ſaid prieſt ſaid, "Let the heathen go back to priſon, and be damned." Examinant ſaith, that while he and his comrades were in priſon, the rebel guards who were placed over them, frequently attempted to break open the doors of the place where they were confined, with an intent, as the ſaid rebel guards declared, to murder examinant and his comrades, having often declared that they would not ſtand as guards over hereticks; and that the officers of the ſaid rebels with the greateſt difficulty prevented the ſaid rebels from putting them to death. Examinant ſaith, that during ten days that he and his comrades were confined in Wexford, they received no other food but potatoes and water; and of which they got but one meal in twenty-four hours. Examinant ſaith, that during his confinement, the ſaid rebels took out many priſoners to execute them; and examinant verily believes they were put to death, as the ſaid priſoners never returned to the priſon; and he this examinant was informed that they had been ſhot or put to death with pikes in the Bull-ring, or in ſome other part of the town. Examinant ſaith, that he and his comrades were aſked to ſerve in the rebel army by one captain Dixon, and by one Roche the brother-in-law of ſaid Dixon, who wore two epaulettes, and paſſed for a rebel general; and that ſaid Dixon and Roche promiſed examinant and his comrades commiſſions in the rebel army, and eſtates in ſome time, if they would ſerve in ſaid army. Examinant ſaith, that he and his comrades, well knowing that they had no other way of making their eſcape from Wexford, complied with the deſire of ſaid Dixon, and the ſaid Roche. Examinant ſaith, that he, and three of his comrades were conducted by the ſaid rebel general Roche to the rebel camp of Gorey, near the town of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, on or about the eleventh day of June laſt, where examinant found three of his ſaid comrades before him in ſaid camp, and ſome ſoldiers of the Meath and Antrim regiments who had been taken priſoners. Examinant ſaith, that on the morning of the day that the ſaid rebels marched from ſaid camp to attack the town of Arklow, one Murphy a prieſt, who was killed at the battle of Arklow that day, mounted on a car, and preached a ſermon of exhortation to the ſaid rebels, in which the ſaid Murphy aſſured the ſaid rebels that they were fighting in the cauſe of God; that the more of the heathens (meaning the king's army) they would kill, the ſooner they would go to heaven; and that if any of them died in battle, they would be ſure of immediate ſalvation; that ſaid Murphy took ſome bullets out of his pockets, ſhewed them to the rebels, and aſſured them, that they had hit him at the battle of Gorey, in different parts of his body and limbs, and that they could not do him any injury. That ſaid Murphy ſaid farther in ſaid ſermon, that he would take the gravel off the road and throw it at the hereticks, and that he could kill them with it. Examinant ſaith, that another prieſt of the name of Dixon declared to the rebel general Roche, that they would take the town of Arklow in half an hour; that then they would be joined by twenty thouſand men; and that they would proceed to Wicklow, and from thence to Dublin. Examinant ſaith, that ſaid rebels wherever they marched, put to death ſuch proteſtants as fell into their hands; ſaying often on ſuch occaſions, that the kingdom was their own, and that there ſhould be but one religion. Examinant ſaith, that ſaid rebels on their arrival at Gorey aforeſaid, after the battle of Arklow, put many proteſtants to death, though they had ſerved with the ſaid rebels in ſaid battle; and that when they were on the point of executing one Walker a blackſmith, ſome of ſaid rebels pleaded in his favour, having ſaid, that he had made many pikes, and fought well with them; but that father John Murphy ſaid, that if there was but one drop of proteſtant blood in a family, they ought to put that family to death; and that ſaid Walker was accordingly put to death. Examinant ſaith, he repaired with the ſaid rebels from Gorey, to a place, to the beſt of examinant's recollection, called Limbrick, from thence to Tinnehely, and from thence to Carnew, and from thence to Vinegar-hill; and that ſaid rebels in their march from Gorey to Vinegar-hill aforeſaid, killed all the proteſtants they could get into their cuſtody. Informant ſaith, that he and his comrades made their eſcape at the battle of Vinegar-hill aforeſaid.

ANDREW SHEPPARD.

Sworn before me, this 7th of September, 1798,

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

We, the underſigned officers of the Royal Iriſh artillery, do certify that Andrew Sheppard, a corporal in the ſaid corps, is a man of an honeſt fair character, and that he is to be credited on his oath. September fourteenth, 1798.

J. STRATON, *colonel commandant, lieutenant-general,*
RICHARD BETTESWORTH, *colonel commandant, major-general,*
H. SNEYD, *major, Royal Iriſh artillery,*
JOHN PRATT, *lieutenant-colonel, colonel brevet,*
W. WRIGHT, *lieutenant-colonel,*
J. D. ARABIN, *lieutenant-colonel,*

2.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } THE information of George Taylor, of Ballywalter, and barony of Ballaghkeen in the county of Wexford, gentleman, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he this informant was very much alarmed on the morning of the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1798, having been informed that the rebels in great force were approaching his place of reſidence, and that they had burned the houſes of many proteſtants, and had murdered their inhabitants; among whom were, as he was informed, lieutenant Bookey of the Camolin cavalry, the reverend Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Howlan Darcy; on which informant ſaith, that he repaired for protection to the town of Gorey, about four miles diſtant. Informant ſaith, that he, his mother, and ſiſter repaired with the army to Arklow, as the town of Gorey was expoſed to the rebels when the army marched from it on the twenty-eighth of May. Informant ſaith, that he returned towards Ballywalter aforeſaid, on the fifth of June; but that he, this informant, before he arrived there, was taken priſoner by the rebels on the ſixth day of June, when he was within three miles of Ballywalter aforeſaid. Informant ſaith, that he was led by the rebels the ſame day to the town of Gorey, and was confined with many other priſoners in a room over the market-houſe of ſaid town during a week. Informant ſaith, that ſoon after he was committed a priſoner as aforeſaid, the rebels robbed him of half a guinea, and deprived him of his hat, his neckcloth, his coat, waiſtcoat, breeches, and ſhoes, and gave him in their ſtead the old ragged apparel of a ſoldier. This informant ſaith, that while he and the other priſoners were in cuſtody of the rebels at Gorey aforeſaid, they were led out to the rebel camp to be ſhot, for no other reaſon, as informant verily believes, than becauſe they were proteſtants. Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid priſoners was marked out to be ſaved, becauſe he was a papiſt, and gave a proof of his being ſuch, by croſſing himſelf, and by ſaying popiſh prayers, which the rebels required him to do. Informant ſaith, that before he and his fellow priſoners could be executed, an order was received from general Bagenal Harvey, that the rebels ſhould not in future, under the pain of being ſhot, put any of their priſoners to death, which order, as informant verily believes, ſaved the lives of him and his fellow priſoners. This informant ſaith, that during his confinement at Gorey aforeſaid, ſome of his Roman catholick neighbours viſited him, and wiſhed him a ſpeedy liberation; and at the ſame time, informed him, that the only mode of procuring it was, to be baptized by the prieſt, to embrace the holy Roman catholick faith, and to take up arms, and to fight for the cauſe of liberty. And informant ſaith, that his ſaid neighbours informed him that they feared he would not eſcape, unleſs he complied with their advice; and at the ſame time they expreſſed much concern at ſeeing him in the act of reading proteſtant prayer books. Informant ſaith, he anſwered them by ſaying, he profeſſed the proteſtant faith from conviction, and therefore would not renounce it. Informant ſaith, that during his confinement at Gorey aforeſaid, and previous to the arrival of general Bagenal Harvey's humane order for ſaving the lives of the priſoners, the rebels took out two yeomen who were their priſoners, and ſhot them, one of them of the name of Rogan, was of the Arklow corps, the other whoſe name was James Wheatley, was of the Caſtletown corps; and that a rebel horſeman fired a piſtol at one of the priſoners, and that the ball lodged in the ſhoulder of the ſaid priſoner; and that another priſoner, previous to the arrival of the ſaid humane order, received ſome wounds of a pike in the ſide, by which three of his ribs were broken. Informant ſaith, that when they were leading the priſoners out of the camp, a rebel gave informant two or three ſtrokes of a pike in the back. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid rebel camp near the town of Gorey, was attended by one Michael Murphy a prieſt. Informant ſaith, that on the morning of the ninth of June laſt, the rebels at Gorey aforeſaid, cut off the hair of all the priſoners (this informant excepted) and put pitched caps on their heads; and that the reverend Mr.

Owens, a proteſtant clergyman, one of the ſaid priſoners, was treated in that manner. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid priſoners having as aforeſaid pitched caps on their heads, were compelled to put out their heads and ſhoulders out of the market-houſe of Gorey aforeſaid; and that while the ſaid priſoners were ſo expoſed, the rebel troops marched by, and inſultingly expreſſed their joy by repeatedly ſhouting aloud. Informant ſaith, that on Wedneſday the thirteenth day of June, they inſtituted a kind of trial of the priſoners confined in the market-houſe of Gorey aforeſaid, on which they ſelected ſuch as they thought were ſteady to the proteſtant cauſe, among whom this informant was one, and that they ſent them to the gaol of Wexford, under a guard, after having pinioned them with cords, and tied them one to the other, two and two. Informant ſaith, that they compelled the remainder of the priſoners to join the rebel troops as ſoldiers. Informant ſaith, That on the arrival of the priſoners at Wexford, on the fourteenth day of June, they ſaw the houſes hung with green emblems, and the mob in the ſtreets expreſſed their joy by ſhouting aloud. Informant ſaith, that he and his fellow priſoners were committed to gaol at Wexford, about eleven o'clock on the morning of the fourteenth of June; and that informant was told, and verily believes, that there were about two hundred priſoners in ſaid gaol, all of whom as informant heard and believes were of the proteſtant religion. Informant ſaith, that during his confinement in ſaid gaol, they frequently committed other priſoners, among whom was colonel Lehunte; and that this informant heard a rebel commander of the name of Dixon tell the ſaid colonel Lehunte, who was confined to a condemned cell, that he ſhould have but ten minutes to live. Informant ſaith, that during his confinement at Wexford, his food was very ſcanty and very bad; and that he had no other bed but damaged ſtraw which was full of vermin. Informant ſaith, that on Wedneſday the twentieth day of June, this informant with ſeventeen other priſoners was taken out of the gaol, and conducted to the bridge of Wexford, in order to be put to death with pikes, as many of this informant's fellow priſoners met with the ſame fate a few minutes before; and that informant as he paſſed along the bridge walked through the blood of the ſaid victims. Informant ſaith, that while the rebel guards were conducting the ſaid priſoners to the bridge, and while the ſaid priſoners were praying on their knee on ſaid bridge, the rebel guards deſired them to bleſs themſelves. Informant ſaith, that ſix of the ſaid priſoners ſo conducted to the ſaid bridge were put to death with pikes, and that he verily believes the remainder would have ſhared the ſame fate, as there were but two perſons between this informant and the laſt perſon put to death; and this informant was deſired to riſe and to take off his coat, in order to prepare for execution; but Mr. Corrin, pariſh prieſt of Wexford, arrived, and made the rebels deſiſt from any further ſlaughter. Informant ſaith, that he was ſoon after conducted to priſon, where he and his fellow priſoners remained until next day, when they were liberated by the king's troops, who arrived at Wexford on the twenty-firſt day of June. This informant ſaith, that the country for ſome miles round the reſidence of this informant had been for a long time ſo peaceable, and the machinations of the rebels were ſo ſecret, that neither he, nor any of the loyal ſubjects, his neighbours, had any ſuſpicion whatſoever, that a general inſurrection was ſo near, except that ſome pikes and ſome ammunition had been found in the poſſeſſion of the lower claſs of people ſome time before. Informant further ſaith, that when the ſaid James Wheatley was about to be ſhot at Gorey aforeſaid, the rebel general Perry informed the ſaid Wheatley that he ſhould have but five minutes to prepare himſelf for death; on which the reverend Mr. Owen, a proteſtant clergyman, aſked the ſaid Perry, whether there was no appeal? to which the ſaid Perry replied, that he would hear no plea in his favour. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid Wheatley was ſhot in about ten minutes after; and this informant heard, and verily believes it to be true, that the ſaid Wheatley received three balls in the body, on which he aſked for ſome water, and told the perſons who ſhot him that he had ſome ammunition in his pocket, and requeſted they would put him out of pain; on which his thigh was broken by another ſhot, and that he received the fifth ball in the head which killed him. Informant ſaith, he ſaw the body next day diſfigured and covered with blood.

GEORGE TAYLOR.

Sworn before me, this 28th day of July, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

3.

City of Dublin, to wit. } BLEAKNEY ORMSBY, of Garrane, in the pariſh of Mylan, and county of Wexford, farmer, came this day before me, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That about the hour of eight o'clock on the morning of Whitſunday, 1798, a party of united Iriſhmen, all of the popiſh religion, as deponent verily believes, went to the houſe of this deponent, and called on him to attend them; that deponent ſaid in anſwer that he would remain at home and not take any part with either ſide. That thereon one of the ſaid body of united Iriſhmen gave deponent a ſevere wound of a pike in the head; that ſoon after two of the party deſired deponent to go on his knees and beg his life, which he accordingly did. That while deponent was on his knees, one of the party gave him ſo violent a blow of a firelock on the head, as to break it in pieces, by which deponent was left ſenſeleſs on the ground. That deponent lay in a languiſhing ſtate till Thurſday the thirty-firſt day of May, when a numerous body of united Iriſhmen armed with pikes and guns went to deponent's houſe, and compelled deponent to go to the houſe of David Cullen at Blackwater, a pariſh prieſt, to be baptized; but the ſaid Cullen declared he would have nothing to do with deponent until he ſaw how he conducted himſelf in future. That next morning deponent, well knowing that he could not make his eſcape, repaired to the rebel camp at Oulart-hill where he was to be tried, though he had little or no hope that his life would be ſaved. That on deponent's arrival there a popiſh yeoman in military uniform who had become a rebel, cried out that deponent ſhould be tried. That deponent appealed to the ſaid rebels, whether he did not always bear a good character, to which they all aſſented, except one man of the name of Kierwan, who bore an enmity to deponent, becauſe ſaid Kierwan had ſtolen turf from him; that however deponent was diſcharged and returned directly to his own houſe. That when deponent returned to his houſe at Oulart aforeſaid, he found that his houſe had been burnt and plundered, and that a woman who was ſiſter to John Brennan, a labourer who lived on deponent's land, had turned out his wife and family, and informed them in a threatening manner, that they would be put to death if they remained there; that about a week after deponent was compelled (though in a languiſhing ſtate) to go to the rebel camp at Gorey, where he found ſeveral proteſtant priſoners, among whom was the reverend Mr. Owen a proteſtant clergyman. That on deponent's arrival there, he was aſked by a rebel of the name of Maurice Doyle, whether he this deponent was a Roman catholick, to which he anſwered that he was bred a proteſtant. That ſaid Doyle aſked him what he thought of the Virgin Mary; to which deponent anſwered, that he thought ſhe was next in glory to Chriſt. That ſoon after deponent was committed to priſon in the market-houſe of Gorey, where, including deponent, there were thirty-nine priſoners all proteſtants; that about the hour of four o'clock the ſame day, the ſaid proteſtant priſoners were led out by a party of rebels to Gorey-hill, to be put to death, and which would have taken place as deponent verily believes, but that an order was received from general Bagenal Harvey, deſiring that no perſon ſhould kill his priſoner under pain of death. That notwithſtanding ſaid order, a rebel fired a piſtol at one of the proteſtant priſoners, and wounded him in the ſhoulder. That the rebels, on hearing the ſaid humane order, ſeemed much diſappointed, and expreſſed an earneſt deſire of putting the priſoners to death. That deponent was diſcharged the ſame day by the orders of one Richard Monaghan a rebel captain, and was compelled to join the rebels as a ſoldier. That next day deponent was compelled to march with the rebel army to the battle of Arklow. That Michael Murphy a prieſt, who had the chief command, ſtopped very often in their way thither, and ſaid prayers for the rebels, who always kneeled down and often kiſſed the ground. That ſaid Monaghan deſired the rebels not to kill the ſoldiers, as they were their friends, and would join them. That deponent received a ball in the thigh at the battle of Arklow, and lay in a languiſhing ſtate one night within two miles of Arklow; and that deponent recovered from his wound, and is now perfectly well, though he received no medical aſſiſtance. Deponent ſaith, that great numbers of wounded rebel ſoldiers were carried the ſame night on cars or on horſeback to Gorey aforeſaid. Deponent ſaith, that while he lay ſick of his wound, a man of the name of John Brennan his labourer, often preſſed him to ſend for a prieſt and to change his religion, as no perſon could be ſaved out of the Roman catholick church; and it was not known that a proteſtant ever was ſaved. Deponent ſaith, that his father, Charles Ormſby, was murdered on Whitſun Saturday, his brother Eyre Ormſby, on Whitſunday, and his brother William Ormſby, on the twenty-ſecond day of June, 1798, all in the county of Wexford; and that his brother John Ormſby, fled from the rebels to Dublin, and after his return to the county of Wexford, on the firſt day of March, 1799, died of grief. Deponent further ſaith not.

BLEAKNEY ORMSBY.

Sworn before me, this 10*th day of May*, 1799,
THOMAS ANDREWS, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

4.

County of Wexford, to wit. CATHERINE POER, of Tintern, widow, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, declareth and ſaith, That on the morning of Sunday, the third of June, 1798, John Flaherty, of Tintern, taylor, Michael Ryan and Pat. Hogan, labourers, of Salt-mills in ſaid county, went to her houſe and called for her huſband Pat. Poer, a proteſtant; ſaith, they carried him, as ſhe heard and believes, to Scullabogue, where he was burnt with the other proteſtants. Saith, that ſome time after the maſſacre at Scullabogue, ſhe, this examinant, went to John Houghran of Tintern, maſon, who acted as a commiſſary to the rebels for diſtributing proviſions, and aſked him for a pound of meat, as ſhe was ſtarving; and that ſaid Houghran aſked her if ſhe was a chriſtian? and that on ſaying ſhe did not come under the rules of his church, he ſaid ſhe was not a chriſtian, and that it would be giving meat to his enemies, and breaking his oath. Saith, ſaid Houghran ordered her to go to the prieſt to be made a chriſtian, and was ſurprized ſhe did not do it before. Saith, that to ſave her life and get victuals, ſhe went to the prieſt to be chriſtened.

CATHERINE POER.

Sworn before me, this 28*th day of December*, 1798,
JOHN KENNEDY, *magiſtrate.*

County of Wexford, to wit. FRANCES MILLER, of Tintern, in ſaid county, widow, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, declareth and ſaith, That on the third day of June, 1798, a gang of rebels came to examinant's houſe, headed by Patrick Fallon of Tintern aforeſaid, and Martin Murphy of Curraghmore, in ſaid county; ſaith, they inſiſted on her huſband, Robert

Miller, to go with them; ſaith, they hurried him away ſo ſuddenly, they did not give him time to break his faſt, though examinant requeſted that indulgence for her huſband. Saith, that ſhe heard and believes they took him to Scullabogue, where he was maſſacred, along with ſeveral other proteſtants, on Tueſday following. Saith, that through fear of being murdered, ſhe went to the prieſt to be chriſtened. Saith, that ſhe always conſidered John Houghran of Tintern, as the leading man of the Tintern rebels.

FRANCES MILLER.

Sworn before me, this 28th day of
December, 1798,
JOHN KENNEDY, *magiſtrate.*

AT the trial of John Houghran, a maſon, at Wexford, on the twenty-ſixth September, 1799, it appeared on the evidence of Mr. Bridges, that he appeared at Tintern to be the leader of a gang of rebels, who carried off the proteſtants to Scullabogue, and that he took the witneſs to be chriſtened by a prieſt.

Sarah Smyth, whoſe huſband was taken by him, ſwore that twenty-four proteſtants, young and old, were taken to the barn of Scullabogue and murdered there; and among them her huſband, her brother, ſiſter and niece.

That, when the widows and relations of thoſe who had been murdered, aſſembled together in the ſtreets of Tintern, and were lamenting the loſs of their relations, the priſoner threatened them with the fate of their huſbands if he heard any more of it.

That there were two corps of rebels at Tintern; the one went from it to murder, the other ſtaid at home to ſend the proteſtants to them, and to plunder.

Catherine Poer ſwore, that ſhe applied to him for ſomething to eat; but he ſaid he would not give her any, unleſs ſhe became a chriſtian (meaning a papiſt) for if he did he would break his oath.

Sarah Kelly, whoſe father was burned at Scullabogue, ſwore, that on general Lake's proclamation coming out, ſhe heard the priſoner addreſs a party of rebels, and ſay, "Boys! we may as well lay down our ſpears for a few days to ſave our lives, as the proteſtants turned to maſs to ſave theirs."

Thomas Byrne ſwore, that Michael Devereux ſeemed to have the command, and gave the priſoners orders to collect the proteſtants, and keep them 'till he ſhould call for them. The priſoner was only tranſported ! ! !

5.

County of Wexford, to wit. } ELIZABETH DOBBYN, of Old-court, in the pariſh of Adamſtown, and ſaid county, widow, came before me this fifth day of January, 1799, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That on Friday, the firſt day of June laſt, her three ſons, William, Richard and Samuel, were taken priſoners from her houſe by Thomas Cavenagh, of Old-court aforeſaid; that on Saturday, the ſecond of June, her huſband, Patrick Dobbyn, was taken priſoner by ſaid Thomas Cavenagh, aided by William Power of Brucharrow, in ſaid pariſh, and another perſon unknown to deponent. That on Sunday, the third of June laſt, deponent went to Scullabogue, where ſhe ſaw her huſband and three ſons confined in a dirty pig-yard; that at their deſire ſhe went to look for Michael Downes, a rebel captain, to endeavour to procure their releaſe, and to Mr. Shallow, the pariſh prieſt, for the ſame purpoſe; that deponent could not meet Michael Downes, but found Mr. Shallow at his own houſe; that deponent begged ſaid Shallow to procure the releaſe of her huſband and ſons, to which ſaid Shallow replied, "That he would not go near the rebel camp; that, if he did, he would be in as much danger as ſaid Patrick Dobbyn and ſons." * Said Shallow then aſked deponent how many of her people were in? ſhe replied, her huſband and three ſons were confined by the rebels; upon which ſaid Shallow ſhuddered, and ſeemed to be ſhocked, by which deponent conjectured immediately that her huſband and children would be put to death, and that ſaid Shallow knew what would happen. That deponent went back, on ſaid third of June, from Mr. Shallow's houſe to Scullabogue, where ſhe found her huſband and ſons removed into the barn, which was full of priſoners, crowded as cloſe as they could ſtand, and told them that ſaid Shallow had refuſed to come to Scullabogue; whereupon ſaid Patrick Dobbyn, his ſons, and the other priſoners, lamented and ſaid they had no hopes of their lives. That deponent continued at Scullabogue ſaid day until ſun-ſet, during which time one of her ſons, and a woman who was a priſoner, called for a draught of water, and one of the rebel guards aſked them if they would drink ſalt water, and ſaid, "Damnation to "you, ye orange dogs, down with your prayers." And a rebel woman ſaid, "Do they want water? give them poi-"ſon!" That on Saturday, the ninth of June laſt, deponent went to Scullabogue to look for the bodies of her huſband and ſons, who ſhe had been told were burnt in the barn on Tueſday the fifth of June. That ſhe found the barn burnt and full of dead bodies, all in a ſtanding poſture, ſome with their limbs burnt off, and others with their bowels hanging out, and others with their faces and features disfigured with the fire. That deponent could not diſtinguiſh the bodies of her huſband and ſons from the other dead. That about two or three nights after the ſaid ninth of June laſt, as deponent was in bed with two young children, her houſe at Old-court was entered by a great number of men armed with pikes, who ſaid they came to ſearch for orangemen, having heard that deponent harboured them; deponent replied there were no men there, that her huſband and ſons were taken from her. They took a light and ſearched the houſe and out-offices, and then went away. That on the 19th day of September laſt, deponent's houſe at Old-court aforeſaid, was entered by four men armed with piſtols, who murdered there Shepherd Parſlow of Bruchurrow in ſaid pariſh, who had gone out of Roſs to ſave his harveſt at ſaid Bruchurrow, and beat deponent and broke her collar-bone, and ſtruck and cut deponent's mother, an old woman almoſt eighty years old. That on deponent's aſking them if it was not a ſin to uſe a poor chriſtian ſo cruelly? they replied, ſhe was no chriſtian, and who had made her a chriſtian? they then robbed deponent of what they pleaſed to take from her and went away.

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* It appears by an affidavit, Appendix XX. 10, that this prieſt was active in promoting the rebellion in Carrickbyrne camp.

her
ELIZABETH + DOBBYN,
mark.

Sworn before me at Roſs, in the county of Wexford, this 5th day of January, 1799,

EDWARD CARR, *deputy ſovereign.*

6.

FEATHARD.

ON Saturday, the twenty-ſixth of May, a band of aſſaſſins roaming the country in queſt of proteſtants, and headed by Michael Devereux and Joſhua Colfer, entered the town of Feathard, about eleven miles from Scullabogue, and ſeized William Jordan and James Tweedy, both proteſtants, and conveyed them to the barn where they were burned; the former was ſervant to the reverend Mr. Kennedy, rector of Feathard, who had fled and narrowly eſcaped to Duncannon fort. Colfer often regretted that he had not that orange rogue, Mr. Kennedy, to put him to death; he exclaimed very much againſt proteſtants, and ſaid they deſerved to be puniſhed. Some of the proteſtant inhabitants of Feathard ſaved their lives by going to maſs, and by aſſuming the ſemblance of ſincere converſion. The reverend father Doyle, who acted with humanity towards them, adviſed them to do ſo, as the means of preſerving their lives. William Hurdis, a witneſs on Colfer's trial, ſwore, that Patrick Murphy, one of the gang of aſſaſſins, made him ſwear to be true to the catholick war. Theſe facts were proved on the trial of Joſhua Colfer, before a court-martial, held at Waterford, the third of December, 1798, by order of general Johnſon. Colfer had been malſter to Mr. Clarke, a brewer of Feathard, reſided there conſtantly, and had lived on terms of intimacy with the proteſtants.

James Murphy, a witneſs on the trial of Colfer, and ſervant of the reverend Mr. Kennedy, ſwore, That the priſoner aſked him whether he would kill his maſter, and declared that he would kill him if he would not. He ſaid alſo, that all orangemen ſhould be killed.

Philip Clarke, a proteſtant, and ſon of Mr. Clarke the brewer, who employed the priſoner, declared, that he (Colfer) deſired him and his brother to be chriſtened by a prieſt, and ſent for a popiſh manual, to have him, his brother and ſiſters, taught their catechiſm; that he, his brother and ſiſters, and other proteſtants of Feathard, were ſaved merely becauſe they were conſidered as converted.

Richard Stewart, a boy of nine years old, and brother-in-law of Tweedy, followed him crying, on which Colfer threatened him. This child was afterwards murdered.

On Saturday, the ſecond of June, another band of aſſaſſins, headed by the ſame Michael Devereux, of Battletours, arrived there and ſwept away all the proteſtants they could find. It fortunately happened that they were but few in number, as moſt of them had eſcaped, or were doing duty in a yeoman corps at Duncannon Fort. The rebels were ſo zealous in this ſervice, that they locked up ſuch proteſtants as they ſeized, while they went in queſt of others.

Samuel Orange, now living, is a memorable inſtance of this. He was taken by his own neighbours, Patrick Henneſy and James Savage, alias Bryan, and was locked up in the houſe of the former; but while they were hunting for others, he providentially made his eſcape through a back window, and concealed himſelf in ditches till Sunday, the fifth of June, when Colfer returned with another gang, and conveyed him to Wexford, Scullabogue having been conſumed. Michael Devereux having viſited Feathard again, on the third of June, with another gang, ſeized Mrs. Duffield, aged ſeventy-five, Mrs. Clarke, and Philip Clarke, a boy of about thirteen years. John Jones, a humane and reſpectable Roman catholick, ſolicited the releaſe of the priſoners; and, even on his knees, he implored him to diſcharge the latter, as he was the child of his near neighbour; but to no purpoſe, as he ſaid he could not releaſe him, conſiſtent with his own ſafety. This ſhewed that he acted by the orders of his ſuperiors, who, I have been well informed, were ſupplied with liſts of the proteſtant inhabitants of every pariſh.

The three were conveyed on a car to Scullabogue, but, fortunately for them, Bagenal Harvey, who happened to arrive there, diſcharged them, gave them a paſs to return, and deſired that no more women or children ſhould be taken priſoners. On Saturday, the ninth of June, one Thomas M'Daniel, a ſanguinary ruffian, went to Feathard, at the head of another gang, in queſt of Elizabeth Ennis, a proteſtant, who had eſcaped all their former ſearches; and, when diſcovered, ſhe threw herſelf on the mercy of John Jones, already mentioned, who very humanely locked her up in a room in his own houſe. When M'Daniel was on the point of breaking open the door, Mrs. Jones placed herſelf between him and it, and ſaid they muſt firſt murder her. She alſo aſſured him, that ſhe was no longer a proteſtant, having been chriſtened by the prieſt, and was become a Roman catholick. The poor trembling wretch's life was ſaved by Mrs. Jones's firmneſs, and her aſſurances of her converſion.

After that period, ſuch of the proteſtants as remained at Feathard, were ſaved by going to maſs.

Father Doyle, the prieſt, aſſembled them in a houſe, under a pretence of baptizing them, though in fact he did not perform that ceremony; and he very humanely announced, in order to ſave their lives, that they were ſincere converts to his religion.

Theſe facts were proved on the trial of Devereux, Colſer, Haughran, and ſome other aſſaſſins concerned in this atrocious buſineſs.

7.

County of Wexford, to wit. RICHARD GRANDY, of Ballyſhan, in ſaid county, came this day before us his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, that he this examinant was attacked and ſeized at the croſs-roads of Kilbride, on Sunday the third of June, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the morning, as he was returning from a farm he has on the lands of Kilbride, by ſeveral perſons armed with guns, pikes and ſpears; that amongſt the number were Michael Poor, Thomas Poor, Martin White, Richard Shee, Martin Colhoun, Nicholas Brown, Michael White, John Moran and Lawrence Moran, all of Kilbride aforeſaid, with many others, whoſe names examinant did not know, though their faces were familiar to him; he was conducted from thence to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne, in ſaid county, and in the afternoon of the ſame day was brought to Mr. King's houſe at Scullabogue; that he was introduced into a room where he ſaw Bagenal Harvey, of Bargy Caſtle, eſquire, William Devereux of Taghmon, Francis Breen, Nicholas Sweetman of New Bawn, with a few more whom he did not know, but believes that John Colclough of Ballyteigue, and a ſon of William Devereux aforeſaid, were of the number; that he was cloſely examined by Bagenal Harvey as to the ſtate of Roſs and Duncannon Fort, and whether he was an orangeman or a united man; that ſaid Bagenal Harvey preſſed him to take the united man's oath and become one of their community; that at laſt he obtained a paſs from ſaid Bagenal Harvey, with which he came as far as Bryanſtown, where he was ſtopped by the rebel guard ſtationed there; that he was conducted back again to Collopſwell, where he met with ſaid Bagenal Harvey and ſaid Nicholas Sweetman; that Nicholas Sweetman ſigned the paſs he got from

Bagenal Harvey before; that he had not gone far before the paſs had been taken from him and torn, upon which he was taken priſoner to Scullabogue houſe, where he was confined till Tueſday morning, with ſeveral other proteſtants; that about nine o'clock John Murphy of Loughnageer, (who had the command of the Roſegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the priſoners) had ordered them out by fours to be ſhot by his company, till thirty-five were maſſacred; that the ſpear-men uſed to take pleaſure in piercing the victims through, and with exultation licking their bloody ſpears; that whilſt this horrid ſcene was acting, the barn, in which were above one hundred proteſtants, as examinant heard and believes, was ſet on fire, and all conſumed to aſhes; that examinant's life was ſpared becauſe Murphy knew that Bagenal Harvey had given him a paſs, and that through his interceſſion with Murphy, Loftus Frizzel was likewiſe ſpared; that they were both tied and conveyed within a mile and a half of Roſs, where they met Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan of Johnſtown, in ſaid county William Devereux, aforeſaid, and many others retreating from the battle of Roſs.

That Bagenal Harvey ordered the ſaid Murphy to take the two priſoners to his lodging at Collopſwell, where he had given a paſs to Loftus Frizzel, but refuſed to give one to examinant, for fear he would come and report what he had ſeen and heard at Duncannon Fort; that deponent heard and believes it to be a fact that ſaid Cornelius Grogan * had the command of the Barony Forth rebel troops at the battle of Roſs; that deponent was taken to Foulkes's mills that night, where he continued for two days under a guard, dreſſing the wounded; that he was afterwards conveyed to Ballymitty, where he obtained a paſs from Edward Murphy of ſaid place, to paſs and repaſs through his diſtrict for the purpoſe of curing the wounded. That he was ſent to Taghmon, where the ſitting rebel magiſtrates, John Breen, James Harpur, Joſeph Cullomore, and Matthew Commons, were of opinion, that he might with the prieſt's paſs have gone back again and remain there;† that he ſtrolled along the ſea-ſide, till at laſt he effected his eſcape acroſs the ferry of Bannow to Feathard, on Friday the twenty-ſecond inſtant, and from thence to Duncannon Fort this morning; that he often heard it reported,

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* It is moſt certain, that this unfortunate gentleman never acted, but from compulſion.

† This ſhows how great the influence of the prieſts was.

ed, whilſt in cuſtody, that John Colclough and Thomas Macord, both of Tintern in ſaid county, were very active in promoting the rebellion; that he ſaw John Devereux, junior, of Shilbeggan, in ſaid county, at Scullabogue, on Monday the fourth inſtant, and that he ſeemed, and believes that he had a principal command in the rebel army. He likewiſe ſaw Charles Reilly, of Ramer's-grange in ſaid county, at the camp at Carrickbyrne amongſt the rebels, very buſy and active to promote their cauſe. Deponent farther ſaith, that he attended maſs celebrated by Edward Murphy aforeſaid, pariſh prieſt of Bannow; and that after maſs he heard him preach a ſermon, in which he ſaid "Brethren, you ſee you're victorious every where—that the balls "of the hereticks fly about you without hurting you—that "few of you have fallen, whilſt thouſands of the hereticks "are dead, and that the few of you that have fallen was "from deviating from our cauſe, and want of faith—that "this viſibly is the work of God, who now is determined "that the hereticks, who have reigned upwards of an hundred years, ſhould be extirpated, and the true catholick religion be eſtabliſhed."—And deponent ſaith, this ſermon was preached after the battle of Roſs, and that he heard ſeveral ſermons preached by the prieſts to the ſame effect; that he likewiſe heard many rebels who had been at the battle of Enniſcorthy and elſewhere, declare, that father Roche, a rebel general, did conſtantly catch the bullets that came from his majeſty's arms, and gave them to his men to load their pieces with. Deponent further ſaith, that every proteſtant that was admitted into the rebel corps, was firſt baptized by a prieſt; and that every proteſtant that refuſed to be baptized was put to death: and that many, to ſave their lives, did ſuffer themſelves to be baptized.

Sworn before us, 23d June, 1798,

GEORGE OGLE. RICHARD GRANDY.
ISAAC CORNICK.
JOHN H. LYSTER.
JOHN KENNEDY.

The following horrid oath was taken by all the rebels, printed copies of which were found on numbers that were ſlain, particularly at the battle of New Roſs, and Ballicanew, and is now called "the bloody oath;" but in moſt places "the black oath."

"I, *A. B.* do ſolemnly ſwear by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who "ſuffered for us on the croſs, and by the bleſſed Virgin "Mary, that I will burn, deſtroy, and murder all hereticks, "up to my knees in blood. So help me God."

County

8.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit. THE information of William Fleming, of Taghmon, in the county of Wexford, yeoman, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he, this informant, was a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, was taken priſoner by the rebels at Kilburn, near Taghmon, aforeſaid, on Thurſday, the thirty-firſt day of May laſt, by a man of the name of Brien, who was a captain of ſaid rebels; and that ſaid Brien aſked informant, whether he would be baptized? on which informant replied, that he was baptized before, and that he did not think a ſecond baptiſm neceſſary. Informant ſaith, that ſaid Brien aſked him, whether he knew that this was a religious war? to which informant replied, he did not; on which ſaid Brien told informant that no perſon would be ſuffered to live but he that was a true Roman catholick. Informant ſaith, that ſaid Brien, thereon, cocked his gun, preſented it at informant's breaſt, and declared he would ſhoot informant, as he did another orange raſcal at the camp of Taghmon aforeſaid; but that another of ſaid rebels told ſaid Brien, that he had no right or authority to ſhoot him, unleſs it was done at the camp. That informant was conducted to the ſaid camp, in the midſt of a great crowd of rebels, who cried out aloud, Which is the orange raſcal that is to be ſhot? Informant ſaith, that his life was ſaved that evening, by the interference, as informant verily believes, of Mr. William Devereux, a Roman catholick gentleman, of Taghmon aforeſaid, who was a captain of ſaid rebels. That the guards who were placed over him that night, having a knowledge of, and a regard for informant, gave him his liberty, on which he repaired to a furze brake, where informant lay concealed for two days and two nights. Informant ſaith, he was adviſed by a friend to return to the ſaid town of Taghmon, as the rebel camp had marched to Carrickbyrne, and which informant did on the ſecond day of June, to the beſt of his recollection. That ſome days after, on or about the third day of June, he was ordered to repair to the camp of Carrickbyrne, in ſaid county, which informant did from motives of fear. Informant ſaith, he was compelled to march with ſaid rebels, on the fourth of June, to a camp at Corbet-hill, within a mile of New Roſs, in ſaid county, where the rebel officers fixed their head-quarters, at the houſe of one Murphy; that when he was returning thence, after the battle of Roſs, he, this informant, was taken priſoner by a body of rebels, at the bridge of Ballynabola, in ſaid county. Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid rebels told him, that he had juſt put an end to an orange raſcal, of the name of Byron; and informant ſaith, he ſaw, lying in a ditch at Ballynabola aforeſaid, John Byron, a proteſtant inhabitant of the pariſh of Taghmon aforeſaid, with whom informant was well acquainted; and that ſaid Byron was grievouſly wounded, and covered with blood, and on the point of expiring. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebels called informant an orange raſcal, and threatened to ſerve him as they did Byron; and informant ſaith, he is convinced in his mind, that the ſaid rebels would have put him to death, but that he produced a paſs which he had obtained from Brien Murphy, a prieſt of Taghmon, and that ſaid paſs ſaved the life of informant. That ſaid rebels had a cuſtom of warning the inhabitants of each townland to attend their army, under pain of death, in caſe of diſobedience; and that informant was compelled by ſuch warning, to attend a rebel camp at Slievekelta,* ſometime in the beginning of June, where the ſaid rebels were on the point of trying him for being an orangeman; but that informant was relieved by the kind interference of Mr. John Devereux, of Taghmon. Informant ſaith, that father Roche, a prieſt, who was commander in chief of ſaid camp, preached a ſermon, or exhortation, to the rebels therein, of the following tenor: "That they were fighting for their religion, their liberty, and the rights of their anceſtors, and that they muſt perſevere. That they ſhould examine their ranks, and if they found any orangemen, or diſaffected men among them, to extirpate them, as they could not proſper or thrive while they had ſuch among them."† Informant ſaith, he was again taken priſoner by a body of the ſaid rebels, at Kilburn mountain aforeſaid, on the nineteenth of June, and compelled to repair to the Three-rock camp, near Wexford, where many thouſands of the rebels were aſſembled and arrayed for the purpoſe of marching next day to fight the king's troops, at Foulkes's mill in ſaid county; and that the ſaid camp was commanded by generals Bagenal Harvey and father Roche, a prieſt. That the ſaid rebels, in ſaid camp, marched on the twentieth of June, to Foulkes's mill aforeſaid, where they fought, and were defeated by his majeſty's forces. That the ſaid rebels returned on the night of the twentieth of June, to the ſaid camp, at Three-rock hill aforeſaid, and that the next day, on the approach of the king's troops, the ſaid rebels fled in different directions, ſome towards Wexford, and others towards the barony of Forth, in ſaid county. Informant ſaith, that a barn at Scullabogue, in ſaid county, having a great number of proteſtants in it, was conſumed on the fifth day of June; and that informant went to ſaid barn on the ſeventh day of ſaid month, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, who periſhed therein, for the purpoſe of interring it; but informant ſaith, he could not diſtinguiſh one body from another, from the injuries the ſaid bodies ſuſtained from the fire. That ſome of ſaid bodies were entirely conſumed, that the heads and limbs of others were alſo conſumed, but the bodies remained entire, and very much diſcoloured. That the features of ſuch perſons as were not conſumed, were ſo black and ſo diſcoloured, that he could not diſtinguiſh one from the other. That the bowels of ſome of the ſaid bodies lay expoſed on the floor. That ſome of the ſaid bodies lay againſt the wall, as if in the act of praying. That a heap of the ſaid bodies lay near the door of ſaid barn, to which they flocked, as informant verily believes, for the ſake of freſh air, to prevent ſuffocation. Informant ſaith, that he found a guard of rebels at ſaid barn, and that one of the ſaid rebels told informant, and ſome others who were with informant, and ſeemingly with much joy and pleaſure, that he, the ſaid rebel, had been aſſiſting in burning ſaid barn, and in ſhooting a number of proteſtant priſoners, who were buried in the gripe of a ditch, which ſaid rebel ſhewed, with much ſeeming ſatisfaction, to informant, and thoſe who accompanied him. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebel informed him, that one hundred and ninety-nine perſons were conſumed in ſaid barn, or ſhot at Scullabogue aforeſaid, and that ſaid rebel turned to one of his comrades, and ſaid, the number wanted one of two hundred; and that ſaid rebel told informant, that a man with a pike had been at ſaid barn, turning up and examining the bodies therein, for money and watches, which informant verily believes to be true, as the ſaid bodies ſhowed evident marks of having been ſtirred, and as the bowels of ſome of the ſaid bodies lay expoſed on the ground.

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* Plate VII. 7.

† Sermons of this tenor were daily preached by prieſts at the head of the rebel columns, in their camps.

WILLIAM FLEMING.

Sworn before me, this 20th day of September, 1798,
WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURNE.

9.

County of Wexford, to wit. MICHAEL ASKINS, having been duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That on the fifth of June, he was forced to join a party of rebels, and proceed towards Roſs; that when the party got within three miles of Roſs, they met a man riding very faſt, who ſeemed by his dreſs, to be a prieſt. That this man cried out, we are defeated, Bagenal Harvey has ruined us; I will go to Scullabogue and deſtroy every ſoul in it. That immediately this man threw down a firelock he had, and galloped off towards Scullabogue. Deponent ſaith, he never ſaw the man before, but that the party he was with ſaid, he was the ſtouteſt prieſt in Ireland, father Murphy of Taghmon. That ſoon after, deponent and the party retreated to Scullabogue, where they ſaw thirty-nine bodies dead before the door, and the barn burned, and the roof fallen in. Deponent heard that one hundred and fifty perſons were deſtroyed in the barn, amongſt whom were twenty-eight women and fifteen children; and deponent ſays, he heard the ſame from numbers who were there, and he verily believes the numbers were rather more.

his
MICHAEL + ASKINS,
mark.

Sworn before me, this 18th day of January, 1799,
JOHN H. LYSTER.

10.

COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

Affidavits ſworn before the reverend John Kennedy, and the reverend Robert Hawkſhaw, by the deſire, and in the preſence of general Fawcett.

DAVID NEVILLE ſwore an information, the ſecond day of July, before the ſaid John Kennedy, and in preſence of general Fawcett, that John Cody, Michael Devereux, of Battleſtown, John Devereux, of Dungulph, and David Walſh, of Ballygo, in the county of Wexford, were buſy in promoting the rebellion; and ſaid, that the object of the rebellion was to murder ſuch proteſtants as would not turn to maſs.

James Murphy, a papiſt, depoſed, on the ſecond day of June, that the object of the rebellion was to murder all the proteſtants, and to have the kingdom to themſelves.

John Fitzgerald, of Black-hill, depoſed the ſame, the third of July, 1798.

Charles Reilly depoſed, that he ſaw fathers Byrne and Shallow, at the camp at Carrickbyrne, active and buſy in promoting the rebellion. Dated fifth of July, 1798.

Joſeph Kelly, a proteſtant, depoſed, the fifth of July, 1798, that he was baptized by Bernard Downes, a prieſt, along with many more; as he heard and believes, that every proteſtant was to be put to death. He alſo depoſed, that brakes of furze were ſet on fire by the rebels, in expectation of finding proteſtants hid in them.

Andrew Sheppard, and Patrick Dungannon, of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who were taken priſoners at the mountain of Forth, on the thirtieth of May, depoſed, that the rebel generals, Roche, Fitzgerald, and Murphy, informed them, that John Colclough, eſquire, of Tintern, in the county of Wexford, was at the head of ſix hundred rebels, at Tintern aforeſaid, ready to cut off the retreat of the thirteenth regiment of foot; and that fathers Dixon, Kavenagh, Murphy, and ſeveral other prieſts were very buſy and active at the rebel camp at Gorey, promoting and forwarding the rebellion. The ſaid Dixon endeavoured to perſuade the rebels to march to Dublin, for the purpoſe of taking it, and that they would be joined by twenty thouſand rebels in the county of Wicklow.

11.

SCULLABOGUE.

Redmond Mitchell's trial.

ON the trial of Redmond Mitchell, alias Miſcelly, held at Wexford, the eighteenth of June, 1799, it appeared, that he was active among the rebels at Scullabogue, in murdering the loyaliſts, being armed with a fire-lock, with the but-end of which, he was knocking and battering ſuch of the priſoners as were expiring at the front of the dwelling-houſe. He had a pair of new boots on, which were much beſpattered with blood, which, and a watch he obtained from Mr. Loftus Frizzel, a priſoner in the dwelling-houſe, who, and Richard Grandy, were the only priſoners that eſcaped. He was ſo much admired by the rebels, for his ſanguinary and ferocious diſpoſition, that they called him the true-born Roman.

He gave Mr. Frizzel his ſhoes, on getting his boots. Mr. Frizzel gave Mitchell his watch and boots, in hopes that he would ſave his life, which he did, and conveyed him to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.

That numbers were trying to ſet the barn on fire, which was difficult, as the walls were high; that a number of rebels, in front, were piking and firing on the priſoners, who drew in the door to protect themſelves; that they put a bundle of lighted ſtraw in at the door, which ſet fire to the barn, which fire they kept up till the priſoners were deſtroyed, but many were ſhot dead before.

12.

SCULLABOGUE.

ON the trial of Matthew Furlong, at Wexford, in September, 1799, Robert Mills ſwore, that he was at Scullabogue, and was ordered to ſtand guard on the loyaliſts who were in the barn. That all the orders to burn the barn were reſiſted, till three men arrived and ſaid, that a certain prieſt had given orders that the priſoners ſhould be put to death; on which the rebels all ſet about the murders, and it was impoſſible to ſay who was moſt active. Orders were given to put any man to death who ſhould quit his poſt at the barn. A man ordered the witneſs to guard the door, and not let any of the loyaliſts out. The roof was on fire, and the loyaliſts were trying to force open the door to effect their eſcape, but were prevented by the rebels, of whom the priſoner was one; and he made ſeveral ſtabs of his pike at thoſe who endeavoured to get out, particularly a woman, and on ſtriking her he bent his pike. He afterwards went to the forge of Scullabogue, and ſtraightened his pike there.—Patrick Kerrivan ſwore, that the priſoner, in aſſiſting the rebels to burn the barn, lifted up the thatch with his pike, that others might put faggots under it, and that he called for more ſtraw. That he ſaw him ſtrike with a ſpear a man who was endeavouring to make his eſcape.

On the trial of Michael Murphy, at Wexford, on September fourteenth, 1799, it appeared, that he was raiſing the thatch of the barn for the admiſſion of fire, and that he was followed by perſons with lighted buſhes, who were putting them into the apertures which he had made. That he and Matthew Furlong, who were guards at the door, ſpeared a man who was endeavouring to make his eſcape. That the priſoner put his pike under the thatch to make it blaze. That he and Furlong went afterwards to the forge, which was near, to ſharpen his pike; and on being aſked, whether they were all dead? the priſoner replied, "I'll engage they are all ſettled."

September twenty-ſeventh, 1799, on the trial of Matthew Revel, it appeared, that one gang of aſſaſſins, coming from Tintern, with a drove of proteſtants, met another at ſome diſtance from Scullabogue, with Mr. Milward Giffard, and John Moran in their cuſtody, and that the two parties joined, went to Scullabogue together, and committed the priſoners to the barn.

On the trial of Patrick Furlong, at Wexford, on the twelfth of September, 1799, for being concerned in the maſſacre at Scullabogue, it was proved, that the meſſenger who conveyed orders to captain Murphy, to put the priſoners to death, ſaid they were ſent by father Murphy, which correſponds with the affidavit of Michael Aſkins, Appendix XX. 9.

13.

GENERAL ORDERS.

At a meeting of the general and ſeveral officers of the united army of the county of Wexford, the following reſolutions were agreed upon:

RESOLVED, That the commander in chief ſhall ſend guards to certain baronies for the purpoſe of bringing in all men they ſhall find loitering and delaying at home, or elſewhere; and if any reſiſtance be given to thoſe guards ſo to be ſent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our deſire and orders, that ſuch perſons ſo giving reſiſtance, ſhall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commiſſion for that purpoſe; and all ſuch perſons ſo to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, ſhall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and choſen from amongſt the commanders of all the different corps, and be puniſhed with death.

Reſolved, that all officers ſhall immediately repair to their reſpective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unleſs authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpoſe.

It is alſo ordered, that a guard ſhall be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to ſhoot all perſons who ſhall fly or deſert from any engagement, and that theſe orders ſhall be taken notice of by all officers commanding at ſuch engagement.

All men refuſing to obey their ſuperior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and puniſhed according to their ſentence.

It is alſo ordered, that all men who ſhall attempt to leave their reſpective quarters when they have been halted by the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death, unleſs they ſhall have leave from their officers for ſo doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all perſons who have ſtolen or taken away any horſe or horſes, ſhall immediately bring in all ſuch horſes to the camp, at head quarters, otherwiſe any horſe that ſhall be ſeen or found in the poſſeſſion of any perſon to whom he does not belong, ſhall, on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death.

And any goods that ſhall have been plundered from any houſe, if not brought in to head quarters, or returned immediately to the houſes, or owners, that all perſons ſo plundering as aforeſaid, ſhall, on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death.

It is alſo reſolved, That any perſon or perſons who ſhall take upon him or them to kill or murder any perſon or priſoner, burn any houſe, or commit any plunder, without ſpecial written orders from the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death.*

By order of

B. B. HARVEY, *commander in chief.*
FRANCIS BREEN, *ſecretary and adjutant.*

Head-quarters, Carrickbyrne camp,
June 6, 1798.

TO

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* This humane order checked the rebels at Gorey camp from maſſacring their priſoners, and occaſioned B. Harvey's depoſition.

14.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Countrymen and Fellow Soldiers!

YOUR patriotick exertions in the cauſe of your country have hitherto exceeded your moſt ſanguine expectations, and in a ſhort time muſt ultimately be crowned with ſucceſs—Liberty has raiſed her drooping head; thouſands daily flock to her ſtandard; the voice of her children every where prevails—let us then, in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the univerſe, that a total ſtop has been put to thoſe ſanguinary meaſures, which of late were but too often reſorted to by the creatures of government to keep the people in ſlavery.

Nothing now, my countrymen, appears neceſſary to ſecure the conqueſts you have ſo bravely won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for, through a want of proper ſubordination and diſcipline, all may be endangered.

At this eventful period, all Europe muſt admire, and poſterity will read with aſtoniſhment, the heroick acts achieved by people, ſtrangers to military tacticks, and having few profeſſional commanders. But what power can reſiſt men fighting for liberty!

In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarniſhed with any wanton act of cruelty; many of thoſe unfortunate men now in priſon were not your enemies from principle, moſt of them, compelled by neceſſity, were obliged to oppoſe you: neither let a difference in religious ſentiments cauſe a difference amongſt the people. Recur to the debates in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords of the nineteenth of February laſt, you will there ſee a patriotick and enlightened *proteſtant biſhop* (Down, and many of the lay lords) with manly eloquence, pleading for catholick emancipation and parliamentary reform, in oppoſition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful oppoſition of his fellow courtiers.

To promote an union of brotherhood and affection amongſt our countrymen of all religious perſuaſions, has been our principal object; we have ſworn in the moſt ſolemn manner, have aſſociated for this laudable purpoſe, and no power on earth ſhall ſhake our reſolution.

To my *proteſtant* ſoldiers I feel much indebted, for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited ſignal proofs of bravery in the cauſe.

EDWARD ROCHE.*

Wexford, June 7, 1798.

15.

Copy of a letter from B. B. Harvey, to Francis Glaſcott, eſquire, then in the camp of Slievekelta.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter, but what to do for you, I know not. I from my heart wiſh to protect all property: I can ſcarce protect myſelf; and indeed my ſituation is much to be pitied, and diſtreſſing to myſelf. I took my preſent ſituation in hopes of doing good, and preventing miſchief; my truſt is in Providence; I acted always an honeſt diſintereſted part, and had my advice been taken by thoſe in power, the preſent miſchief would never have ariſen. If I can retire to a private ſtation again I will immediately. Mr. Tottenham's refuſing to ſpeak to the gentleman I ſent into Roſs, who was madly ſhot by the ſoldiers, was very unfortunate; it has ſet the people mad with rage, and there is no reſtraining them; the perſon I ſent in, had private inſtructions to propoſe a reconciliation, but God knows where this buſineſs will end; but end how it will, the good men of both parties will be inevitably ruined.

I am, with reſpect,

Yours,

B. B. HARVEY.

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* This was the lay-general.

16.

By order of the council for directing the affairs of the people of the county of Wexford.

Oaths to be taken by all the united army, in the moſt publick and ſolemn manner.

TEST OATH.

IN the awful preſence of God, I, *A. B.* do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion; and that I will alſo perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, not even death, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform, or give evidence againſt any member or members of this, or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or expreſſion of theirs, done or made collectively or individually in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation.

So help me God.

Oath of a Private.

I, *A. B.* do ſolemnly and ſincerely ſwear, and take God and his only ſon our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to witneſs, that I will at all times be obedient to the commands of my officers; that I am ready to lay down my life, for the good of my country; that I have an averſion to plunder, and to the ſpilling of innocent blood; that I will fight courageouſly in the field, and ſhew mercy where it can be given; that I will avoid drunkenneſs, tending to diſorder and ruin; that I will endeavour to make as many friends, and as few enemies as poſſible; that above all, I deteſt a coward, and that I will look upon him as an enemy who will ſtand back in the time of battle.

So help me God.

Oath of an Officer.

IN the awful preſence of God, who knows the heart and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witneſs, I, *A. B.* officer in, &c. do ſolemnly ſwear, that I do not conſider my life my own, when my country demands it; that I conſider the preſent moment calls for a proof of the ſincerity of that ſentiment, and I am ready and deſirous to ſtand the teſt; and do aver, that I am determined to die, or lead to victory; and that all my actions ſhall be directed to the proſperity of the common cauſe, uninfluenced by any inferior motive: and I further declare my utter averſion to all alarmiſts, union-breakers, and cowards, and my reſpect and obedience to the commands of ſuperior officers.

So help me God.

Done at the council chamber,
Wexford, June the 14*th*, 1798.

By order of the council,

B. B. HARVEY, *preſident*,
NICHOLAS GRAY, *ſecretary*.

BY the virtuous voice of the people, we whoſe names are here under written, do appoint our truſty and well-beloved brother, William Fielding Coſtello, to command our artillery, and commiſſary of our ſtores; and we truſt this will be noticed by all whom it may concern. Given under our hands at camp at Limerick-hill, this thirteenth day of June, 1798.

EDWARD KYAN.
JOHN HAY.

[A copy.]

17.

County of Wexford, *to wit.* } ELIZABETH EDWARDS, of John-ſtreet, in the town of Wexford, having been duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That ſhe was told by her neighbours, who were Roman catholicks, that all the proteſtants would be put to death on Sunday the tenth of June laſt; in conſequence of which this deponent went to the chapel on Thurſday the ſeventh (as deponent believes,) and was baptized by father Broe. Deponent further ſaith, that ſome time in the laſt week the ſaid father Broe came to deponent and demanded payment for having chriſtened her;

and in four days after, this deponent paid him one ſhilling on that account.

Sworn before me, this 2d day
of January, 1799,
JOHN H. LYSTER.

her
ELIZABETH + EDWARDS,
mark.

18.

ERIN GO BRAGH!

Proclamation of the people of the county of Wexford.

WHEREAS it ſtands manifeſtly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, * late magiſtrates of this county, have committed the moſt horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppreſſion, againſt our peaceable and well-affected countrymen:

Now we, the people, aſſociated and united for the purpoſe of procuring our juſt rights, and being determined to protect the perſons and properties of thoſe of all religious perſuaſions who have not oppreſſed us, and are willing, with heart and hand, to join our glorious cauſe, as well as to ſhew our marked diſapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large, to uſe every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforeſaid James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, and to ſecure and convey them to the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people. Done at Wexford, this ninth day of June, 1798.

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.

19.

ERIN GO BRAGH!

To all Iriſhmen and ſoldiers, who wiſh to join their brethren in arms, aſſembled for the defence of their country, their rights and liberties, theſe few lines are addreſſed.

WE, the honeſt patriots of our country, do moſt earneſtly intreat and invite you to join your natural Iriſh ſtandard.

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* Theſe gentlemen were conſpicuous for their loyalty.

This is the time for Iriſhmen to ſhew their zeal for their country's good,* the good of their poſterity, and the natural rights and liberties of Ireland. Repair then to the camps of liberty, where you will be generouſly received, and amply rewarded. We know your hearts are with us; and all you want is an opportunity to deſert thoſe tyrants who wiſh to keep you as the ſupport of their oppreſſive and helliſh ſchemes, to enſlave our country. Done at Wexford by the unanimous voice of the people, fourteenth June, 1798.

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.

20.

County of the city of Dublin, to wit.

THE information of James Rowſom, of Managena, of the pariſh of Monomolin, &c. county of Wexford, farmer, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, That he made his eſcape from his own houſe to Gorey, in ſaid county, on Whitſunday laſt, in order to ſave his life; and that after the battle of Tubberneering near Gorey aforeſaid, in which colonel Walpole fell, he retreated from Gorey aforeſaid to the town of Wicklow, where he, this informant, remained till a day or two after the battle of Vinegar-hill. Informant ſaith, that he, and about twenty proteſtants, men, who fled from the vengeance of the popiſh rebels, returned to Gorey, about two days after ſaid battle, thinking that the ſucceſs of the king's troops therein had reſtored peace and tranquillity in the ſaid county about Gorey aforeſaid; that on the day of his arrival at Gorey, a number of rebels flying from Vinegar-hill arrived at Gorey, and put to flight a great number of proteſtants, and killed every one that fell into their hands of ſaid proteſtants, to the amount of, he heard and believes, thirty or forty. Informant ſaith, that in his flight from Gorey thither, informant was taken priſoner by the rebels on Kilmurry hill, within two miles of Gorey aforeſaid, when their commander, who was well dreſſed and well mounted, told informant that he knew him to be an orangemen;

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* It is very remarkable, that, during the courſe of the conſpiracy and rebellion, the Iriſh traitors conſtantly ſpoke of their zeal for the good of their country both orally and in print, by which they meant its ſeparation from England.

orangeman; that the ſaid commander deſired ſaid rebel corps to advance, on which one of the ſaid corps ſaid, "I will ſhoot him;" but the ſaid rebel commander ſaid, "No, leave him to me." On which the ſaid rebel having advanced and left informant in cuſtody of ſaid commander, informant ſaith, that the ſaid commander deſired informant to lie down that he might ſhoot him; and this informant thereon began to plead for his life, declaring, that he was no orangeman, but an induſtrious poor man, who gained his ſubſiſtence by his labour; on which the ſaid rebel commander rode up againſt him violently, and threw him into a ditch; and having deſired him to lie down a ſecond time, he this informant complied, on which the ſaid rebel commander ſhot him in the head and broke his jaw; the ſaid rebel commander having thereon ſaid, "I am ſure he is dead," to two or three of the rebel ſoldiers who happened to remain with him. Informant ſaith, he is convinced in his mind, that the ſaid rebel commander had no other reaſon for ſhooting him, than that he was a proteſtant. Informant ſaith, he was ſo much weakened by the loſs of blood, that he lay on the ſpot where he was ſo wounded, for the ſpace of five hours. Informant ſaith, when he gathered a little ſtrength, and thought that the rebels had departed, he retired to an adjacent field, and concealed himſelf in ſome ferns, hoping to make his eſcape in the night; that a party of rebels having come to the place where he had been ſhot, and ſeeing that he had made his eſcape, they went in queſt of him, this informant, and having found him, they, the ſaid rebels, exclaimed, "Let us ſhoot him;" that one of the ſaid rebels then fired at him with a muſket, and drove a bullet through his left arm; but the ſaid rebel perceiving he had not killed him, called out to another rebel to ſhoot him; but the ſaid rebel ſaid in anſwer, that he had but one charge, and that he would not throw it away on informant, but they ſaid we will pike him, which however they could not do, as they had no pikes. Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid rebels took a large ſtone and ſtruck informant ſo violently in the head with it, that they left him ſpeechleſs and ſenſeleſs, and apparently dead. Informant ſaith, that in the night he made his eſcape over colonel Ram's demeſne, without coat, ſhoes, or ſtockings * to the houſe of Thomas Ennis, of Benogue, and remained there all night in a pigſtye; that in the morning the ſaid Ennis gave him a blanket

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* The rebels ſtripped him

to cover him, and ſome milk and water to drink; that he remained there all day, and next night. Informant ſaith, that during all that time he received no other nouriſhment than milk and water adminiſtered to him with a ſpoon. Informant ſaith, that the ſaid Ennis had him conveyed next day in a car to Gorey aforeſaid; and that one of the military ſurgeons had him conveyed from thence in a car to Bray, in the county of Wicklow, where informant remained in a military hoſpital till the twenty-third day of Auguſt. Informant ſaith, his under jaw is completely ſhattered, that all his teeth are looſe, and that he can receive no nouriſhment but with a ſpoon.* Informant ſaith, his dwelling-houſe, furniture, out-offices, and farming-utenſils have been burned or deſtroyed; and that his cows and horſes have been carried off by the rebels.

JAMES ROWSOM, 60 *years old.*

Sworn before me, this 25th of Auguſt, 1798,
THOMAS FLEMING,
Lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

21.

The depoſition of James Pippard, ſovereign of the town of Gorey, county of Wexford,

WHO being examined, depoſeth and ſaith, that on Wedneſday and Thurſday, the twentieth and twenty-firſt days of June laſt, 1798, a great number of proteſtants, both men and women, returned from Arklow to Gorey, on their hearing that the rebels had left the town of Gorey, and, finding that his majeſty's army was in purſuit of them, the rebels then made for Vinegar-hill; that on Friday, the twenty-ſecond day of June, being the day after the engagement with his majeſty's army and the rebels at Vinegar-hill, near Enniſcorthy, the rebels, to the amount of three hundred or upwards, armed with firelocks and pikes, retreated from the army, and came back to Gorey. On the proteſtants retreating to Arklow, the rebels purſued them, and killed to the number of thirty-ſix of the loyaliſts, by ſhooting and piking them in the moſt barbarous and cruel manner. Deponent was one of the number that retreated from Gorey, and narrowly eſcaped with his life. Deponent further ſaith, that the rebels kept a conſtant fire at the loyaliſts from Gorey, till they got almoſt to the village of Coolgreny, near ſix miles.

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* The author ſaw this man exactly in this ſtate in the month of Auguſt, 1798.

JAMES PIPPARD.

Sworn before me, this 31ſt of December, 1798,
HUNTER GOWAN.

22.

Thomas Cleary's confeſſion relative to the murder of his maſter.

THOMAS CLEARY was executed the eighth of March, 1800, for the murder of his maſter, Edward Turner, eſquire, on the bridge of Wexford. Juſt before his execution, he made the following confeſſion, in preſence of Joſhua Nunn, eſquire, high ſheriff, the underſigned gentlemen, and many others: That he was guilty of the ſaid murder. On his being aſked, did he not think it a ſin to kill his maſter? he replied, that he often heard the people ſay, it was not a ſin to kill him; and that ſince the murder of his maſter, he received abſolution from two prieſts, father Murphy of the pariſh of Kilruſh,* in ſaid county, and father Ryan, who had done duty for father Ned Redmond, of the pariſh of Ferns. He was alſo aſked, did they order him to do any thing for committing ſo horrid a crime? He anſwered, they ordered him to faſt three † days in each week, for three months, as a penance.

JOSHUA NUNN, *high ſheriff.*
JAMES BOYD.
CHRISTOPHER WILSON.
WILLIAM TURNER.

23.

Doctor Caulfield's letter to Bryan Murphy.

Reverend Bryan Murphy!

BEING well and truly informed that you have impiouſly and ſacrilegiouſly dared to attempt to adminiſter ſacraments without having any faculties ſo to do, nay, that you have had the diabolical audacity to attempt to hear ſacramental confeſſions, and to give the unfortunate penitents abſolution, which was abſolutely not in your power to give, thereby heaping coals on your own head, leaving the unhappy ſinners in their ſins, and, as was your practice, leading them to utter perdition, &c. &c. Wherefore, in the neceſſary diſcharge of our paſtoral and indiſpenſable duty, and for the ſafety of the faithful committed to our charge, we now again repeat, and hereby declare you abſolutely and to all intents and purpoſes deprived of all prieſtly faculties, and abſolutely ſuſpended from all prieſtly functions whatſoever, except the recital of the divine office in canonical hours, and ſaying one maſs daily, and that privately in your own houſe only; and we hereby expreſsly and ſtrictly forbid and interdict you to celebrate maſs elſewhere; and we further order and peremptorily command you not ſuffer or allow any congregations or aſſembly of people to come even to your own houſe, or to hear your maſs there. Given in Balliane, March 19th, 1800.

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* This was Edanus Murphy, who exhorted his flock to loyalty. See pages 397 and 398 of vol. i.

† This was from meat only.

JAMES CAULFIELD.*

To reverend Bryan Murphy.

Taghmon, March 27th, 1800.

My Lord,

Pleas your lordſhip, after what you ſaid to me yeſterday, nothing ſhould or could prevail on me to be agaen troubleſome to your lordſhip, but juſt this, father Murphy underſtanding that there was no immediate allowance to ſay maſs outſide his own houſe, exclaimed, that he was then pointed out a ſacrifice, and that he might thank me for it; I told your lordſhip yeſterday that I was the cauſe of his taking on the ſtole, and of his doing the other offices he did, which your lordſhip ſaid you never knew or allowed, &c. to be given him; and that it was the pope only that could diſpenſe with him now, and this to be all through my means, heated and interdicted by your lordſhip, condemned and ſuſpected by him, of purpoſly bringing him into a ſnare, is exceedingly terrifying to the mind; and the conſequences that may as yet be apprehended to follow, alarms me moſt of all, the diſtraction of the people, his life, &c. All he wants is merely to get leave to ſay maſs outſide his own houſe, and where called on, by way of preventing all other miſchieves. The command of your lordſhip ſhall be kept by me, who am,

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* It appears that the doctor had withdrawn the faculty or power of attorney which he had given Bryan Murphy to forgive ſins.

My Lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,
DENIS KELLY.

My lord, with all the deſires of liſe and ſoul, I moſt earneſtly beg the favour,—My lord, your lordſhip was pleaſed to remark that your lordſhip was never moved by any intereſt whatſoever temporal, to do any thing but your duty, which I believe no perſon doubted or ought to doubt—ſo God knows, and your lordſhip muſt in your ſoul know, that your lordſhip is anſwerable between father Murphy and me, for any function to my knowledge he has done, for I thought your ſilence on the occaſion gave me your tacet conſent.

From Bryan Murphy to a proteſtant clergyman.

Reverend ſir, and worthy friend!

AS there are various reports and reaſons aſſigned among the people for my preſent ſituation, and my being ſo treated by my biſhop; ſome ſaying, for ſuch a cauſe, and others for different cauſes, &c. all of which are falſe, as you'l ſee from his lordſhip's letter, which he ſent me without ever acquainting me off, till I received it in my houſe; nor did he call or acquaint reverend Mr. Kelly, any more than me, but paſſed ſentence without hearing him or me. Reverend ſir, I did not adminiſter any ſacrament, from the firſt day I was reſtricted, till about ſeventeen months back, and that after Mr. Kelly told his lordſhip that he could not anſwer all the calls, and that he ſhould ſend me to ſerve neceſſary calls, &c. at which his lordſhip ſeemed all pleaſant, and ſaid nothing. Reverend Mr. Kelly after that, ſent me to anſwer occaſional calls, and thus continued for the courſe of ſeventeen months, or thereabouts, without my hearing a word to the contrary. On my receiving the biſhop's letter, Mr. Kelly went to him, but could do nothing; and the next day he wrote to him, the copy of which you have incloſed; but his lordſhip did not anſwer his letter. I wrote alſo, and did not receive any anſwer What moſtly concerns me, that my friends and well-wiſhers ſhould think my preſent treatment from the biſhop, ſhould proceed from any bad practices, eſpecially your reverence, John Heatly, eſquire, and William Goff, eſquire, &c. I am,

Reverend ſir,
Brickets-town, Your ſincere well-wiſher,
April 28*th*, 1800. and very humble ſervant,
BRYAN MURPHY.

To the reverend Mr. ——.

County of Wexford, to wit. ELIZABETH CRANE, of the county of Wexford, widow, being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That on the twentieth day of June laſt, ſhe was in her own houſe, in great anxiety, apprehending, from circumſtances which had happened that morning, the life of her ſon-in-law, Middleton Robſon, a loyaliſt, then a priſoner in the gaol of Wexford, to be in immediate and imminent danger; that in the afternoon of ſaid twentieth day, between the hours of two and four of the clock, as ſaid deponent believeth, ſhe ſaw the reverend doctor Caulfield, accompanied by the reverend Mr. Roche, a prieſt of ſaid town, paſs by her houſe towards a lane which communicates from the back ſtreet of ſaid town to Gibſon's-lane, which gave her great pleaſure, as ſhe ſuppoſed they were going to intercede for the priſoners. That near the entrance of ſaid lane they were met by a number of men, armed with pikes and other weapons, coming, as ſhe believeth, from the gaol, who, as they came up to doctor Caulfield, kneeled down, for the purpoſe, as deponent believeth, of receiving doctor Caulfield's bleſſing, which he gave, ſpreading his hands over their heads, as ſhe had ſeen him do to others whom he bleſſed, and that the men afterwards paſſed on, as ſhe ſuppoſeth, to the bridge; and that very ſhortly afterwards, two men, armed with pikes, entered her houſe, who told her, "they were ſlaughtering on the bridge; that they would never draw bridle, till they would put them all on a level, and that by that time to-morrow, there would be neither buying or ſelling in Wexford:" and that immediately before, or during the time, doctor

Caulfield was bleſſing, which was of a tedious length, nearly, as ſhe thinks, an hour, ſaid deponent heard a ſhot, by which ſhe believes Matthewſon was killed at the gaol.

ELIZABETH CRANE.

Sworn before me at Wexford, this
16th day of March, 1799,
WILLIAM TOOLE.

24.

*Copy of the calendar * of the proteſtant priſoners in Wexford, uſed in the bloody committee, which ſat in the gaol, the twentieth of June, the original of which is lodged in Trinity College library, Dublin.*

Mark.	*No.*		*Pariſh.*
Killed.	1	Aikin, Thomas	
T	2	Abbot, Chriſtopher	
V	3	Allen, John	Wexford.
	4	Aſkins, Henry	
	5	Aſkins, George	
B	6	Atkin, Samuel	
V A	7	Atkin, John	do.
	8	Atkin, George	do.
I H	9	Atkin, Samuel	C. Ellis.
H	10	Atkin, Samuel	do.
V H	11	Atkin, Hercules	do.
do.	12	Atkin, Chriſtopher	do.
do.	13	Atkin, James	Edermine.
do.	14	Atkin, William	do.
do.	15	Atkin, Robert	Wexford.
	16	Atkin, William	Ardcolme.
	17	Atkin, William	Edermine.
	18	Atkin, William	C. Ellis.
	19	Atkin, Francis	Wexford.
		B	
	20	Bayley, Henry	Wexford.
	21	Birdthiſtle, Thomas	

Mark.

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* In this calendar, the word [diſcharged] is oppoſite the name of Bland, Crump, and Kellet, though the two laſt were not liberated till the twenty-firſt of June, the day after the maſſacre; and as this entry muſt have been made before Atkins got the book, it is probable that it was entered by the deſire of father Corrin on his arrival from Clonard, in conſequence of the compact which he had made with the ladies there to preſerve their huſbands. See pages 17 and 18 of this volume.

Mark.	*No.*		*Pariſh.*
B	22	Burrell, Robert	Duncor.
B	23	Burrell, Peter	do.
V	24	Boyd, James, jun.	Wexford.
V	25	Brett, James	Enniſcorthy.
C	26	Bolton, Henry	
B	27	Byrne, John	
	28	Baſſet, Edward	
	29	Browne, William	
	30	Beaubear, William	Ardcolm.
	31	Burby, Joſeph	
	32	Bland, capt. [diſcharged]	Wexford.
	33	Byrne, Moſes	
	34	Bower, doctor	
	35	Baker, Philip	
	36	Batterton, Thomas	
	37	Barby, Henry	
	38	Burke, lieutenant	
	39	Barry, enſign	
	40	Barriſter, Joſeph	
	41	Batterton, William	
	42	Baſſet, John	
	43	Byrne, Edward	
	44	Byrne, William	
	45	Bannon, Martin	
		C	
V B	46	Cox, capt. Allen	Coolcliff.
	47	Connor, John	
B	48	Clarke, William	Wexford.
	49	Chapman, Thomas	
T	50	Carthy, John	
T	51	Codd, Loftus	do.
T	52	Clifford, Robert	do.
C	53	Coſtigan, George	do.
B	54	Crane, Thomas	do.
C	55	Clifford, John	do.
	56	Clarke, Thomas	do.
	57	Clarke, Thomas	do.
	58	Clarke, William	do.
	59	Cronin, Jared	
	60	Clarke, John	
	61	Callaghan, John	
	62	Callaghan, Owen	
	63	Cooke, Thomas	

Mark.

Mark.	*No.*		*Pariſh.*
	64	Conners, Peter	
	65	Crump, Nath. [diſcharged]	Wexford.
	66	Cooper, Henry	do.
	67	Copeland, William	
	68	Clifford, Nicholas	Wexford.
	69	Campbell, John	
	70	Coſtigon, William	Wexford.
	71	Cooper, John	
	72	Coombes, John	
	73	Codd, John	
	74	Coſtello, Edward	Ballyhack.
		D	
B——	75	Daniel, William	Wexford.
	76	Doyle, Edward	
	77	Dowſe, William	
	78	Doran, John	
	79	Dixon, John	
	80	Dixon, William	
	81	Dowzer, James	
		E	
	82	Eſmund, Richard	
	83	Ennis, Abraham	
B——	84	Edwards, John	
	85	Edwards, Thomas	Wexford.
		F	
	86	Freeman, Richard	
F——	87	Frankland, Edward	Wexford.
	88	Furlong, Michael	Enniſcorthy.
	89	Francis, William	Wexford.
	90	Finn, Simon	
	91	Fennell, Matthew	
	92	Flood, Denis	
	93	Frizel, William	
	94	Foley, Patrick	
	95	Frayne, Parſons	
B——	96	Finn, Thomas	Killimuck.
		G	
	97	Gibſon, John	
	98	Gainfort, Joſeph	
	99	Gainfort, Richard	
B——	100	Gainfort, Thomas	Wexford.
	101	Gore, John	D. Cormuck.
	102	Gill, Allen	

Mark.	*No.*		*Pariſh.*
	103	Gurley, William	Wexford.
	104	Gibſon, Richard	
	105	Gurly, John	Wexford.
B—	106	Gurly, Jonas	do.
	107	Goodall, James	do.
	108	Green, Benjamin	Coolſtuff.
	109	Gray, Moſes	
	110	Gordon, Samuel	Wexford.
	111	Gafney, Michael	B. gale.
		H	
B—	112	Hore, William	Taghmon.
	113	Hogan, John	Wexford.
	114	Haley, John	
	115	Hyland, William Henry	Wexford.
B—	116	Harriſon, William	
	117	Hughes, James	Wexford.
	118	Hughes, Michael	Wexford.
B—	119	Hatchel, John	Wexford.
	120	Hawkins, Samuel	
	121	Hamilton, James	Wexford.
	122	Hogg, lieutenant	
	123	Howlin, Abraham James	Kilcorham
B—	124	Henneſy (G. or Abr.)	Wexford.
		I	
	125	Jeffares, Richard	Wexford.
	126	Jeffares, Ivory	Wexford.
F—	127	Jones, Benjamin	
R—	128	Julian, Richard	Wexford.
	129	Jackſon, Charles	Wexford.
	130	Jones, Ben.	
	131	Jeffares, Chriſtopher	Wexford.
	132	Judd, Peter	
	133	Jones, Sheppard	
	134	Jones, James	
		K	
	135	Keer, David	
B—	136	Kennedy, William	
V.hill.	137	Kavenagh, Thomas	Enniſcorthy.
	138	Knox, Oliver	
	139	Kelly, John	
	140	King, Richard Newton	Enniſcorthy.
	141	Kelly, Matthias	
	142	Keary, William	

Mark.	*No.*		*Pariſh.*
	143	Kellet, William [diſcharged]	Wexford.
	144	Kelly, William	
	145	Kingſborough, lord	
	146	Kendrick, Joſeph	
	147	Knight, John, L.	
		L	
B——	148	Lett, Charles	
T——	149	Lammas, Thomas	Wexford.
	150	Lachey, Thomas	do.
	151	Lewis, Nicholas	K. limick.
	152	Lammas, Henry	Wexford.
	153	Lehunte, colonel Geo.	Ardcolm.
		M	
	154	Meadows, Arthur	Wexford.
	155	Meadows, William	do.
	156	Moore, Joſeph	do.
	157	Myden, John	
	158	Morgan, William	do.
	159	Matthews, James	do.
	160	Matthews, George	do.
	161	Matthews, Alexander	do.
Gaol	162	Matthewſon, Kennet	do.
Balbrig	163	Murphy, Francis	K. ſcoran.
Strand	164	Murphy, Joſeph	K. Muckridge.
	165	M'Henry, Maurice	
	166	Moore, Matthew	
	167	Moran, Bartholomew	
	168	Molony, Thomas	
	169	Maude, Samuel	
	170	Maſon, George	
	171	M'Manus, captain	
Died	172	Morton, John	
	173	M'Cann, Edward	
	174	M'Kay, Robert	
	175	M'Kay, John	
	176	Milward, captain Henry	
	177	Martin, Thomas	B. Gale.
	178	M'Donald, John.	Wexford.
		N	
	179	Nunn, James.	Wexford.
		O	
	180	Orange, Samuel	
	181	Owen, reverend Roger	Camolin.

Mark.	*No.*		*Pariſh.*
		P	
	182	Pigot, Robert	Wexford.
	183	Peace, Samuel	
	184	Parſley, Robert	
	185	Plummer, Francis	
	186	Power, Patrick	
	187	Parſley, Eben.	
		Q	
	188	Quirke, Philip.	
		R	
	189	Rudd, Anthony	Enniſcorthy.
	190	Rogers, Edward	
T——	191	Reily, William	Wexford.
B——	192	Radford, William	
B——	193	Radford, John	
B——	194	Radford, Nathaniel	
F——	195	Reeves, Richard	
B——	196	Radford, John, junior	
B——	197	Robſon, Middleton	Wexford.
	198	Rudd, Anthony	
	199	Richards, Richard	Wexford.
	200	Redmond, Patrick	
	201	Richards, Thomas	Wexford.
	202	Rigley, Thomas	
	203	Rhynhart, Henry.	
		S	
	204	Smithſon, Joſeph	
	205	Saliſbury, James	Wexford.
	206	Stephens, Iſaac	Wexford.
	207	Sullivan, Robert	
B——	208	Sparrow, John	
A——	209	Sudal, Loftus	
F——	210	Sabourin, Chriſtopher	Wexford.
	211	Seally, Thomas	
	212	Sweetman, Nicholas	
B——	213	Sunderland, Benjamin	
	214	Smith, Joſeph	
	215	Strowd, William	Wexford.
	216	Smith, Patrick	
	217	Smithſon, Jacob	
	218	Shaw, James	
	219	Sheppard, William	
	220	Styles, Robert	

221 Stedman,

Mark.	*No.*		*Pariſh.*
	221	Stedman, John	
	222	Swannick, Francis	Wexford.
	223	Savage, major	Mulran.
	224	Swiney, Benjamin Burton	Enniſcorthy.
	225	Swiney, Joſhua	do.
	226	Steadman, William	
	227	Shaw, Thomas.	
		T	
B	228	Turner, Edward	C. Ellis.
	229	Taylor, Chriſtopher	Wexford.
	230	Taylor, William	do.
B	231	Tally, George	do.
	232	Taylor, Thomas	
	233	Taylor, Andrew	
	234	Troy, Thomas	Wexford.
	235	Troy, William	do.
	236	Thackaberry, James	
	237	Taylor, George	
	238	Thackaberry, Robert	
	239	Tunks, John	
	240	Templeton, Alexander	
	241	Templeton, Thomas.	
		V	
	242	Vicarry, Benjamin.	Wexford.
		W	
T	243	Wormington, William	Wexford.
	244	Wheelock, James	
	245	Wilſon, William	
	246	Willis, Thomas	
	247	White, John	Wexford.
B	248	Wiſtnot, William	
B	249	Whitney, Richard	Wexford.
	250	Willis, William	Enniſcorthy.
	251	Walters, Edward	
	252	Winter, Richard	Wexford.
	253	White, Anthony	
	254	Wilſon, reverend Henry	
	255	Ward, Abraham	
	256	Ward, Benjamin	Wexford.
	257	Woodmaſon, Noble	
	258	Wilſon, William	

Mark.	No.		Pariſh.
	259	Wade, J.	
	260	Stephens, Iſaac	
	261	Burkett, Robert.	

Priſoners in the Market-houſe -	48
Gaol - - - -	148
Guard-ſhip - - -	22
Barracks - - -	36
Court-houſe - -	3
Connick's - - -	3
Total	260
Priſoners piked on the bridge, twentieth of June	97

Marks in the calendar affixed to the names of priſoners.

B. Killed on bridge.
V. I cannot explain.
T. To-morrow, ſuppoſed to mean the deferring execution to the twenty-firſt of June.
F. Not explained.
A. (ſuppoſed) Accuſed.
R. Rogue, or revenue officer.
C. Charged.

25.

Confeſſion of faith found in the box of a prieſt at Gorey.

WHEN we aſſemble we all croſs ourſelves, ſaying, we acknowledge theſe our articles, in the preſence of Chriſt's vicar, the Lord God the pope, and in the preſence of the holy primates, biſhops, monks, friars, and prieſts.

* We acknowledge they can make vice virtue, and virtue vice, according to their pleaſure. They all falling flat on their faces, beginning the articles in this manner, and ſpeaking to the Hoſt, ſaying, Holy, glorious, and admirable

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* See cardinal Bellarmine's opinion on this, vol. i. p. 13.

Hoſt, we acknowledge it according to our great father the pope's mind; we muſt all fall down before the great effigy of our Lord God Almighty.

3 We all acknowledge the ſupremacy of the holy father, the Lord God the pope, and that he is Peter's lawful ſucceſſor in the chair.

4 We acknowledge that holy Peter has the keys of heaven, and will receive thoſe that acknowledge his ſupremacy.

5 We are bound to believe no ſalvation out of our holy church.

6 We are bound to believe that the holy maſſacre was lawful, lawfully put into execution againſt proteſtants, and likewiſe to continue the ſame, provided with the ſafety of our lives.*

7 We are bound to curſe, ring the bells, and put out the candles four times a year, on hereticks.

8 We are bound to believe a heretick can never be ſaved, unleſs he be a partaker of that holy ſacrament, extreme unction.

9 We are bound to believe that thoſe who elope from our holy religion, go into the power of the devil, whom hereticks have followed.

10 We are not to keep our oaths with hereticks, if they can be broken; for, ſays our holy father, they have followed damnation, and Luther and Calvin.

11 We are not to believe their oaths, for their principles are damnation.

12 We are bound to drive hereticks out of the land, with fire, ſword, faggot, and confuſion. As our holy father ſays, if their hereſy prevails, we will become their ſlaves! Oh! dear father, keep us from that. (Here the holy water is ſhaken, and they ſay, Hail, Mary! three times.)

13 We are bound to abſolve with money, or price, thoſe that imbrue their hands in the blood of a heretick.

14 We are bound to believe that Chriſt's vicar, the Lord God the pope, can abſolve all men, hereticks excepted, and thoſe given to all clergymen under inſpection to do the like.

15 We are bound to believe all the articles our holy church commands.

16 We are bound to believe the virgin Mary has more power in heaven than any other angel.

We

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* This, it is believed, was compoſed ſoon after that of 1641, and alludes to it

17 We are bound to pray to the holy angels, that they may pray for us.

18 We are bound to believe in the holy croſs, holy water, holy ſpittle, holy earth, holy bones, holy people, and beads, and that they are to be uſed on certain occaſions.

19 We are bound to celebrate the holy maſs in Latin, having ourſelves clothed in a holy veſtment and ſhirt, and bearing the holy croſs on our ſhoulders, ſignifying we are Chriſt.

20 We are bound to believe, every time maſs is celebrating, there is an expiatory ſacrifice for the living and the dead.

21 We are bound to believe there are four places of purgation; viz. Limbus infantum, Limbus patrum, Meadows of eaſe, and Purgatory.

22 We are bound to believe that Chriſt was three days in Limbus patrum, where the ſouls of holy fathers go, till they get a paſs with them to holy Peter.

23 We are bound to believe that the ſouls of children unbaptized go to Limbus infantum, until original ſin is well paid away by the help of holy maſſes ſaid for them.

24 We know the ſouls of chriſtians go to purgatory, and remain there till we pray them out of it, that they may have power to walk the meadows of eaſe with ſafety, till it pleaſes holy Peter to open the gates of glory, for them, where no heretick ſhall ever enter.

25 We are bound to keep Lent according to our clergies pleaſure, and to maintain the work of ſupererogation.

26 We acknowledge the lake in the North to be holy, called Lough Dergh.

27 We are bound to pray to no other ſaint on that day, only to him to whom it is dedicated.

28 We muſt baptize bells, conſecrate chapels, and no man to enter into the holy office of a prieſt, only he who is known to be a man.

29 We maintain ſeven ſacraments eſſential to ſalvation; viz. baptiſm, euchariſt, penance, extreme unction, holy order, confirmation, and matrimony.

30 We maintain that we can tranſubſtantiate the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Chriſt.

31 We believe the hereticks eat their kind of ſacrament to their eternal damnation.

32 We believe that Chriſt is every where, but particularly in our church.

33 We maintain that we cannot marry any heretick woman without being in danger of judgment.

34 We maintain, that hereticks know neither the will of the prophet nor of Chriſt.

35 We acknowledge, that the roſary of ſaint Bridget is to be ſaid once a week; and laſtly, that our holy church can never err.

Secula ſeculorum. S.

Roche and Murphy ſaid maſs four times on the march from Gorey to Arklow.

No. XXI. 1.

Dublin Caſtle, 22*d June*, 1798.

Extract of a letter from lieutenant-general Lake to lord viſcount Caſtlereagh, dated Enniſcorthy, 21*ſt June*, 1798.

" My Lord,

" I HAVE the honour to acquaint your lordſhip, for his excellency the lord lieutenant's information, that the rebel camp, upon Vinegar-hill, was attacked this morning at ſeven o'clock, and carried in about an hour and a half.

" The relative importance of this very ſtrong poſition with our operations againſt Wexford, made it neceſſary to combine our attacks ſo as to inſure ſucceſs. A column, under major-generals Johnſon and Euſtace was drawn from Roſs, and began the attack upon the town of Enniſcorthy, ſituate upon the right bank of the Slaney, cloſe under Vinegar-hill upon the right, and rather in the rear of it.

" Lieutenant general Dundas commanded the centre column, ſupported by a column upon the right under major generals ſir James Duff and Loftus; a fourth column upon the left was commanded by the honourable major-general Needham. To the determined ſpirit with which theſe columns were conducted, and the great gallantry of the troops, we are indebted for the ſhort reſiſtance of the rebels, who maintained their ground obſtinately for the time above mentioned; but on perceiving the danger of being ſurrounded, they fled with great precipitation. Their loſs is not yet aſcertained, but it muſt be very conſiderable. The loſs on our part is not great, the particulars of which I ſhall report as ſoon as poſſible. In the mean time, I am ſorry to ſay, that lieutenant Sandys of the Longford regiment is killed; and that colonel King, of the Sligo, was wounded in gallantly leading his regiment. Lord Blayney, and colonel Veſey of the county of Dublin regiment, are alſo wounded; but I am happy to add, that the wounds of theſe three officers are very ſlight.

"I cannot too highly expreſs my obligations, particularly to lieutenant-general Dundas, and the general officers, on this occaſion, for the abilities and ardour ſo ſtrongly manifeſted by them; and to the officers of every rank, and the private men, for a prompt, brave and effectual execution of their orders.

"To colonel Campbell, with his light battalion, I am much indebted for their very ſpirited attack; and great praiſe is due to the earl of Ancram and lord Roden, for their gallant charge with their regiments, at the moment the cavalry was wanted to complete the ſucceſs of the day.

"It is with great gratitude I alſo beg leave to mention the able aſſiſtance I received from major-generals Hewitt and Cradock, and from colonel Handfield, on this, as I do on all occaſions; and ſhould be extremely wanting to myſelf, as well as to lord Glentworth, lieutenant-colonel Blyth, and lieutenant-colonel Read, (who did me the honour to volunteer their ſervice, and accompany me from Dublin,) were I to omit expreſſing the high ſenſe I entertain of their active and uſeful aid to me this morning. I alſo beg leave to mention, in the ſame warm terms, my aid-de-camp, captain Nicholſon.

"To the rapid and well-directed fire of the royal artillery, and the gallantry of their officers and men, for which they have ever been diſtinguiſhed, I conſider myſelf this day highly indebted; and I am happy in expreſſing my obligations to captain Bloomfield, commanding the Britiſh, and captain Crawford, commanding the Iriſh royal artillery, with the officers and men under their command.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. LAKE."

"*P. S.* I have juſt learned that lieutenant-colonel Cole is ſlightly wounded. Incloſed is a return of the ordnance taken on Vinegar-hill, in which are included three taken from us on the fourth of June.

Return of ordnance taken from the rebels on Vinegar-hill, 21ſt June, 1798.

3 Six-pounders, braſs.
1 Three-pounder.
7 One-pounders.
1 5½ Inch howitzer.
1 4½ Inch howitzer.

13 Total.

Rounds of ammunition.

17 Six-pounders.
30 One pounders.
11 5½ Inch howitzers.

Note. A cart, with a vaſt variety of balls of different diameters, had been thrown down the hill after the action, and immenſe quantities of lead and leaden balls delivered over to the Dunbarton fencibles.

(Signed)
ROBERT CRAWFORD, *captain* R. I. A.

2.

Dublin Caſtle, 23d June, 1798.

This day the following letter was received from lieutenant-general Lake by lord Caſtlereagh.

Wexford, 22d June, 1798.

« My Lord,

« YESTERDAY afternoon I had the honour to diſpatch a letter to your lordſhip from Enniſcorthy, with the tranſactions of the day, for his excellency the lord lieutenant's information; and the encloſed copy of a letter from brigadier-general Moore, to major-general Johnſon, will account for my having entered this place without oppoſition. General Moore, with his uſual enterprize and activity, puſhed on to this town, and entered it ſo opportunely as to prevent it from being laid in aſhes, and the maſſacre of the remaining priſoners, which the rebels declared their intention of carrying into execution the very next day; and there can be little doubt it would have taken place, for the day before they murdered above ſeventy priſoners, and threw their bodies over the bridge.

"Incloſed is a copy of my anſwer to the propoſals of the inhabitants of this town, tranſmitted in my letter of yeſterday to your lordſhip; the evacuation of the town by the rebels renders it unneceſſary. I have the pleaſure to acquaint your lordſhip, that the ſubſcriber of the inſolent propoſals, Mr. Keugh, and one of their principal leaders, Mr. Roche, with a few others, are in my hands, without negotiation. The rebels are reported to be in ſome force within five miles of this place, it is ſuppoſed, for the purpoſe of ſubmiſſion, to which the event of yeſterday may ſtrengthen their inclinations. I have reaſon to think there are a number ſo diſpoſed, and that I ſhall be able to ſecure ſome more of their leaders; but ſhould I be diſappointed in my expectations, and find they collect in any force, I ſhall loſe no time in attacking them.

I have, &c.

G. LAKE."

Lord viſcount Caſtlereagh.

"From enquiry, the numbers killed yeſterday were very great indeed."

Camp above Wexford, 22d June, 1798.

"DEAR GENERAL,

"AGREEABLE to your order, I took poſt on the evening of the nineteenth, near Foulkes's-mill, in the park of Mr. Sutton. Next day I ſent a ſtrong detachment under lieutenant-colonel Wilkinſon, to patrol towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to ſcour the country, and communicate with the troops you directed to join me from Duncannon. The lieutenant-colonel found the country deſerted, and got no tidings of the troops. I waited for them until three o'clock in the afternoon, when, deſpairing of their arrival, I began my march to Taghmon. We had not marched above half a mile, when a conſiderable body of the rebels was perceived marching towards us. I ſent my advanced guard, conſiſting of the two rifle companies of the 60th, to ſkirmiſh with them, whilſt a howitzer, and a ſix-pounder, were advanced to a croſs road above Goff's-bridge, and ſome companies of light infantry formed on each ſide of them under lieutenant-colonel Wilkinſon;

The rebels attempted to attack theſe, but were inſtantly repulſed, and driven beyond the bridge. A large body were perceived at the ſame time moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry, and a ſix-pounder, were detached againſt them. The 60th regiment, finding no further oppoſition in front, had, of themſelves, inclined to their left to engage the body which was attempting to turn us. The action here was for a ſhort time pretty ſharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muſkets and pikes. They were, however, forced to give way, and driven, though they repeatedly attempted to form, behind the ditches. They at laſt diſperſed, flying towards Enniſcorthy and Wexford. Their killed could not be aſcertained, as they lay ſcattered in the fields over a conſiderable extent; but they ſeemed to be numerous. I incloſe a liſt of ours. The troops behaved with great ſpirit. The artillery, and Hompeſch's cavalry, were active, and ſeemed only to regret that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual ſervice. Major Daniel is the only officer whoſe wound is bad; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

"The buſineſs, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight; it was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took poſt for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the ſecond and twenty-ninth regiments under lord Dalhouſie. In the morning of the twenty-firſt we were proceeding to Taghmon, when I was met by an officer of the North Cork from Wexford, with the incloſed letters. I gave, of courſe, no anſwer to the propoſal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take poſt above the town, by which means I have, perhaps, ſaved the town itſelf from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal ſubjects who were priſoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled upon my reproach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I ſhall wait here your further orders. Lord Kingſborough has informed me of different engagements he had entered into with reſpect to the inhabitants. I have declined entering into the ſubject, but have referred his lordſhip to you or general Lake.

"I received your penciled note during the action of the twentieth: It was impoſſible for me then to detach the troops you aſked for, but I hear you have perfectly ſucceeded at Enniſcorthy with thoſe you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, I hear, about five miles off; he ſent lord Kingſborough to ſurrender upon terms. Your preſence ſpeedily is upon every account extremely neceſſary.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

JOHN MOORE."

DURING the action at Foulkes's-mill, many of the rebel leaders, among whom father Roche, doctor Caulfield's chaplain, was very conſpicuous, were extremely active in keeping the rebel ſoldiers to their quarters, and in preventing them from flying. They horſewhipped ſome of them, and even fired piſtols at others; in the performance of this ſervice, Roche attempted to horſewhip a proteſtant of the name of Barrington, who was compelled to join them. I have been aſſured by a perſon who ſerved in the rebel army in that action, that the object of father Philip Roche the general, was to attack Roſs when general Johnſon left it; that he ſent one party to Horetown to watch the motions, and engage the attention of general Moore, while the main body proceeded by Cullinſtown-bridge, to the attack of that town. The former ſuddenly, and unexpectedly, came on general Moore, and had a ſkirmiſh with him; which the main body hearing, went to their aſſiſtance, which brought on a general action. Roche intended to have kept one diviſion of his army in the woods of Horetown; the other in thoſe of Roſsgarland; and to have attacked general Moore next morning; but the arrival of the Queen's and the 29th regiments, to general Moore, deterred him from that attempt. It was much to be lamented, that a gallant officer, major Daniel of the 41ſt regiment then quartered at Liſmore, loſt his life by this action. He volunteered, and ſolicited to be employed againſt the Wexford rebels; and having received a bad wound in the knee, he died of it a few weeks after in Dublin. He had diſplayed very great valour both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

3.

A deſcription of the rebel camp on the mountain of Forth, on the thirtieth of May.

PREVIOUS to the evacuation of Wexford, its proteſtant inhabitants, dreading that the ſudden and furious aſſault of the rebel army ſtationed on the mountain of Forth, within three miles of it, would be attended with the complete deſtruction of their lives and property, prevailed upon Mr. Loftus Richards and his brother to go to them for the purpoſe of propoſing certain pacifick terms; and I give the reader his deſcription of their camp. "On entering, they were ſurrounded by many thouſand vagabonds, of whom they enquired, to whom they ſhould addreſs themſelves as their leaders; and they anſwered, 'To father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, or lord Edward Fitzgerald,' as they uſually ſtiled him. They ſoon after met this reverend gentleman, on horſeback, and on communicating to him the object of their miſſion, he ſaid, 'He did not know what terms they could expect from the treatment which he had received; for that, by burning his houſe and property, and obliging him to take ſhelter in the ditches, he was under the neceſſity of raiſing the whole country.'* From his ſavage aſpect, they had very great reaſon to be alarmed for their ſafety: they therefore advanced from a crowd, who were debating on putting them to death; and ſent for Mr. Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, another rebel chieftain, who came to them, and treated them with more civility and humanity; and who diſperſed the rabble, telling them at the ſame time, that they ſhould have nothing to do with them. They inſtantly obeyed. He then led them to a miſerable hut at the top of the rocks, which ſeemed to have been appropriated to the double purpoſe of an hoſpital and a place of ſhelter for their leaders; but in the thatch of which there were many holes. Soon after their arrival they were obliged to deliver up their arms and accoutrements. Mr. Robert Carthy, who ſeemed, from the authority which he exerciſed, to be chief in command, approached, and aſked them, 'What terms they could expect, when at the moment they were entering into a treaty for ſurrendering the town, there was an army marching againſt them from towards Taghmon? and ſee,' ſaid he, pointing to a mob of aſſaſſins, 'where I have my men ready drawn out to attack them.' And they made a moſt extraordinary appearance, being armed with pikes, ſcythes, hay-knives, ſcrapers, currying-knives, and old ruſty bayonets fixed on poles: but a good number of them had muſkets. They expoſtulated with Carthy, and told him they had good authority for ſaying, that the thirteenth regiment, which had advanced as far as Taghmon, had retreated, on hearing of the defeat of a detachment of the Meath regiment; but, to ſatisfy them, they propoſed that Fitzgerald, his brother and himſelf, ſhould take horſes, and proceed to meet the regiment, if coming, and to tell colonel Bradſhaw, who commanded it, of the circumſtances as they then ſtood. They advanced within a mile of Taghmon, where they met a large foraging party proceeding to the rebel camp, with from ſix to eight car loads of proviſions, and who declared that the thirteenth had retreated. They then returned ſpeedily to the rebel camp, and made their report; but Carthy came forward again, and ſaid, 'Can theſe men be ſincere? the whole country towards the barony of Forth is in flames!' alluding to the village of Maglaſs, which our retreating army had ſet fire to, as they had been treacherouſly fired on by a party of rebels, who lay in ambuſh there for them. Mr. L. Richards replied, if they had any doubts of their ſincerity, that he would remain as an hoſtage with them, while his brother and Mr. Fitzgerald went to Wexford, to which they aſſented. He then remained in the hut, with a guard at the door, and, while there, he perceived, through a hole in the wall, about a foot ſquare, a great number of men armed with the deſperate weapons which he before deſcribed, inceſſantly marching, except that now and then, they knelt down to pray; and at the end of each prayer, bent their bodies towards the earth, and thruſt the forefinger of their right hand into their mouth, as far as the extremity of the knuckle. When he had remained about three hours in that unpleaſant ſituation, Mr. John Hay came to him, and ſaid, 'That the people had agreed, that he had betrayed Fitzgerald, and therefore that he muſt be put to death.' Mr. Richards inſiſted on the contrary. Mr. Hay went off, returned in about half an hour, and declared, it was univerſally agreed, 'That Fitzgerald had either ſold them, or that he had betrayed him.' And he ſwore vehemently, that the forces would be marched immediately towards Wexford, which Mr. Richards ſaid, 'would be the beſt thing to prove his ſincerity.' In about five minutes after, the whole body of the rebels proceeded towards Wexford; and as they marched, continued to fire muſkets, and give the moſt dreadful yells. They left two ſentinels to guard Mr. Richards; who, in the mean time, examined the wounds of ſix unfortunate wretches who lay upon ſtraw in the hut, and who, though badly wounded, did not receive any nouriſhment or medical aſſiſtance.

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* See the affidavits of Roſſiter and Crawley, vol ii. p. 332.

The banditti who marched towards Wexford, could not be leſs than fifteen thouſand men. Mr. Fitzgerald ſent for Mr. Richards, and for a drummer of the Meath militia, that had been cut off that morning. They ſet off with their conductor, and when they had arrived within a quarter of a mile of Wexford, they perceived the rebels flying into the country, in every direction, and the road ſtrewed with their coats, wigs, hats, pikes, muſkets, and other weapons ; and men, women, and children, in the greateſt conſternation. On enquiry, he found that their diſmay, and their flight, were occaſioned by the report of a gun, which had been fired at Mr. Sparrow, of Enniſcorthy, a yeoman of diſtinguiſhed loyalty, by a perſon in the van of their army ; from which the rear, having been panick-ſtruck, fled in the utmoſt confuſion ; conceiving that our army had returned and were firing on them.* Mr. Richards, on entering the town, ſaw the dead body of Mr. Sparrow lying in the ſtreet, and the rebels engaged in deſtroying the houſe of a watch-maker, whom they branded with the appellation of "orangeman." A gentleman who had procured the pardon of one of the unfortunate wretches who attended this camp, aſſured him, that at one time he was almoſt famiſhed ; that at another, he was overcome with repletion. That at times, the hunger of the rebel ſoldiers was ſo great, that they uſed to cut off large pieces of fleſh from the body of a bullock, before it was killed, then throw it on a fire, with the hair and ſkin on, and conſume it before it was half roaſted.

4.

A liſt of perſons executed in the town of Wexford, for the crimes of rebellion, murder, &c. from the retaking of the town by the royal army, June the twenty-firſt, 1798, *to the eighteenth of December,* 1800.

No.
1 John Hay
2 Philip Roche, prieſt
3 Matthew Keugh
4 John Herron
5 Nicholas Couſins

No.
6 Mark Nugent
7 Bartholomew Shea
8 Martin Fenlon
9 Edward Frayne
10 Michael Magee
11 B. Bagenal

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* See an account of this in page 547 of the text.

No.
11 B. Bagenal Harvey
12 Patt. Prendergaſt
13 Cornelius Grogan
14 John Colclough
15 John Rouſſom
16 John Murphy
17 John Whitty
18 James Kelly
19 Patrick Harpur
20 Hugh M'Guire
21 Robert Murphy
22 Eſmond Kyan
23 Matthew Ryan
24 Peter Byrne
25 Miles Whelan
26 James D'Arcy
27 Matthew Green, junior
28 Matthew Mahoney
29 Hugh Hughes
30 Patrick Doran
31 Hugh Rooney
32 Stephen Furlong
33 Denis Murphy
34 Redmond Mitchell
35 Michael Donnelly
36 Bartholomew Murphy *
37 William Conners
38 Denis Kehoe

No.
39 Daniel Mooney
40 Phelim Fardy
41 James Beaghan
42 Arthur Murphy
43 James Burkett
44 Francis Cuthbert
45 William Fenlon
46 Patrick Elliott
47 Matthew Furlong
48 Patrick Furlong
49 Michael Dudley
50 Daniel Sullivan
51 John Fitzhenry
52 Michael Patrick
53 Maurice Murphy
54 James Sculley
55 Michael Kelly †
56 Nicholas Walſh
57 Nicholas Parle
58 Thomas Parle
59 James Byrne
60 Andrew Farrell
61 John Dunn
62 Gerald Lacy
63 Mogue Foley
64 Hugh Boulger
65 Patrick Kehoe
66 Edward Stacey.‡

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* Alias Cormuck.

† So ſure were the rebels that the confiſcation of all proteſtant property would take place, that Michael Kelly, commonly called general Kelly, made a will, by which he left captain Blacker's eſtate to a relation in caſe he ſhould be killed in the rebellion. The will and father Roche's veſtments were found together on Lacken-hill, when general Johnſon drove the rebels from it.

‡ No. 66 was executed for a recent murder; he was not a rebel.

The reader may form ſome idea of the clemency of government, and of the general officers, from the following proclamation publiſhed a few days after the rebels had perpetrated ſuch barbarities :

Proclamation by lieutenant-general Lake, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Ireland.

TO prevent the farther effuſion of blood, the fatal effects of depopulation, and the total deſtruction of property, in this once-happy county, the general wiſhes to hold out to the laſt moment in his power, the means of forgiveneſs, and of returning happineſs, to the unfortunate multitude, who, from ignorance, and the perſuaſion of intereſted, wicked, and deſigning men, have been ſeduced from their allegiance, to riſe in arms and rebellion againſt their ſovereign, and the laws of their country, and to commit acts of murder, cruelty, and depredation, that would diſgrace the moſt ſavage nation. From this horrid ſtate, and from the impending ruin of the county and its inhabitants, the general is moſt anxiouſly deſirous of reſcuing them ; and hereby promiſes to all deluded perſons who have yielded to the threats or perſuaſion of the infamous promoters of rebellion, that if they will immediately abandon their wicked courſe, and return as peaceable and good ſubjects to their reſpective homes and occupations, their perſons and property ſhall remain unmoleſted, and in perfect ſecurity from injury. But, as a proof of their ſincere repentance, and deſire to return to their allegiance, they muſt, in the firſt inſtance, and in the courſe of *three days*, from the date hereof, (making allowance for the moſt diſtant parts of the county) deliver up their arms and ammunition, as directed in the notice of the twenty-third inſtant, and hereunto ſubjoined,* and alſo the perſons who have been moſt active in inſtigating or compelling them to engage in the rebellion; or if this is not in their power, they muſt give information where they are moſt likely to be found.

Should the terms here offered not be attended to, it will become the general's indiſpenſable duty totally to deſtroy

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* On their delivering their leaders into the hands of the commanding officers of his majeſty's forces neareſt to their reſpective ſituations.

every town, cottage, and farm-houſe, that ſhall be found unoccupied by the maſters of them, and to put to the ſword every perſon who ſhall be found in arms, or having arms or ammunition in their poſſeſſion.

A ſerious conſideration of this proclamation is recommended to all perſons who have been compelled to join the rebels, and who ſincerely repent their paſt conduct; and they are particularly required to uſe their utmoſt exertions in bringing the deluded people to a ſenſe of the ruinous ſituation into which they have brought the country, and of the only means by which they can reſcue themſelves and their property from the juſt vengeance that muſt be the inevitable conſequence of their not attending to the terms of reconciliation now offered, and the laſt that will be made to them.

Wexford, June 27th, 1798.

5.

A liſt of leaders among the rebels found by general Lake in governor Keugh's houſe.

COLONEL Edward Roche, of Garrylough,	Co. Wexford
Eſmond Kyan, major of brigade,	
Colonel Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark,	
Colonel John Perry, of Inch,	
Captain Nicholas Dixon, of Caſtle-bridge,	
Captain Martin Myrna, of Limerick,	
Captain Nicholas Murphy, of Moneyſeed,	
Captain William Carton, of Ballyclough,	
Captain Roſſiter, of Saunders-court,	
Father Nicholas Stafford, of River-chapel,	
Captain Denis Doyle, Captain James Doyle, } of Gorey,	
Lieutenant John Tiffin, of Coolatore,	
Captain Martin Quin, of Clough,	
Captain Edward Synnot, of Kilruſh,	
Captain Philip Murphy, of Peppard's Caſtle-gate.	
Captain Patrick Redmond, of Coolgreny,	Co. Wicklow.
Captain William Byrne, of Ballymanus,	
Captain Holt,	
Captain Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus.	
Captain Kelly,	Co. Kildare.
Captain Reynolds.	

6.

Affidavit of the burning of the biſhop's palace, and of Mr. Abel Ram's houſe, in 1641.

ABEL RAM, of Ramsfort, in the pariſh of Kilmeckeloge, in the barony of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, eſquire, a Britiſh proteſtant, being duly ſworn, depoſeth, That on or about the twenty-firſt of November laſt, about the hour of twelve of the clock in the day time, he, this deponent, was robbed, and loſt,

	£.
Imprimis in corn and hay, - -	200
Item in cattle, - - - -	130
Item houſehold goods, - - -	250
Item in bonds and mortgages, - - -	500
The whole being	1080

Beſides which, he was diſpoſſeſſed of freehold lands, being of the value of 1200*l. per annum*,

By Aneias Kavenagh, of Mullanegraugh, gentleman,
Theobald Mackvadagh, gentleman, of Ballegarrett,
Morriſon Garratt, of Ballyneccolaugh, gentleman,
Donoghoe Kavanagh, of Ballymenan, gentleman,
Owen Mac Turlaugh, of Balleloghan, gentleman,
Adam Wafer, of the Aſke, gentleman,
Alexander Redmond, of the Ruhin, gentleman,
Donagh Mac Shaneballagh, the prieſt,
John Fitz-James, of Newburrow, gentleman,
Turlagh Darcy, of Glanderan, gentleman,
Shane Sarragh, of Carrybeg, gentleman,
Griffin Kavanagh, of Ballowin, gentleman,
Nicholas Kavanagh, of Coles-hill, gentleman,
Turlagh Mac Enogh, of Mallanegraugh, gentleman,
All of the county of Wexford.

ABEL RAM.

Jurat coram nobis, 12*th January*, 1641.

HENRY BRURTON.
WILLIAM HITCHCOCK.

The names of more men who were ſeen by the deponent among other rebels at Limerick:

William Doyle, of Fort-cheſter, gentleman,
Morriſon Vadagh, of Ballantlea, gentleman,
Donnell Roe Mc. Owen, of Ballelogh, gentleman.

ABEL RAM.

Dated the 12*th of January*, 1641.

Jurat coram nobis, 12*th of January*, 1641.

HENRY BRURTON.
WILLIAM HITCHCOCK.

JOHN CLIFFE, late of Courtown, in the county of Wexford, gentleman, ſworn the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1642, before John Watſon, and John Sterne, eſquires, ſaith, he was told for certain truth at Arklow, while he was priſoner there, by divers perſons of undoubted credit, that on the fifth day of March laſt, divers prieſts and friars met at Newburrow, alias Gorey, to burn the library of biſhop Ram, late biſhop of Ferns and Laughlin; and while the books were burning, a ſwarm of bees came in at the windows of the room where they were, and ſtung and frighted the prieſts and friars out of the room.

JOHN CLIFFE.

7.

County of Sligo, to wit. WILLIAM STINSON, of Ballekillcaſh, in the pariſh of Killmeckſhalgan in ſaid county, gentleman, came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That he was taken priſoner at his own houſe, on Saturday the eighth day of September laſt, about the hour of four o'clock in the afternoon, by two men of the name of Rogan and Gillaſpy, as deponent was informed, both armed with a gun and ſword, and that they conveyed him to Ballina, in ſaid county, and confined him in the houſe of the right honourable Henry King; that during his confinement, a popiſh prieſt of the name of Cowley, came into the room where this deponent was confined, and ſaid, "Orange, lie down," and "Croppies, riſe up;" ſaying alſo, to the priſoners who were confined there, and who were of the proteſtant religion, "You are a parcel of hereticks; you have no more religion than pigs; you will be put to death with the greateſt torture before ten o'clock to-morrow;" and that the ſaid prieſt at the ſame time ſtruck a Mr. Robert Atkinſon, of Ballybeg, as a heretick; and ſaid, at the ſame time, that if he had Robert Atkinſon, of Eaſky, he would ſkin him alive.

WILLIAM STINSON.

Sworn before me, this 2d of June, 1799,
ROBERT HILLAS.

County of Sligo, to wit. THE information of John Armſtrong, of Ballymooney, and pariſh of Eaſky, in ſaid county. Deponent came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, that he was taken priſoner on Thurſday or Friday, the ſeventh or eighth of September laſt, near Eaſky aforeſaid, by a number of armed rebels who conveyed him to the houſe of the right honourable colonel King, at Ballina in ſaid county; that during his confinement, father Cowley, a popiſh prieſt, came into the room where this deponent was, with many other proteſtants who were confined there, about the hour of twelve o'clock at night; and that he aſked if the parcel of orange hereticks were there, and ſaid, "Lie down, orange," and, "Riſe up, croppy," orwords to that effect; and that the ſaid prieſt, ſtamping on the ground in a violent angry manner, ſaid, "You parcel of hereticks, have no more religion than a parcel of pigs; I do not know whether you will be put to death before ten o'clock to-morrow, by being burned with barrels of tar, or by pikes, or by balls;" adding "that the latter would not get room on your bodies;" and that deponent ſaw the ſaid prieſt ſtrike Robert Atkinſon of Ballybeg in ſaid pariſh, as a heretick; and that the ſaid prieſt ſaid, if he had Robert Atkinſon of Eaſky in his poſſeſſion, he would ſkin him alive.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Sworn before me, this 1ſt of June, 1799,
ROBERT HILLAS.

County of Sligo,
to wit

ROBERT ATKINSON, of Ballybeg, in the pariſh of Eaſky, in ſaid county, gentleman, came before me this day, and maketh oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, That after his houſe was deſtroyed by the rebels, he lay in a neighbouring cabin, in order to bring off his family next day, but was taken priſoner about ſun-riſe on Saturday the eighth of September laſt, as he beſt recollects, by a body of armed rebels, to the number of ten or twelve, headed by two captains, namely, Thady Murray and Francis Finigan, who brought him directly to Ballina on foot, and would not let him take a horſe, and confined him in the houſe of colonel King, in Ballina, where he remained that night; that prieſt Cowley came before ſun-riſe next morning into the room where he was confined; when he came into the room he called for the guard, the guard anſwered, and he deſired the guard to take very good care of theſe priſoners; that Mr. Atkinſon, thinking he was a pariſh prieſt, and that he might have ſome influence on him; but inſtead of ſhaking hands with him, he ſtruck him with a ſtick acroſs the head, and deſired them all to be prepared, and that he would have them all burned in four hours after.

ROBERT ATKINSON.

Sworn before me, this 3d of June, 1799,
ROBERT HILLAS.

8.

In the beginning of September, and ſoon after the French landed, the following denunciation was poſted up on the church of Killyſhee, in the county of Weſtmeath, by the rebels:

TAKE Notice, heretick uſurpers, that the brave ſlaves of this iſland will no longer lie in bondage; the die is caſt, our deliverers are come, and the royal brute who held the iron rod of deſpotick tyranny is expiring; nor ſhall *one* govern. Our holy old religion ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in *this houſe*, and the earth ſhall no longer be burthened with *bloody hereticks*, who under the pretence of rebellion, (which they themſelves have raiſed) mean to maſſacre us.

The Fleur de lis and harp we will diſplay,
While tyrant hereticks ſhall mould to clay.

REVENGE! REVENGE! REVENGE!

Extract

9.

Extract of a letter from a Romiſh prieſt, written to an eminent attorney in Dublin, who has the original.

Sir,

YOU no doubt muſt be ſurpriſed to find yourſelf addreſſed by one who has not the honour of your acquaintance; however, if you will arm yourſelf with patience, to hear a long ſtory, I will endeavour to introduce myſelf to you. Sir, I am a Romiſh prieſt. Impoſed upon by the example of my biſhop, I ſaid maſs at the rebel camp; my behaviour during the time was ſuch, that I am neither ſorry for, nor aſhamed of it. I ſaved from twenty to thirty lives, who will make affidavit of it in any court; and this I look upon to be more meritorious, (at leaſt in the ſight of God,) than running away like many others, who now make ſuch a boaſt of their loyalty. As a proof of the publick good will towards me, my chapel has never been inſulted, though ſituated in the moſt publick place in the county. On the return of the king's government, my firſt concern was to obtain his majeſty's pardon, for that degree of rebellion of which I was guilty, which (long may he live!) I obtained without any difficulty; but gueſs, ſir, my aſtoniſhment at receiving a letter from my biſhop, ſilencing me from my clerical function in this dioceſe, when his own conduct was what chiefly led me aſtray, (if I except the degree of terror the rebels put me into after the government was upſet all round me,) for during the ferment, which preceded the exploſion, he never inſtructed me how to act. Inſtead of excommunicating them for their horrid rebellion, he gave them his benediction in the chapel-yard, the day they took

two days before they called on me to follow them. *Inſtead of excommunicating the barbarous murderers at*

he gave all his prieſts power to give abſolution for murder; a power which he ever till then reſerved to himſelf. Even the laſt battle in this county was fought by his direction, and the prieſt who ſerved as his aid-de-camp on the occaſion, he kept in his houſe till laſt ſpring, when he was obliged to ſmuggle him out of the county, otherwiſe he would have fallen a victim to outraged juſtice; and indeed it is of but little avail to me, that the king ſhould grant me both my life and liberty, if he ſuffers this gentleman to ſtarve me. I have been at great expence to qualify myſelf to live by the goſpel, and am now too old to embark in any other line, to procure myſelf bread. Hence I conceive, (and am adviſed thereto,) that the laws of my country will procure me redreſs; nor do I think it a weak argument in proof of my loyalty, that I am the firſt prieſt who has appealed to the laws of my own country, in preference to a foreign juriſdiction. My loſſes on his account, to the preſent day, I ſtate at one hundred and ſix guineas. I therefore, ſir, beſeech you, to take my caſe in hands, and if you find me law, I will find you money.

Auguſt 30*th*, 1799. SIR,

Your very humble and obedient ſervant.

THE CATECHISM OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN,

Publiſhed and circulated ſince the rebellion was put down, for the purpoſe of keeping the flame of it alive.

I BELIEVE in the IRISH UNION, in the ſupreme majeſty of the people, in the equality of man, in the lawfulneſs of inſurrection, and of reſiſtance to oppreſſion. I believe in a revolution founded on the rights of man, in the natural and impreſcriptable right of *all* the Iriſh citizens to all the land. I believe the ſoil, or any part of it, cannot be transferred without the conſent of the people, or their repreſentatives, convened and authoriſed, by the votes of every man having arrived at the age of twenty-one years. I believe the land, or any of it, cannot become the property of any man, but by purchaſe, or as rewards for forwarding and preſerving the publick liberty. I believe our preſent connexion with England muſt be ſpeedily diſſolved. I believe that old age, pregnant women, and labour ſhould be honoured. I believe that TREASON is the crime of betraying the people. I believe religious diſtinctions are only protected by tyrants. I believe applying the lands of the church to relieve old age, to give education and protection to infancy, will be more acceptable to an united people, than maintaining lazy hypocrites and ravenous tythe-gatherers.

In this faith I mean to live, or bravely die.

Q. What are you?

A. An Iriſhman.

Q. As an Iriſhman, what do you hope for?

A. The emancipation of my country, and equality of rights, a fair diviſion of the land, an abolition of religious eſtabliſhments, and a repreſentative government.

Q. What benefit do you propoſe to your country, by what you call emancipation?

A. Deliverance from the odious influence of England, and that domeſtick tyranny it generated, which is calculated to corrupt our morals, impoveriſh our people, and retard our induſtry.

Q. How do you conceive this?

A. By the innumerable injuries we experience from England—ſhe ſhuts us out from any mercantile connexion with the world, while ſhe tells us we are an independent people; ſhe foſters eſtabliſhments in our iſland, contriving to make her agents in the land her friends and our oppreſſors.

Q. How are Iriſh morals injured by England?

A. By monopolizing the trade of the world, and confining us to deal only with her.

Q. Does that affect your morals?

A. Yes, her contrivance leaves us at her mercy: ſhe ſells to us at her own prices, ſhe deprives us of the choice of other markets, either to buy or ſell; by ſuch means ſhe has the command of all our produce; we buy dear and ſell cheap; conſequently we are poor, and poverty begets crimes, as Job ſays, "Lord, make me not poor, leſt I ſhould ſteal."

Q. What other reaſons have you againſt Engliſh connections, and what other proofs have you of its influence on your morals?

A. England has organized a kind of legiſlators here, devoted to her intereſts, and holding their power and influence at her will.

Q. Explain yourſelf.

A. Thoſe law-makers are land-holders, all of one trade, which in itſelf is criminal; as men making laws, being of one profeſſion, will always be unanimous in promoting the welfare of a particular object. A legiſlative aſſembly of tanners would make leather dear; of weavers, would encreaſe the price of cloth; of ſchool-maſters, would monopolize inſtruction. Our law-makers contrive to make ſpirituous liquors in more general uſe than bread, they are conſtantly canting on the drunkenneſs of the people, and take no pains to diſcourage diſtillation, as it raiſes the value of their lands, under the pretext of promoting the revenue. They encourage grazing and the exportation of cattle; they ſell the draught and accuſe us of drunkenneſs; they export our raw materials; they ſay we are idlers, and mock our poverty; they import tobacco for our uſe, and export our beef and butter: Thus the neceſſaries of life are put out of our reach, to promote their own ends, and a poiſonous plant given us for the ſame purpoſes.

Q. What advantage can our poverty be to our law-makers?

A. By being poor we muſt be on the alert, to procure the neceſſaries of life, which makes true the old maxim, they keep us poor and buſy. Our time will be ſpent ſtudying to avoid want, inſtead of enquiring the cauſe of it, for enquiry is dangerous to tyranny.

Q. What benefit, in a general ſenſe, would emancipation be?

A. Ireland delivered from England, would give us immenſe reſources, innumerable means of employing our people, would extend our trade and agriculture, we could have the ſugars of the Weſt-Indies, ſeventy per cent. cheaper, from the Danes, the Dutch, or the French, than we can get them from the retail market of England. The teas, and produce of the Indies, we could alſo have, in the ſame advantageous manner, from the ſame nations, or from the Americans, or by a direct importation. Other branches of trade and other ſources of riches and employments would unfold themſelves to independent Ireland, now impoſſible to enumerate?

Q. What is meant by equality?

A. Men being born equal, is evident to every underſtanding. If the Creator intended any ſuperior rank among men, it is that of ſuperior abilities or ſuperior virtue; if he intended any other nobility than the noble of nature, we ſhould ſee noblemen, not the ſame impotent, ignorant, vicious, and untaught creatures, ſo common among the artificial orders. We ſhould have them born without wanting any of thoſe acquirements that appear ſo neceſſary to every rank, which is the reſult of tedious inſtruction, and perſevering induſtry, their childhood would be diſtinguiſhed by a knowledge of every talent that is known or valued;

lued; they would come into the world finiſhed ſtateſmen, orators, mathematicians, generals, dancing-maſters, hair-dreſſers, taylors, &c. nay, they would come from the womb covered with embroidery, ribbons, ſtars, and coronets.

Q. Not appearing in infancy to have any viſible or mental acquirements, more than other mortals, you think is an argument to defend the opinions of thoſe who are advocates for equality?

A. Undoubtedly. Many perſons in Ireland may remember men who are ranked as nobility, to be raiſed by accidental circumſtances from the loins of footmen, low tradeſmen, and infamous gamblers; the whole of them may be ſaid, within the laſt century, to be the deſcendants of Engliſh ruffians, adventurers, whoſe crimes or obſcurity denied them a livelihood in their own country, but were the cruel agents of foreign force or foreign ſeduction. The origin of nobles in every country is the ſame, but time and revolutions have concealed their hateful origin.

Q. What inconvenience do Iriſhmen find by the privileged orders?

A. We have manifold complaints againſt the unnatural inſtitution; they are an aſſociation in alliance with the common enemy. They conſider the people as an inferior and degraded maſs, only made for their amuſement or convenience, to dig, plow, or enliſt whenever the tyrant's amuſement or ambition is the mode. They influence the whole race of land-holders, who are their creatures or admirers, whoſe conduct, honour, and religion is regulated by an uniform compliance, that will promiſe a hope of arriving at the rank and emoluments that are at the diſpoſal of the plunderers of the people.

Q. Do you mean an equality of property as a part of your ſyſtem?

A. By no means; 'tis too abſurd to imagine: I mean only an equality of rights, that is, that every man is eligible to publick employment, whoſe honeſty and abilities are approved of by his countrymen; that no man ſhould be deprived of his liberty or property by any others, of ſuppoſed ſuperiority of rank; that every man, however rich, however connected, ſhould be as amenable to the laws and as ſubject to puniſhment as the meaneſt; that labour, honeſty, and publick virtue ſhould be protected, and ſhould be the teſts of ſuperiority.

Q. What good could a fair diviſion of the land be to Ireland?

A. As the land and its produce was intended for the uſe of man, it is unfair for fifty or an hundred men, to poſſeſs what is for the ſubſiſtence of near five millions: it expoſes the great body of the people to every want and every miſery. It is a blaſphemy to ſay the preſent landholders in Ireland, are to be the "lords of the ſoil." The Almighty intended all mankind to lord the ſoil. As man cannot in the preſent improved manners of life, do without ſhoes, clothes, or food, which are produced from the graſs and corn, ſurely it is unfair that one or one hundred ſhould hold in their hands thoſe neceſſaries which none ought to want; it is not poſſible that God can be pleaſed to ſee a whole nation depending on the caprice and pride of a ſmall faction, who can deny the common property in the land to his people, or at leaſt tell them, how much they ſhall eat, and what kind; and how much they ſhall wear, and what kind. As we every day experience from the hands of theſe cruel uſurpers, who have formed themſelves into a corporation of law-makers, and are conſtantly exporting our proviſions, or curtailing its growth, on the horrid policy of preſerving ſubordination, by degrading our characters, and forcing on us every ſervile occupation to earn a ſcanty livelihood in a country capable of the greateſt plenty.

Q. How would you alter the property in land, and preſerve the country from anarchy?

A. By dividing the ancient eſtates among the deſcendants of thoſe Iriſh families, who were pillaged by Engliſh invaders,* giving to every perſon without exception, a competent ſhare to enable him or her to get a comfortable livelihood; this proviſion not to extend to any perſon who impeded the deliverance of the country by cowardice or treachery. The remainder to be ſold by publick cant, and the money applied to paying off the debts contracted by the former confederacy, and for rewarding the citizens who fought for their country, and providing for their wives and mothers, and giving education to their children and infant relations.

Q. What is your view by wiſhing to aboliſh religious eſtabliſhments?

A. To eradicate every reaſon of jealouſy and diſtruſt, to eaſe the nation of a uſeleſs and weighty body, formed of hypocrites and cheats.

Q. How would this provide againſt jealouſy and diſtruſt?

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* This idea makes popery worſe and more dangerous to the ſtate in Ireland than in any other country in Europe.

A. As every man has a right to make uſe of any form of worſhip he thinks moſt acceptable to his Creator, it is unfair to tax him for the maintenance of an order he does not acknowledge, and cannot approve of. It is unjuſt to take his property, his corn, his cattle, his hay and potatoes, to maintain a man he can do without, or perhaps abhors. The ſyſtem of tythes forces a man's property from his family, to apply it to the uſe of a diſorderly idler, or uſeleſs fool, protected by power, often uniting every vice that disfigures ſociety, under the ſpecious cloke of religion. By leaving every miniſter of religion on the bounty of his hearers, you generally find the people chooſe men of education and morals, as objects of their eſteem. If there were no other advantages than that of adding the church lands to the national ſtock, and relieving the people from tythes, it would be of ſufficient utility to aboliſh church eſtabliſhments.

Q. Let me hear your reaſons for a repreſentative government ?

A. By giving a power of voting to every man who has not forfeited his right by any crime, you create ſuch an immenſe number of electors, that no candidate can ever purchaſe their ſuffrage.

Q. Would that be ſufficient to promote your plan ?

A. No : I mention it as the firſt towards true repreſentation ; beſides the juſtice of univerſal ſuffrage, it has that beauty which muſt make every man its advocate.

Q. How would the poor ſee the advantage of it ?

A. As every man, in a free ſtate, votes to ſecure his liberty and property, the poor man has but his labour ; yet it is to him a property ; he ſhould have repreſentatives, who would be careful of the value of labour, and watch, with a vigilant eye, the different and combining circumſtances occurring in legiſlative aſſemblies, leſt the labour, or employments of the artizan or huſbandman ſhould be made uncertain or unfaſhionable.

Q. Should there be any qualification for a repreſentative ?

A. None but honeſty, and abilities, as every man ſhould be eligible.

Q. Might not a repreſentative betray the truſt repoſed in him, and be an accomplice in the deſtruction of his country ?

A. By limiting the exiſtence of repreſentative aſſemblies, to one or two years, the people have a frequent check on the conduct of their repreſentatives, and ſhould any diſpleaſe by ignorant, or treacherous conduct, he could be replaced ; by that means corruption or tyranny could be prevented, as near as human wiſdom can deviſe.

Q. Were we to regain our freedom, would not the power of England be dangerous to our exiſtence as a free ſtate ?

A. By no means. As power principally conſiſts in population, her population cannot be ſo formidable as to hazard our ſafety.

Q. Why, ſhe has a more numerous people ?

A. She has, in the iſland of Great Britain about ſeven millions, we have near five, ſhe could not ſend her ſeven millions on an invaſion ; though we could fight our whole population againſt the redundancy of hers, as we could be on the defenſive.

Q. But ſhe has a navy ?

A. Her navy could make little impreſſion on Ireland ; a navy may cover a debarkation of troops, and ſupport them while within the reach of the ſhips guns ; but after that, any number of troops, however well appointed, though all the navies of Europe were employed in conveying them, would be a very inſufficient force to conquer the united people of Ireland, fighting for a valuable country, and a more valuable independence.

Q. Would not the navy of England deſtroy our trade ?

A. We have no trade, nor have we foreign poſſeſſions, ſo we have nothing to apprehend on that account.

Q. Would not blocking up our ports be ſome inconvenience ?

A. None, as our miſerable and confined commerce is calculated rather to injure the poor, the ſuppreſſing of it would be beneficial in a ſtate of hoſtility ; our exports are neceſſaries of life, taken from them who labour ; and our imports luxuries to pamper the idle. Were the corn, cattle and butter kept at home, and wines, teas, ſugar and tobacco, kept away, we need not be much alarmed at the naval conſequence of England.

Q. How ſhall we arrive at the bleſſings ſo certain from independence ?

A. By a union of *all* the people.

Q. Do you mean the privileged orders in this union ?

A. No ; were we to wait their concurrence, our delivery would be as diſtant as the general death of nature ?

Q. Who do you mean ſhould compoſe this favourite object?

A. Every man that is oppreſſed, every man that labours, every honeſt man of every religion, every man who loves, and whoſe love of his country raiſes the human mind above other trifling diſtinctions, and loſes the petty notions of ſects, in the name of Iriſhman.

ESTO PERPETUA.

10.

The deſcent made by James Napper Tandy, at Rutland in the county of Donegal.

Rutland, ſix o'clock P. M. Sunday,
Sept. 16th, 1798.

SIR,

ABOUT twelve o'clock a French brig came into this harbour, and immediately landed a number of men and officers, Napper Tandy at their head. They immediately enquired for the poſt-office, and came and poſted a centinel at the door to prevent my ſending off immediately: They demanded (though very politely) ſome victuals, with which they were furniſhed. I had a good deal of converſation with Tandy: When they found that their friends here had ſurrendered and were made priſoners of war, they ſeemed a good deal confounded; and, after taking a ſlight repaſt, re-embarked.

Tandy informed me that they came on a mere experiment, to try the pulſe of the people, about which he particularly enquired. I reported this neighbourhood, as far as I knew, to be weaned from French principles, &c. at which he ſeemed ſurpriſed; he ſays, the French will never make peace with England, until Ireland is made free and independent.

They behaved very politely and paid for all they took.

The brig they came in is called the Anacreon, about twelve days from Breſt; they ſaw ſeveral Engliſh cruiſers, but out-ſailed them all.

I have ſent expreſſes to Ballyſhannon and Letterkenny.—They intend returning to France directly; they came north about by Scotland. Encloſed is a paper, A, ſeveral of which I underſtand they have diſtributed; alſo a certificate, B, ſigned by the officers, exonerating me from cenſure for admitting them into my houſe.

We have not any kind of armed military force nearer us than Letterkenny, about twenty-five miles.

I am, ſir,
Your very obedient ſervant,
FRANCIS FOSTER, *Dep. P. M. Rutland.*

John Lees, eſquire.

Rutland, September 17th, Monday,
eight o'clock in the morning.

SIR,

I YESTERDAY (by poſt) informed you of a French brig coming into our harbour and landing three boats full of men; there were a number of officers, among whom was the redoubted J. N. Tandy, a brigadier, and commander of the expedition. Tandy, being an old acquaintance, was communicative; he ſays, poſitively, that France will not make peace with Great Britain upon any other terms than Iriſh independence; he appeared dejected on hearing of the fate of the late French deſcent, and of the diſcoveries made by Bond, M'Nevin, Emmet, &c. but ſaid, they will certainly attempt to land twenty thouſand men, and periſh all or ſucceed; he was aſtoniſhed when I told him that very few had joined the French; they took every pains to convince the people that they were their beſt friends, and ſuch ſtuff; they took a cow and two ſwine, for which they paid, and this morning, after firing a gun, went to ſea, towards the N. Eaſt. I have diſpatched an expreſs, (a ſecond one) to the collector of Letterkenny and am in hopes that ſome of the Lough Swilly fleet will intercept them. They met ſeveral cruiſers between England and France, but outſailed them all; they came north about. They were full of arms, the officers of the port were detained aboard them from morning (yeſterday) until ten o'clock at night; they report them full of arms, a park of artillery, accoutrements for cavalry, clothing, &c. &c. They expected that the whole country was up, and that they had nothing to do but join their friends; the natives here all fled to the mountains, and ſeem not at all inclined to join them; we have not a military man nearer than Ballyſhannon forty miles, or Letterkenny twenty-five, although there is an excellent new barrack here ready to receive one hundred men; they had a great number of Iriſh on board, their force about two hundred and fifty men; and are perfectly acquainted with the coaſt. Their drift is evidently to encourage diſaffection. I was a priſoner in my own houſe four or five hours until the poſt came in; they had centinels on every point of the iſland, to prevent intelligence being immediately diſpatched. I am juſt informed by one of the officers, that they were determined to land their arms here, but upon a conſultation, after they found their countrymen had been defeated, they altered their plan.

I have the honour to be

Your very obedient ſervant,

FRANCIS FOSTER, *P. M. Rutland.*

On their leaving my houſe, the general (Rey) took a gold ring from his finger, and preſented it to Mrs. Foſter, as a token of fraternity;—thus they cajole and inſidiouſly endeavour to gain the weak and the ignorant, to the total diſſolution of ſubordination and obedience to authority, without which ſociety cannot exiſt!

John Lees, eſquire.

A.

Papers diſtributed among the inhabitants of Rutland by Napper Tandy on his landing there.

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Northern army of Avengers. Head Quarters, the firſt year of Iriſh Liberty.

UNITED IRISHMEN!

The ſoldiers of the great nation have landed on your coaſt, well ſupplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds, with artillery worked by thoſe who have ſpread terror among the ranks of the beſt troops in Europe, headed by French officers; they come to break your fetters, and reſtore you to the bleſſings of liberty.

James Napper Tandy is at their head; he has ſworn to lead them on to victory or die. Brave Iriſhmen, the friends of liberty have left their native ſoil to aſſiſt you in reconquering your rights; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the ſublime idea of cementing your happineſs with their blood.

French blood ſhall not flow in vain—To arms! freemen, to arms! The trumpet calls, let not your friends be butchered unaſſiſted; if they are doomed to fall in this moſt glorious ſtruggle, let their death be uſeful to your cauſe, and their bodies ſerve as footſteps to the temple of Iriſh liberty.

GENERAL REY,

In the name of the French officers and ſoldiers now on the coaſt of Ireland.

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Northern army of Avengers. Head quarters the firſt year of Iriſh Liberty.

General J. N. Tandy to his countrymen.

UNITED IRISHMEN!

What do I hear? the Britiſh government have dared to ſpeak of conceſſions! would you accept of them?

Can you think of entering into a treaty with a Britiſh miniſter? a miniſter too, who has left you at the mercy of an Engliſh ſoldiery, who laid your cities waſte and maſſacred inhumanly your beſt citizens; a miniſter, the bane of ſociety, and the ſcourge of mankind; behold, Iriſhmen, he holds in his hand the olive of peace; beware, his other hand lies concealed armed with a poignard. No, Iriſhmen, no! you ſhall not be the dupes of his baſe intrigues; unable to ſubdue your courage, he attempts to ſeduce you, let his efforts be vain.

Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country; your friends have fallen a ſacrifice to their devotion for your cauſe; their ſhadows are around you and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death; it is your duty to ſtrike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends. Liſten to no propoſals, Iriſhmen! wage a war of extermination againſt your oppreſſors, the war of liberty againſt tyranny, and liberty ſhall triumph.

J. N. TANDY.

B.

Rutland iſland, 30th Fructidor.

Having landed from on board the Anacreon (a republican veſſel from the coaſt of France) on Rutland iſland, and being in want (for the time) of accommodations, we were under the neceſſity of putting the citizen Foſter, poſtmaſter of that town or iſland, under requiſition, and prevented him from ſending off his packet; we at the ſame time diſcharged every obligation, and paid for whatever we took from ſaid place.

AMEIL, *colonel, aid-de-camp du gl. Desjardin.*

TANDY, *general of brigade, and commander of the expedition.*

C. LUXEMBURG, *capt. d'artillir.*

REY.

BLACKWELL, *adjutant-general.*

LE DUC, *capitne.*

JOSEPH, *capt. et aid-de-camp.*

J. N. Tandy was arreſted at Hamburgh, with two more Iriſh rebels, and conveyed to Ireland, where he was indicted for high treaſon, at the Spring aſſizes of one thouſand eight hundred and one, held for the county of Donegal, at Lifford; and, having pleaded guilty, he obtained the royal mercy, on condition of tranſporting himſelf.

II.

A paſtoral letter to the Catholick clergy of the united dioceſes of Waterford and Liſmore, by the right reverend Thomas Huſſey, D. D.

THIS inflammatory production, entitled a paſtoral letter, was publiſhed at the ſpring aſſizes of Waterford in the year 1797, when the baneful doctrines of the united Iriſhmen were ſpreading faſt in that county. A few days after its publication, doctor Huſſey made a viſitation through his dioceſe, and immediately after the popiſh multitude began to commit robbery and aſſaſſination, which appears in Appendix XI.

Dearly-beloved brethren in Chriſt!

IN theſe critical and awful times, when opinions ſeem ſpreading over this iſland of a novel and dangerous tendency —when the remnants of old oppreſſion, and new principles, which tend to anarchy, are ſtruggling for victory, and which in the colliſion may produce the ruin of religion; when a moral earthquake ſhakes all Europe, I felt no ſmall affliction and alarm, upon receiving the ſuperior command of the head of the church,* to preſide over the catholicks of theſe united dioceſſes, upon the death of your moſt venerable and ever-to-be-regretted prelate, your late biſhop.

In the midſt of theſe fears and alarms, it was a great conſolation to me, to be aſſured of the piety, zeal, and loyalty of the clergy under my ſpiritual care; and that their exertions were conſtantly employed to keep the laity within the bounds of religion, morality, and decorum.† That no part of Ireland was more exempt from turbulence, and inſubordination to the laws, than this diſtrict; and that the memory of the legal injuſtices and cruelties formerly practiſed in this country, by men who made religious diſtinctions a ſtalking-horſe for political purpoſes, is completely and happily effaced, I hope, for ever.

It is upon you, very reverend and dearly-beloved brethren, that, under God, my reliance is, that the Catholick faith will produce its happy effects, in mending and improving the morals of the flock which I commit to your care reſpectively. Let me beſeech you, to attach yourſelves to them, by frequently inſtructing and exhorting them, eſpecially as often as you approach the ſacred altar; and certainly you cannot fail to attach them to you by ſuch a pious, exemplary, and zealous conduct. Do not permit yourſelves to be made the inſtruments of the rich of this world, who will try, by adulation, and poſſibly by other means, to make inſtruments of you, over the poor, for their own temporal purpoſes, and perhaps to render your ſacred miniſtry odious to them. The poor were always your friends—they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worſt of times. They ſhared their ſcanty meal with you, and with your predeceſſors; and thereby preſerved a ſucceſſion of ſpiritual paſtors throughout the kingdom. If they had acted otherwiſe, conformed to the errors of the nation,* and imitated the conduct of the rich, who not only ſhut their doors againſt you, but not unfrequently hunted you like wild beaſts,† I ſhould not be able to addreſs the preſent reſpectable body of clergy, under my ſpiritual authority. Such a conſideration cannot fail to enliven your zeal, and, with affectionate attachment towards them, to impel you to inſtruct them in their duties, to reſtrain their errors, and to correct their vices—*Argue obſecra increpa, in omni patientia, & doctrina.*—Upon all proper occaſions, *ſpeak to them the words of eternal life*, without fear, or deference, towards the enemies of our holy faith. The paſtor, who doth not act in this manner towards his flock, hath loſt the grace of his vocation, or perhaps he never received it from God. He is the mercenary ſhepherd deſcribed in the ſcripture, who, upon ſeeing the wolf, runs away, and abandons his flock, an eaſy prey to him.

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* Ireland is the only country in Europe in which the pope claims and exerciſes the excluſive inveſtiture of biſhopricks.

† The doctor could not but have known at that time, that the popiſh clergy had engaged in the ſervice of the United Iriſhmen, and that they were ſecretly promoting thoſe outrages, which broke out ſoon after in every part of Munſter.

At the ſame time that I charge you to avoid all political interferences, as unworthy the miniſters of him, *whoſe kingdom is not of this world*,‡ I call upon you to ſtand firm againſt all attempts, which may be made, under various pretexts, to withdraw any of your flock from the belief and practice of the Catholick religion. Remonſtrate with any parent, who will be ſo criminal as to expoſe his offspring to thoſe places of education, where his religious faith or morals are likely to be perverted.[*] If he will not attend to your remonſtrances, refuſe him the participation of Chriſt's body: if he ſtill ſhould continue obſtinate, denounce him to the church, in order that, according to Chriſt's commandment, *he be conſidered as a heathen and a publican.*

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* How inſolent, to call the national religion the errors of the nation! which in any other country would be conſidered and puniſhed as a crime.

† A moſt infamous falſehood, fabricated to excite the fanatical hatred of the prieſts and their flock againſt the proteſtant ſtate, and the members of the eſtabliſhed church, whom he afterwards ſtigmatizes as *the enemies of his holy faith.*

‡ By this he means our Saviour, to whom the pope is ſuppoſed to be ſucceſſor; but the reader will perceive how widely different he is in his arrogant and ambitious claim of temporal power, in vol. i. p. 18, 19.

If, in any of your diſtricts, the Catholick military frequent proteſtant places of worſhip, it is your duty to expoſtulate with them, and to teach them how contrary to the principles of the Catholick faith it is, exteriorly to profeſs one faith, and interiorly to believe another. That ſuch hypocriſy, even in the eyes of the world, is mean and puſillanimous, as well as odious and abominable in the ſight of God. That the military garb they wear implies a manly candour, that abhors ſuch duplicity. That this manly candour is peculiarly the character of an Iriſh ſoldier, who ought not to be aſhamed of openly profeſſing the Catholick religion—*the religion of Iriſhmen.* Inſtruct them, that in all matters regarding the ſervice of the king, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey: but in matters regarding the ſervice of the King of Kings, their officers have no authority over them. Their perſonal religion is their own natural, uncontrolable, impreſcriptible right, ſubject to the ſpiritual authority of the Catholick church, and in which the laws of the land cannot enjoy a coercive authority. In all temporal matters, they are ſubject to their temporal rulers. In all ſpiritual matters, they are ſubject to their ſpiritual rulers. Theſe two authorities, like parallel lines in mathematicks, can never touch each other. By the ſmalleſt delineation, they loſe even their names. Guard them from being deluded by the hackneyed phraſe of "Liberality of ſentiment." Surely liberality of ſentiment does not conſiſt in holding all creeds, and all forms of worſhip, to be equal! He who thus expreſſes himſelf, is a latitudinarian, who deſpiſes all creeds—all forms of worſhip! The man of true liberality, is he, who conſcientiouſly believes, and ſcrupulouſly follows, that creed and form of worſhip, which is conformable to his conſcience, yet lives in charity—in concord—in amity with all others, of every religious perſuaſion. The man of true liberality, is he, who employs his conſcience as the helm with which he ſteers in his religious voyage, leaving others to ſteer theirs by a ſimilar guide. The man of true liberality, is he, with whom a difference in religious opinions, makes no difference in ſocial life,—living in equal harmony with all, and frequently beſtowing more kindneſs, and more bounty, upon thoſe who differ from him in religious opinions when they want it more, than upon thoſe of his own communion. The man of true liberality, is he, who, when raiſed above the reſt, to govern a great people, ſcorns to attend to the paltry diſtinctions of ſect or party—ſpurns from his preſence thoſe intereſted adviſers of a dangerous faction, who would diſhonour him, and abuſe the ſacred name of majeſty, to enrich themſelves; but, like a true patriot, raiſes to power and influence, thoſe whom, in his conſcience, he thinks of moſt ability and integrity, to ſerve king and country. To ſum up the whole, the truly-liberal man, is he, who makes his religion the guide for his own perſonal and private conduct, and not a rule to guide—to govern—or to compel others to act againſt their conſcience, and their religion.

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[*] Previous to the publication of this, many popiſh children attended the free-ſchool at Waterford, but as ſoon as it appeared, they were withdrawn, and it occaſioned a coolneſs and diſunion between the proteſtants and papiſts of Waterford, between whom a friendly and ſocial intercourſe had unremittingly ſubſiſted. Such is the liberality of father Huſſey!

The many compulſory means lately employed (and ſeveral inſtances of them within this very dioceſs, not many days ſince), to drive the Catholick military to proteſtant places of worſhip,* alarmed the *true* friends to the king and his ſervice, and every well-wiſher to the peace and quiet of the country. Such unwarrantable ſteps could not make proſelytes of the Catholick military—it might, in time, make them indifferent to all forms of worſhip, and thereby jacobinize them upon the French ſcale, and perhaps, in the hour of danger, induce them to forget their duty, and their loyalty, in order to be revenged of their perſecutors.†

Oh, how different are the principles of a Catholick ſoldier, educated in the belief, and living in the full exerciſe of his religion!

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* This was a groſs falſehood, calculated to inflame the popiſh military againſt their officers. The officer commanding at Waterford wrote a note to doctor Huſſey, to give one inſtance of the kind, but he never anſwered it; and the tranſaction was publiſhed in the publick prints.

† In developing the myſteries of the conſpiracy, it appeared that ſuch of the popiſh militia and yeomanry as had been ſeduced were to have murdered their officers in action.

religion !* He clearly convinces his countrymen, that military valour is not inconſiſtent with religious piety ; but that, on the contrary, they are natural allies. That, when called to protect and defend his country, he is fearleſs, and intrepid, in the midſt of danger : His boſom glowing with this conſideration, that his death upon his poſt promotes him to a ſuperior poſt in eternity. The unbeliever, who ſees nothing beyond the grave, more naturally ſhrinks from the danger of his diſſolution ; or, if he ſeems to aſſume courage, it is either the brutal inſenſibility of his temper, or an artificial maſk, which he puts on, to ſcreen him from the contempt which is ſure to follow cowardice. But the courage and intrepidity of a true catholick, in the diſcharge of his duty, is a calm, heroick intrepidity, which ſees the danger in his road, but ſees immortality beyond it. He marches courageouſly on, ſure that if he falls, it is to riſe again beyond the grave. But when the unbeliever ſees the danger, he ſees nothing beyond it ; and thinks, that if he falls, that moment puts a final, and fatal period, to all his ſchemes of ambition—of fortune—and pleaſure, and that he *ſinks into eternal night*—never—never to riſe again. Surely ſuch an impious idea is capable of tranſmuting even a naturally brave man into a cowardly ſlave. Let me ſay all, in one ſentence. Thoſe ſentiments of intrepidity—of fidelity—of honour, which high birth, and poliſhed education, impreſs upon thoſe of an elevated ſphere in life, cannot be ſuperior to the ſentiments of fidelity, of courage, and of honour, which the catholick religion, *if ſincerely believed, and piouſly practiſed*, would inſpire into the loweſt in the ranks ; and who, if his duty calls him, would ſhew a courage and intrepidity equal to Alexander and Cæſar ; and as unſullied loyalty and integrity as thoſe ſtateſmen and generals who regulate kingdoms, or who defend them.

In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly-beloved brethren, avoid intermixing the politicks of the world, with the ſublime and heavenly maxims of the catholick religion—they have not the ſmalleſt connection with each other. The one is ſpiritual—the other is temporal : the one regards the tranſitory affairs of this world—the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the catholick faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people, ſo it is ſuitable to all climes, and all forms of government—monarchies or republicks—ariſtocracies or democracies. Deſpotick or popular governments are not the concerns of the catholick faith.* It may well ſuit a ſmall ſect to regulate its creed and form of worſhip, according to the ſhape and form of government of the limited boundaries where that ſect aroſe, exiſts, and dies away.† Not ſo the religion, which the prophet foretold ſhould extend from the riſing to the ſetting ſun, which has been propagated and promulged from Peru to China, from the Eaſt to the Weſt Indies, from Pole to Pole—teaching the ſame doctrine—adminiſtering the ſame ſacraments, and offering up the adorable ſacrifice of the redeemer, wherever man is found, and God adored. It is therefore called the *catholick*, or univerſal religion. It may well ſuit the laity of your reſpective diſtricts, to purſue their temporal concerns, and their temporal politicks, by ſuch ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal; and their paſt conduct is a proof that they are incapable of purſuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worſt of times—if, even when religious penalties made them total ſtrangers in their native land—if, when the ruling party, with inſolence in their looks, and oppreſſion in their hands, ground them down—when ſome of the moſt powerful men in the nation declared in the ſenate, that they hoped to ſee the day when no catholick would dare ſpeak to a proteſtant with his hat ‡ on—when, even the courſe of juſtice was perverted, and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who ſat on the bench, and were paid for the impartial adminiſtration of it, by taxes levied upon the oppreſſed ſufferers—yet, even in theſe provoking times, if the body of catholicks remained inflexibly attached to their religion,

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* One would ſuppoſe that he had in contemplation thoſe pious heroes of the cruſade, which took place afterwards in the year 1798, and who ſhewed that they were educated in the true belief, and lived in the full exerciſe of their religion, by their achievements at Vinegar-hill, Scullabogue, Gorey, and Wexford-bridge.

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* He and doctor Troy endeavoured to evince in their paſtoral letters, that the popiſh religion was well ſuited to a republick, the eſtabliſhment of which was the main object of the United Iriſhmen.

† Here he throws a ſtigma on the eſtabliſhed religion, and predicts its downfall, at the ſame time that he here preſents the popiſh ſuperſtition as univerſal, and riſing on its downfall.

‡ This is a moſt infamous falſhood, fabricated to inflame the popiſh multitude.

ligion, and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but alſo a great part of theſe impolitick religious penalties are removed, and the reſt of them in ſuch a ſtate of progreſs to be totally removed? That however a JUNTO, for their own intereſted, or other ſiniſter views, may raiſe mobs to try to throw obſtacles againſt the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts muſt be uſeleſs—the vaſt rock is already detached, from the mountain's brow, and whoever oppoſes its deſcent and removal muſt be cruſhed by his own raſh endeavours.* The popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguiſhed for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious diſtinctions a maſk, to divide—to diſturb—to oppreſs it. †

Make your flock ſenſible to the honour of being accounted a member of the Catholick communion—that they are not members of a ſmall ſect, limited to that country where the ſect itſelf was formed. They are members of a great church, which has laſted more than 1700 years—which flouriſhed in every part of the habitable world.—*In omnem terram exivit ſonus eorum, & in fines orbis terræ verba eorum*—and that Chriſt has promiſed that it will flouriſh until time ſhall be no more. *Uſque ad conſummationem ſæculi—portæ inferi non prevalebunt adverſus eam.* That conſequently, they ſhould not be aſhamed to belong to a religion, which ſo many kings and princes—ſo many of the moſt poliſhed and learned nations of the world, glory in profeſſing.

Remind them, that two centuries of perſecution have tried, in vain, to pervert them: That the annals of the church—the hiſtory of mankind, does not afford another example like theirs of perſeverance in their religious principles. That we find in the hiſtory of every other nation, or people, that a much ſhorter time was ſufficient, by penal reſtrictions of religion, to gain over the people to the religion of the ſtate; but that two centuries of perſecuting laws—immenſe ſums of money given by parliament to gain over proſelytes, and levied upon thoſe very people, whoſe creeds they thereby endeavoured to purchaſe, left ſtill the great body of the nation faithful to that ſpark which St. Patrick lighted at the great altar of the Catholick church, and ſpread over this iſland; and that nine-tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of this dioceſs, are ſtill faithful and ſteady catholicks,* notwithſtanding what they and their anceſtors ſuffered for their fidelity; and for which they are as unrivalled in the hiſtory of the church---as inſulated an exception to the prevaricating verſatility of man, as the geographical ſituation of the iſland itſelf is to the reſt of the world.

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* According to this prediction, if the king, or any member of the lords or commons, or even the whole of them, ſhould oppoſe the repeal of the few reſtrictive laws which remained, they would be murdered by the banditti, who were at that time committing robbery and aſſaſſination.

† Here he pretends to inculcate chriſtian charity and liberality, though the whole of his letter breathes a fanatical ſpirit of intolerance.

That portion of the catholicks of Ireland, which God has committed to my ſpiritual care, I call upon you, very reverend and dearly-beloved brethren, as my coadjutors and aſſiſtants, to aid me, by word, and by example, to inſtruct, and to feed, with the *word of ſalvation*, and *with the bread of angels.* It is a laborious, but it is alſo a meritorious, and an honourable employment. It forms the ſtrongeſt bulwark to the ſtate, by being the beſt ſupplement to the laws; which, *without morals, are vain.* A faithful diſcharge of theſe duties will form our crown, and our glory, when, at the laſt day, the ſupreme paſtor will come to judge us, and to judge the world.†

12.

Copy of a paper found in the writing-box of lord Edward Fitzgerald, on the 12th of March, by the officer who went that day to arreſt him under a charge of treaſon.

IF ever any unfortunate cauſe ſhould put our city, with the other parts of the country, into the poſſeſſion of a cruel and tyrannical enemy, whoſe government, by repeated oppreſſions, might drive us into the laſt ſtage of deſperate reſiſtance, our conduct then ſhould be regulated in a manner beſt calculated for obtaining victory.

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[*] This is notoriouſly falſe, as the Roman catholicks to the proteſtants are not three to one. In the town of Clonmell alone in that dioceſs there are above two thouſand proteſtants.

[†] During the aſſizes, the doctor preached two ſermons in Waterford of a moſt inflammatory tendency; and ſome time before, he ſaid, in a ſermon preached in a chapel in Dublin, "You may talk of liberality as much as you will; but you may be ſure of this, that no perſon can be ſaved out of your church."

The following thoughts are humbly offered for the inſpection of every real Iriſhman :

It is ſuppoſed that the enemy have a well-appointed and diſciplined ſtanding army.—

In ſuch a caſe, every man ought to conſider how that army could be attacked or repelled, and what advantage their diſcipline and numbers might give them in a populous city, acting in concert with the adjoining counties.

It is well known that an officer of any ſkill in his profeſſion, would be very cautious of bringing the beſt-diſciplined troops into a large city in a ſtate of inſurrection, for the following reaſons :

His troops, by the breadth of the ſtreets, are obliged to have a very narrow front ; and however numerous, only three men deep can be brought into action, which, in the wideſt of our ſtreets, cannot be more than ſixty men, as a ſpace muſt be left on each ſide or flank for the men who diſcharge to retreat to the rear, that their places may be occupied by the next in ſucceſſion, who are loaded ; ſo, though there are a thouſand men in a ſtreet, not more than ſixty can act at one time ; and ſhould they be attacked by an irregular body armed with pikes, or ſuch bold weapons, if the ſixty men in front were defeated, the whole body, however numerous, are unable to aſſiſt, and immediately become a ſmall mob in uniform, from the inferiority of number in compariſon to the people, and eaſily diſpoſed of.

Another inconvenience might deſtroy the order of this army. Perhaps at the ſame moment, they may be dreadfully galled from the houſe tops, by ſhowers of bricks, coping-ſtones, &c. which may be at hand, without imitating the women of Paris, who carried the ſtones of the unpaved ſtreets to the windows and tops of the houſes in their aprons.

Another diſadvantage on the part of the ſoldiers would be, as they are regulated by the word of command, or ſtroke of the drum, they muſt be left to their individual diſcretion, as ſuch communications muſt be drowned in the noiſe and clamour of a popular tumult.

In the next place, that part of the populace, who could not get into the engagement, would be employed in unpaving the ſtreets, ſo as to impede the movements of horſe or artillery ;

artillery ; and in the avenues where the army were likely to paſs, numbers would be engaged in forming barriers of hogſheads, carts, cars, counters, doors, &c. the forcing of which barriers by the army would be diſputed, while like ones were forming at every twenty or thirty yards, or any convenient diſtances ſituation might require : Should ſuch precautions be well obſerved, the progreſs of an army through one ſtreet, or over one bridge, would be very tedious, and attended with great loſs, if it would not be deſtroyed ; at the ſame time the neighbouring counties might riſe in a maſs, and diſpoſe of the troops ſcattered in their vicinity, and prevent a junction or a paſſage of any army intended for the city ; they would tear up the roads and barricade every convenient diſtance with trees, timber, implements of huſbandry, &c. ; at the ſame time lining the hedges, walls, ditches and houſes, with men armed with muſkets, who would keep up a well-directed fire.

However well exerciſed ſtanding armies are ſuppoſed to be, by frequent reviews, and ſham battles, they are never prepared for broken roads, or encloſed fields, in a country like ours, covered with innumerable and continued interſections of ditches and hedges, every one of which are an advantage to an irregular body, and may with advantage be diſputed againſt an army, as ſo many fortifications and entrenchments.

The people in the city would have an advantage, by being armed with pikes or ſuch weapons ; the firſt attack, if poſſible, ſhould be made by men whoſe pikes were nine or ten feet long, by that means they could act in ranks deeper than the ſoldiery, whoſe arms are much ſhorter ; then the deep files of the pikemen, by being weightier, muſt eaſily break the thin order of the army.

The charge of the pikemen ſhould be made in a ſmart trot, on the flank or extremity of every rank ; there ſhould be intrepid men placed to keep the fronts even, that at cloſing every point ſhould tell together ; they ſhould have at the ſame time, two or three like bodies at convenient diſtances in the rear, who would be brought up, if wanting, to ſupport the front, which would give confidence to their brothers in action, as it would tend to diſcourage the enemy ; at the ſame time, there ſhould be in the rear of each diviſion ſome men of ſpirit, to keep the ranks as cloſe as poſſible.

The apparent ſtrength of the army ſhould not intimidate, as cloſing on it makes its powder and ball uſeleſs; all its ſuperiority is in fighting at a diſtance; all its ſkill ceaſes, and all its action muſt be ſuſpended, when it once is within reach of the pike.

The reaſon of writing and printing this is, to remind the people of diſcuſſing military ſubjects.

No. XXII.

Obſervations on whipping and free-quarter.

MANY ſevere animadverſions have been made on a practice which took place in Ireland, a ſhort time previous to, and during the rebellion, of whipping perſons notoriouſly diſaffected, for the purpoſe of extorting evidence from them. Whoever conſiders it abſtractedly muſt of courſe condemn it, as obviouſly repugnant to the letter of the law, the benign principles of our conſtitution, and thoſe of juſtice and humanity; but I am convinced, that ſuch perſons as diſpaſſionately conſider the exiſting circumſtances, and the preſſure of the occaſion under which it was adopted, will readily admit them to be, if not an excuſe, at leaſt an ample extenuation of that practice.

In many caſes it happened, that the popiſh inhabitants of a barony, or a pariſh, beſought the magiſtrates to adminiſter oaths of allegiance to them, for no other purpoſe but to varniſh over their treaſonable deſigns; and having complied, theſe traitors ſwore at the ſame time, that they were totally ignorant of any treaſonable conſpiracy, or of any concealed arms; though, horrid to relate! the magiſtrates were poſſeſſed of the fulleſt information, that they were ſupplied with arms, had formed treaſonable combinations cemented by oaths, and were ſoon to riſe in the night, to maſſacre all the loyal ſubjects, and to plunder their property; and in ſhort, that ſuch ſcenes of deſolation, as happened on the breaking-out of the rebellion, were to take place. The loyal ſubjects were exhauſted by watching, and petrified with horror, expecting every night to be murdered in their beds; and forty-nine out of fifty-eight of the popiſh ſervants were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy, and were ſworn to murder their proteſtant maſters. Such was the woeful ſtate of many parts of Ireland in the months of April and May, 1798!

To diſarm the diſaffected was impoſſible, becauſe their arms were concealed; and to diſcover all the traitors was equally ſo, becauſe they were bound by oaths of ſecrecy, and the ſtrongeſt ſanctions of their religion, not to impeach their fellow traitors. But ſuppoſe the fulleſt information could have been obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arreſt and commit the multitude. Some men of diſcernment and fortitude perceived, that ſome new expedient muſt be adopted to prevent the ſubverſion of government and the deſtruction of ſociety; and whipping was reſorted to. I would beg leave to aſk thoſe gentlemen in England, who have inveighed ſo bitterly againſt this practice, what they would have done in ſuch an alarming ſituation, when deſtruction muſt have been the certain reſult of deliberation? The maſſacre of many thouſands of the moſt valuable members of ſociety, and the loſs of half a million of property, were prevented in the county of Tipperary by it. The caſe of the pariſh of Caſtle Otway* in that county, will ſhew the neceſſity and the efficacy of this meaſure.

Cooke Otway, eſquire, of Caſtle Otway, a gentleman noted for his loyalty, was the moſt active perſon in the county of Tipperary, next to colonel Fitzgerald, in putting down rebellion, for which he was afterwards perſecuted. He raiſed a yeoman corps, but was obliged to diſband the popiſh members, as they had taken the United Iriſhman's oath. The preſervation of the metropolis from carnage, plunder, and conflagration, may in a great meaſure be imputed to it, as traitors, on being whipped, revealed the moſt important ſecrets, and confeſſed where great quantities of arms were concealed.

The county of Wexford might have been ſaved, if it had been reſorted to there.

Had captain Beevor, inſtead of being deceived and impoſed on by the traitors of Ballymore-euſtace, whipped one or two, he would have ſaved many valuable lives, and prevented the deſtruction of much property.

Why adhere to the forms of the conſtitution againſt traitors who meditated its ſubverſion, and univerſal carnage and plunder; and who added the crime of perjury to that of treaſon, in order to varniſh over their nefarious deſigns; and violated every law human and divine for their accompliſhment?

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* Appendix XI. page 285.

Cicero did not wait for the ſanction, or the ordinary proceſs of law, to put the Catiline conſpirators to death, becauſe he knew that deliberation muſt have produced ruin.

He ſays, pro Milone, ſec. 4. Can it be unjuſt to kill a traitor or a robber? Inſidiatori vero et latroni quæ poteſt afferri injuſta nex? But this never produced death; preſervation was its only object; and, after a few ſcourges, the delinquent ſeldom or ever failed to make a full diſcovery.

That man who would balance between the ſlight infraction of the conſtitution in inflicting a few ſtripes on the body of a perjured traitor, and the loſs of many valuable lives and much property, muſt renounce all pretenſions to wiſdom and patriotiſm. Salus populi ſuprema lex.

Cicero tells us, de finibus bonorum & malorum, lib. 3. 19. That as the laws were made for the advantage of all, the good of an individual ſhould be poſtponed for that of the community at large.

When a mutiny takes place in a ſhip, it would be regarded as criminal in the officers of it not to put to death, inſtantly, the leaders of the mutiny; and what difference is there between the rebellious inhabitants of a pariſh and the mutinous crew of a ſhip?

In the former, whipping only is the preventive; in the latter, homicide.

Inſurrection, if begun, in one inſtance, like the letting in of water, could not have been prevented by human wiſdom and induſtry; and, from its contagious effects, it might have produced general deſtruction: In the other, it would have been confined only to the loſs of a ſhip, and of a few individuals.

As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it ſhould be recollected that the law of nature, which ſuggeſted the neceſſity of it, ſuperſedes all poſitive inſtitutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preſervation of his creatures, as it ſpeaks ſtrongly and inſtinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the ſlowneſs of deliberation.*

When the ſword of civil war is drawn, the laws are ſilent. Inter arma ſilent leges, ſays Cicero, pro Milone; and the defenders, who were ſucceeded and joined by the United Iriſhmen, were exterminating the loyal ſubjects by fire and ſword for ſix years before.

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* Cicero ſays of it: Eſt enim hæc, non ſcripta, ſed nata lex: quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipſa arripuimus, hauſimus, expreſſimus, ad quam non docti ſed facti, non inſtituti ſed imbuti ſumus.

As to the violation of humanity, it ſhould be recollected that nothing could exceed the cruelty of this banditti; that their object was the extirpation of the loyaliſts; that of the whippers, the preſervation of the community at large.

This practice was never ſanctioned by government, as they, on the contrary, uſed their utmoſt exertions to prevent it; and the evidence extorted from the perſon whipped never was uſed to convict any perſon, and was employed for no other purpoſe but to diſcover concealed arms, and to defeat the deleterious ſchemes of the traitors.

I ſhall now ſay a few words on free-quarter, which was confined merely to the province of Leinſter.

When government were poſſeſſed of the fulleſt evidence, that the inhabitants of a village or a town who had taken the uſual oaths, to lull and deceive the magiſtrates, were poſſeſſed of concealed arms, and meditated an inſurrection and maſſacre, they ſent amongſt them a certain number of troops, whom they were obliged to maintain by contributions, levied on themſelves. This took place a few days before the rebellion broke out.

It has been univerſally allowed, that the military ſeverities practiſed in the county of Kildare occaſioned a premature exploſion of the plot, which the directory intended to have deferred, till the French effected a landing; and one of them, Mr. Emmett, declared, in his evidence upon oath, before the ſecret committee of the lords, that, but for the ſalutary effects of thoſe military ſeverities, there would have been a very general and formidable inſurrection in every part of the country.*

No. XXIII.

Obſervations on the improvement of Ireland, by extending the benefits of the Reformation therein; and a conciſe hiſtory thereof from the reign of Edward VI. *to the preſent period.*

EVERY perſon, endued with moral ſentiment and real patriotiſm, muſt lament at ſeeing the kingdom of Ireland

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* Appendix, No. VI. of the ſecret committee of the lords.

the prey of anarchy and the ſport of fanaticiſm, from the reign of queen Elizabeth, to the preſent period; and on peruſing theſe pages, he muſt perceive that its inhabitants cannot be ſuſceptible of any material improvement in morals and in induſtry, until the bleſſings of the reformation are more extenſively diffuſed among them than it is at preſent. I ſhall refer the reader to the page of hiſtory for the truth of what I aſſert; and an impartial review of the events of the laſt twenty years will alone be ſufficient to give him the fulleſt conviction of this.

During that ſpace every expedient, which a humane and generous policy could dictate, has been tried to ſoothe and allay the diſcontent of the Roman catholicks, but in vain; for every attempt to conciliate has only operated as provocation; conceſſion has encouraged clamour, aggreſſion and outrage; and a dreadful conſpiracy formed and matured in the very boſom of indulgence, for the deſtruction of the empire, at laſt exploded in a moſt deſtructive rebellion.

The rebellions in the 16th and 17th centuries aroſe from pure fanaticiſm, and before any material reſtrictions were impoſed on the Roman catholicks;* the laſt in the year 1798, when the whole of them with very few exceptions had been repealed. The groſs ignorance of the leading men in both houſes of the Imperial parliament on this point, and their perſeverance in error, ſhould awaken the ſuſpicion, rouſe the vigilance, and alarm the fears of every member of the eſtabliſhed church in the empire. It is not what is erroneouſly and ridiculouſly called emancipation that the maſs of the Iriſh Roman catholicks want: It is the extirpation or expulſion of the proteſtants, the excluſive occupation of the iſland for themſelves, and its ſeparation from England, which they have aimed at from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to the late rebellion; and which the rebels unequivocally announced, whenever they ſpoke their real ſentiments without fear or reſtraint. In the year 1793, when the beſt of kings and his cabinet were groſsly deceived and adviſed to recommend a meaſure, which produced the late rebellion, and ſhook the pillars of his throne: the earl of Clare, when it was diſcuſſed in the houſe of lords, declared, that if the Iriſh Roman catholicks were indulged in their wild and extragavant notions of emancipation and reform of parliament, England would have to win Ireland again with the ſword; and the dreadful event which occurred in the year 1798, proved that he ſpoke prophetic truth.

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* See in vol. i. p. 32, lord chief juſtice Lowther's enumeration of the privileges enjoyed by them in 1641.

I now repeat, what I ſaid before, that the ſtate of Ireland ſhould alarm every loyal member of the proteſtant empire.

The Iriſh Roman catholicks can at any time raiſe ſuch a ſum of money on their body, as would tempt the virtue and ſhake the integrity of three or four individuals; and it is well known how much even one man in a certain ſituation can influence the main events of a great empire.

> Quemvis media erue turba,
> Aut ob avaritiam, aut miſera ambitione laborat.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that I allude to any of the great perſonages who now enjoy, or recently poſſeſſed, his majeſty's confidence, for they are much above my praiſe; but it is poſſible that ſuch baſe men as compoſed the cabal in the reign of Charles II. may one day be in that ſituation.

Ireland in her preſent ſtate may be conſidered as an inteſtine thorn in the ſide of England, as a ſtrong outpoſt eaſily acceſſible to her enemies, who may at all times annoy her through it: inſtead of affording her ſtrength, it will be an inceſſant ſource of weakneſs.

In legal contemplation, the two kingdoms have been incorporated by the union; but the ſolid advantages never can be experienced, till the proteſtant religion has been more extenſively diffuſed in Ireland.

In what a woeful ſtate would the empire have been, if, during the late rebellion, popery and its concomitant ſpirit of diſaffection had prevailed in Scotland, as much as in Ireland?

In ſuch a caſe two-thirds of her troops muſt have been employed in defending her againſt domeſtick enemies.

The very great diſloyalty of a conſiderable portion of the Iriſh militia and yeomanry, during the late rebellion, might have been fatal to the empire, if our fleets had not been ſucceſsful in preventing the French from landing a large body of troops in Ireland.

The duplicity of ſome of the Iriſh nobility and gentry, the ignorance and credulity of others, in impoſing on the government, by aſſurances of the loyalty of entire counties, or of the fidelity of ſome of theſe armed corps, and the fatal effects experienced from ſuch miſrepreſentations previous to the late rebellion, ſhould afford a ſalutary leſſen to the viceroys of Ireland, not readily to give credit, on this point, to the aſſertions of ignorant men, or of deſigning perſons, who make every conſideration ſubſervient to electioneering purpoſes.

If we take a review of the ſtate of England in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and James I. we ſhall find that the diſaffection ariſing from popery frequently produced conſpiracies and inſurrections ſimilar to thoſe in Ireland of late, which laid thoſe monarchs under a neceſſity of iſſuing commiſſions of martial law, to puniſh in a ſummary manner the bands of traitors, who, actuated by fanaticiſm, deſtroyed ſocial order, and often endangered the exiſtence of the government.

In three years, from the 27th to the 30th of Henry VIII's reign, the virulent oppoſition of fanaticiſm to the reformation occaſioned no leſs than ſix rebellions in the north of England alone. The horrors produced by them are ſet forth in a ſpeech made by lord Clarendon, in the reign of Charles I. on the abolition of the court of York.

In the reign of Edward VI. and in the year 1554, the city of Exeter was beſieged by 30,000 Corniſh papiſts, for three weeks; and for no other reaſon than that the reformation had rapidly encreaſed in it.

They intercepted its proviſions, cut the conduit pipes that ſupplied it with water, deſtroyed the bridges leading to it, and battered it with cannon. It was bravely defended by the citizens, though reduced to famine, till lord John Ruſſel relieved them, and defeated the rebels. A ſermon has been ever ſince preached on the 6th of Auguſt, the anniverſary of their deliverance.

Various plots and conſpiracies were formed on the ground of fanaticiſm againſt the crown, and the life of queen Elizabeth, as a heretick.

The Spaniſh armada was formidable to her, becauſe the majority of her ſubjects were more attached to the pope and the king of Spain, than to their own ſovereign; but now, when the proteſtant religion is univerſally eſtabliſhed in England, ſhe bids defiance to one of the moſt ambitious and formidable nations that ever threatened the liberties of Europe.

The ſuperſtitious deluſions of popery ſhook the throne of king John, who was driven to the neceſſity of compromiſing with the pope, of ſurrendering his crown to him, and of holding it as a feudatory: And ſo little has the advancement of ſcience, and the improvement of the human mind operated in diſpelling the clouds of ſuperſtition, and weakening the force of fanaticiſm, that an attempt has been recently made, to wreſt the ſceptre of Ireland from our preſent gracious ſovereign, though the Roman catholicks had experienced ſingular kindneſs and indulgence from him. I mentioned before the repeal of the popery laws in his majeſty's reign, and that a college for the education of their clergy has been built, and endowed by the proteſtant ſtate, at a monſtrous expenſe.

So ſenſible was the late pope of the ſingular goodneſs and beneficence of his majeſty towards his Roman catholick ſubjects, that in the year 1797, he ſent to England, as his legate, doctor Erſkine (though he was not publickly recogniſed as ſuch,) to aſſure his Britannick majeſty, that he felt the deepeſt gratitude, for having protected and maintained him ſo long upon his throne, by his naval armaments in the Mediterranean, and by the confederacy which he formed among the allied powers; but more particularly for the humane protection which he gave to the French clergy, after they had been cruelly proſcribed in, and baniſhed from, every Roman catholick ſtate of Europe.

It is the moſt egregious folly to expect, that any favours, how great ſoever, conferred on the Iriſh Roman catholicks, will make any alteration in the diſpoſition of the maſs of them towards a Proteſtant ſtate; for their bigotry and virulence flow from a perennial and inexhauſtible ſource, the Romiſh councils, the popes bulls and epiſtles,

> Like the Pontick ſea,
> Whoſe icy current and compulſive courſe,
> Ne'er feels retiring ebb.

I muſt repeat again, that in making this aſſertion, I allude only to the loweſt order of the people, whoſe minds are perverted by bigotry; for great numbers of the Roman catholicks are as charitable, as generous, and humane, and feel as great abhorrence of the atrocities committed during the late rebellion, as any other portion of his majeſty's ſubjects; but the maſs of the people in a ſtate, are like the life-blood of the human body, which, if impure, will produce convulſions and various other diſorders. I mentioned before, vol. i. page 144, what I believe no wiſe ſtateſman will deny, that the moral and political principles of men are an emanation from, and are modified by, their religion. This is more particularly the caſe in Ireland, as a foreign prince, whom the Iriſh Romaniſts conſider as the head of their church, has always maintained that his ſectaries cannot bear any civil allegiance to a proteſtant * ſtate. This doctrine has been inſiſted on in modern times, by ſome eminent Romiſh divines †; and it was carried into practice in a moſt alarming manner during the late rebellion.

To civilize the maſs of the people, plans of educating them at the publick expenſe have been at different times propounded; but it is moſt certain, that the perſons who propoſed ſuch, were totally ignorant of the real ſtate of Ireland.

It ſhould be recollected, that many Roman catholicks, opulent in their circumſtances, and of the beſt education, were not only implicated in the rebellion, but diſplayed that ſanguinary ſpirit, by which the common herd of papiſts were actuated.

It ſhould be remembered alſo, that numbers of their clergy were actively concerned in it, and few or none of them could have been ignorant of the conſpiracy and the intended inſurrection; and yet it is ſuppoſed that they are poſſeſſed of conſiderable learning.

It is a poſitive fact, that all the petty popiſh ſchoolmaſters in the country were ſecretaries in the diſaffected ſocieties, and were the moſt uſeful and efficient inſtruments in the Iriſh union; particularly thoſe who act as clerks in popiſh chapels, and keep ſchools in them. Is it to be ſuppoſed then, that the maſs of the people, early and deeply imbued with diſaffection to the ſtate, on religious grounds, would become better ſubjects for being poſſeſſed of a talent, which enabled their inſtructors to injure it in an eminent degree?

If good wine be infuſed into a ſour caſk, it will of courſe partake of its impurity.‡ Would it improve the morals of the lower claſs of people to enable them to read the works of Paine, Volney, Godwin, and Thelwal, and the Jacobin prints, which give wings to treaſon, and convey it to the

garret

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* See this in vol. i. pages 11, 28, 29. † Ibid. pages 44, 45.

‡ Sincerum eſt niſi vas, quodcunq; infundis aceſcit.

garret and the cellar. By far the greater part of the Engliſh militia, who came to Ireland during, or ſubſequent to, the rebellion, were illiterate, and yet they were religious, ſober and induſtrious. Learning in the abſtract will produce no good effect on the maſs of the people, when their minds are pre-occupied by abſurd and impious doctrines, deduced from Romiſh councils, papal bulls and epiſtles.

While their morals flow from ſo impure a ſource, it will be abſurd to think of governing them by the mild and benign regimen of the Britiſh conſtitution.

> Sine moribus quid leges,
> Vanæ proficiunt.

In ſuch a ſtate, to think of laying the foundation of national wealth, will be as abſurd as to build a ſplendid and magnificent edifice on a ſandy foundation, which will fall and mock the ingenuity of the architect; as the accumulations of induſtry, for two centuries, were overturned and deſtroyed in many parts of the provinces of Leinſter and Connaught, in one week, by the workings of bigotry; and many of the moſt loyal and uſeful members of ſociety were murdered or driven from their habitations.

The reader, alarmed at this woeful ſtate of ſociety in Ireland, will naturally aſk, is there no remedy for it? I ſay there is a moſt effectual one, which may be carried into practice without pains or penalties, and with very little additional expenſe; and that is, by converting the bulk of the people to the proteſtant religion, which we may learn from hiſtory and experience to be the only certain and permanent ſource of loyalty. All the beſt writers on Iriſh affairs, in the 16th and 17th centuries, have enforced the neceſſity of this by irrefragable arguments, but particularly primate Uſſher, the glory of the Iriſh proteſtant church, in his elegant and energetick ſpeech to an aſſembly of all the ſtates of Ireland, in the year 1627.

The converſion of one perſon to the eſtabliſhed church, will be giving an additional fibre to the root of the royal oak in the ſoil of Ireland, which will encreaſe its ſtrength and ſtability to withſtand the ſtorms of domeſtick treaſon, and the attacks of foreign enemies.

Before I proceed to point out the means by which the natives of Ireland may be converted, I ſhall give a conciſe account of the origin and progreſs of the reformation in

Ireland, and of the expedients which have been adopted to promote it.

In the year 1551, and the 5th of Edward VI. the reformed religion began to be publickly profeſſed in Ireland. The book of common prayer was printed the ſame year in Dublin, by order of the lord lieutenant and council, purſuant to inſtructions given by the king himſelf; and it was publickly read to the people, many of whom in and about the city, underſtood Engliſh at that time.

George Brown, archbiſhop of Dublin, was the firſt perſon of note who embraced the proteſtant religion, and he gave full proof of the ſincerity of his converſion, for he diſplayed the moſt ardent zeal in converting others to it. He preached often againſt the errors of the church of Rome, eſpecially againſt praying in an unknown tongue, and denying the free uſe of the ſcriptures. He cauſed all ſuperſtitious relicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and made the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments to be ſet up in their ſtead. He chearfully adopted the king's order for reading the liturgy in Engliſh, and recommended it in a ſpeech to an aſſembly of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and the reſt of the clergy, which had ſo good an effect, that many of them ſubmitted to it.

But George Dowdall, archbiſhop of Armagh, and many of the biſhops and inferior clergy, oppoſed this good work with ſo much zeal, as to prevent its complete accompliſhment; and that hopeful prince, Edward VI. having died two years after, and before the reformation could take root, queen Mary, his ſucceſſor, ſoon overturned it. The proteſtant biſhops and clergy were baniſhed, the liturgy prohibited, the ſcriptures locked up in an unknown tongue, and the popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry every where ſet up.

It was very fortunate, that the ſhortneſs of Mary's reign defeated her deſign of overturning the reformation.

No ſooner was queen Elizabeth ſettled on the throne, than ſhe endeavoured to plant religion and learning in Ireland; for ſhe ſignified her royal pleaſure, that the reformed religion ſhould be immediately re-eſtabliſhed in that kingdom, which had ſome immediate effect; for the maſs was laid aſide in many places, and another liturgy was ſubſtituted in its ſtead, ſentences of ſcripture were affixed to the church walls in the place of popiſh trumpery, and bibles were diſtributed *gratis* among the common people.

This alteration in matters of religion occaſioned a great ferment among the Roman catholicks of Ireland; for the liturgy was no more underſtood by them than the maſs, and they received no more edification from one than the other, as the maſs of them were ignorant of the Engliſh language. Inſtigated by the pope, and the king of Spain, they rebelled in the year 1560, under Shane O'Neil.

Soon after the rebellion was ſuppreſſed, a tax was impoſed on every houſe-keeper who omitted going to church on a Sunday; and as it was levied with exactneſs, moſt people attended, ſooner than pay it; but their attendance could not operate towards their converſion, as our offices were read in Engliſh. They continued papiſts in their hearts, and embraced the firſt opportunity of rebelling, which they did again in the year 1566.

This ſhews how vain and impracticable it is to aboliſh a language and a religion at once, and to prevail on the multitude at the ſame time not to ſpeak as they have been uſed to ſpeak, and not to think and believe, as they have been taught to think and believe from their cradle. From this we may infer, that the moſt likely way of introducing the proteſtant religion into Ireland is, by the charter-ſchools, where children acquire both at the ſame time; and early impreſſions made on their tender minds are not eaſily effaced.

As the reformed religion gained little or no ground by ſuch means, queen Elizabeth provided, at her own charge, a fount of Iriſh types, with the other inſtruments of the preſs. Sir James Ware tells us, in his Annals of Ireland, in the year 1571, that the Iriſh characters for printing were firſt brought into that kingdom by Nicholas Walſh, chancellor of St. Patrick's church in Dublin, and John Kearney, treaſurer of the ſame; and it was ordered, "that the prayers of the church ſhould be printed in that character and language, and a church ſet apart in the chief town of every dioceſs, where they were to be read, and a ſermon preached to the common people, which was inſtrumental in converting many of the ignorant ſort in thoſe days." Many perſons among the clergy and laity, eminent not only for their rank and ſtation, but for their piety and learning in the 16th and 17th centuries, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to promote this truly-apoſtolical work. Alas! how unlike theſe are the preſent generation!

John Kearney, treaſurer of St. Patrick's, publiſhed a catechiſm in Iriſh, the firſt book printed in that character. Nicholas Walſh, when promoted to the biſhoprick of Oſſory, began the tranſlation of the New Teſtament, but did not live to finiſh it, having been barbarouſly murdered in his own houſe by one Dullard, againſt whom the biſhop had iſſued a proceſs for adultery. The aforeſaid Mr. Kearney, and Nehemias Donnellan, afterwards archbiſhop of Tuam, undertook the ſame work; but archbiſhop Daniel, in his dedication of it to king James, tells us, that their untimely death threw the entire burthen on him, and he faithfully diſcharged it, having publiſhed it in the year 1602. The ſame pious and learned prelate tranſlated the book of common prayer into Iriſh, and printed it in the year 1608, by which means many of the natives were converted.

The unſettled ſtate of the country very much retarded the reformation during the reign of the elder James. In the year 1621, the congregation *de propaganda fidæ* was inſtituted at Rome, which had at that time, and has continued ever ſince, to have very great influence, not only in Ireland, but in every country in Europe, where any attempts have been made to draw the natives off from their blind obedience to the pope. The government of England then ſhould form a proteſtant ſociety of the ſame nature, conſiſting of perſons of intereſt and authority, zeal and piety, to counteract the malignant efforts of the Romiſh inſtitution. It would redound much to the credit of the biſhops, if they would promote this very uſeful and pious work, as the union will ſuperſede the neceſſity of their attendance in parliament. However, king James did not altogether neglect the propagation of the proteſtant religion, and the converſion of the Iriſh. He gave a commiſſion to the lord deputy, the lord primate, the lord chancellor, lord Wilmot, and others, to enquire into, and make a report of the ſtate of Ireland, and on their report, the following orders were given: "To enlarge the maintenance of the clergy, to encourage reſidence by making it convenient, to build cathedral and parochial churches, and to prevent the alienation of eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions and lands given to charitable uſes: to make good choice of ſchool-maſters and uſhers, and to admit none but ſuch as would take the oath of ſupremacy, and bring up their ſcholars in the reformed religion;

gion; and that popiſh ſchool-maſters and uſhers ſhould be entirely ſuppreſſed."

Theſe orders contained the following paragraph:

"We, being highly offended with the encreaſe and inſolence of Jeſuits and prieſts, and titular archbiſhops and biſhops, who preſume to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within our kingdom of Ireland, do expreſsly charge and command, that the ſtatute the 2d of Elizabeth, which inflicts ſevere penalties on ſuch as exerciſe any ſuch power or juriſdiction, may be put in execution."

King James, mindful of the ſame good purpoſe, gave ſome inſtructions to ſir Arthur Chicheſter, lord deputy of Ireland, in a letter dated 16th October, 1604, about propagating the proteſtant religion. The privy council gave ſimilar inſtructions to the ſame lord deputy in April, 1606.

When biſhop Bedell was made biſhop of Kilmore and Ardagh, he forwarded the charitable work of converting the Iriſh, with uncommon eal; and if the ſame diligence had been uſed in every part of the kingdom, it would have tended materially to civilize the ſavage inhabitants of the iſland. He learned the Iriſh tongue himſelf, and attained ſuch a knowledge of it, as to be able to compoſe an Iriſh grammar, and to correct the tranſlation of the Old Teſtament in that language, of which he procured a verſion himſelf, the New Teſtament and Common Prayer book having been already tranſlated into Iriſh.

He made a ſhort catechiſm to be publiſhed, having Engliſh on one page, and Iriſh on the other, together with ſome forms of prayer, and ſome of the moſt inſtructive and edifying paſſages of ſcripture, and ſome of St. Chryſoſtom's and Leo's homilies, which were ſo well received by the natives, as to give certain hopes that ſuch endeavours would be attended with ſucceſs.

Having provided the books which were moſt neceſſary, he next turned his attention to procure proper teachers, by filling the church with clergymen able to preach to the Iriſh in their native language, and he rejected many miniſters for want of this qualification; but this neceſſary and commendable practice raiſed a great ſtorm againſt him, though the indiſpenſable obligation which the clergy lie under of performing the offices of religion in a known tongue, ſhould have prevented any oppoſition from proteſtants.

The more effectually to promote this pious and charitable work, he ſet his clergy the example of reading the common prayer book in Iriſh; and he ſucceeded ſo well, as to make numerous proſelytes, not only among the laity, but the popiſh clergy; and ſo ſincere were the converts which he made, that but one of them relapſed in the rebellion of 1641.

This great man's humane and charitable diſpoſition, and his beneficent virtues, ſo far overcame the fanaticiſm and the intolerant principles of the natives, and kindled ſuch love and gratitude in them towards him, that they paid ſingular marks of honour and affection to his remains at his funeral, even in the heat of the rebellion, though they regarded him as a heretick. The chiefs of the rebels collected their forces, accompanied his body to the grave with great ſolemnity, and diſcharged a volley at his interment, crying out in Latin, quieſcat in pace ultimus Anglorum. While biſhop Bedell was labouring with ſo much zeal, the convocation which met in Dublin in 1634 took the converſion of the Iriſh into conſideration, and made ſeveral canons, which contained rules ſimilar to what that prelate had practiſed.

The great rebellion, which broke out in 1641, defeated thoſe uſeful deſigns, and the excellent inſtitutions which had been formed for the converſion of the natives.

The ſufferings of the proteſtants were ſo great, and the animoſity and reſentment which were kindled between them and the papiſts by this rebellion were ſo bitter, that the advancement of the reformation was totally laid aſide; and nothing was done towards promoting it for many years, except that, in the year 1652, a catechiſm called the Chriſtian Doctrine was publiſhed, having one column in Engliſh, the other in Iriſh.

Mr. Boyle, the great chriſtian philoſopher, well knowing that ſocial order depended on the purity of religious principle, again ſet on foot the laudable work of converting the Iriſh. At his own expenſe, he cauſed a fount of Iriſh types to be caſt, and an able printer to be inſtructed in printing the neceſſary books in that language; and cauſed the church catechiſm, with the elements of that language, to be printed in Iriſh, in the year 1680; and ſoon after, he procured a ſecond edition of the New Teſtament in the Iriſh tongue to be printed, at his own charge; and he ſet forward and encouraged the reprinting of the Old Teſtament, having liberally contributed fifty pounds towards it. This edition was reviſed and corrected by Mr. Kirk, a beneficed clergyman in England, but a native of Scotland, and well ſkilled in the

Iriſh tongue. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was concerned with Mr. Boyle in that work, and liberally contributed towards defraying the expenſe of the preſs. It was ſent to the lord primate, then provoſt of Trinity-college in Dublin, that it might receive ſuch amendments as were neceſſary, by the aſſiſtance of the moſt learned natives of Ireland.

One Higgins, a convert from popery, was uſeful in completing that work. He was employed by the primate to teach the Iriſh language in the univerſity of Dublin.

Many copies of the New Teſtament publiſhed in 1681, and of the Old in 1685, were ſent into Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, and it is remarkable that no other bible was uſed in the highlands till within theſe fifteen or twenty years.

After the famous ſiege of Londonderry was raiſed, many of the Iriſh natives having left their habitations in the barony of Inniſhowen, and county of Donegal, and followed the Iriſh army to the ſouthern parts of Ireland, ſeveral families emigrated from the highlands of Scotland, and ſettled in their places. Theſe highlanders being proteſtants, but not underſtanding Engliſh, petitioned the then lord biſhop of Derry, to ſend them a miniſter to perform divine ſervice in their own language, which was readily granted; and he ſent them two miniſters to preach in Iriſh, one of them a beneficed clergyman, the other having a competent allowance from the biſhop, and they ſoon had four or five hundred perſons in their congregation, who did not underſtand Engliſh.

Great numbers of the Iriſh rebels, conſcious of the crimes they had committed, having deſerted their habitations in the county of Antrim, on the landing of the Engliſh army in 1689 at Carrickfergus, many families from the Hebrides or weſtern iſlands of Scotland, who underſtood no other language but the Iriſh, or Erſe, which is the ſame, ſettled there, and took poſſeſſion of them. At firſt they went to church, but not underſtanding Engliſh, they became converts to popery, for no other reaſon, than that they underſtood the exhortations delivered in Iriſh by the popiſh prieſts, from the altar. On being aſked their reaſon for doing ſo, they ſaid, "It was better to be of their religion than none at all." To prevent this evil, a petition was preſented to the biſhop of Down, to requeſt he would ſend miniſters amongſt them who could preach to them in the Iriſh language; and he ſent ſome preachers to them, who not only brought back ſuch highlanders as had lapſed to popery, but converted many of the natives to proteſtantiſm.

In the year 1702, the reverend Nicholas Browne, rector of the pariſhes of Donacary, Dromore, and Roſarry, in the dioceſe of Clogher, applied himſelf with great zeal to the converſion of the Iriſh, and he was well qualified for that purpoſe, as he was perfect maſter of the language, and had a happy faculty of expreſſing terms of divinity in it. The provoſt, burgeſſes, and other proteſtant inhabitants of Enniskillen, gave a publick atteſtation of the ſucceſs of his laudable exertions in the year 1711, after his deceaſe.

On March 3d, 1703, the following reſolution was ſent from the lower to the upper houſe of convocation:

"Reſolved, that the endeavouring the ſpeedy converſion of the papiſts of this kingdom, is a work of great piety and charity; in order to which it is the opinion of this houſe, that preachers in all the dioceſes of this kingdom, preaching in the Iriſh tongue, would be a great means of their converſion; and therefore, that application be made to the moſt reverend and right reverend the lords archbiſhops and biſhops, that they take into their conſideration, what number of ſuch preachers will be neceſſary in every dioceſe, and how they may be ſupported."

Their graces and lordſhips gave the following anſwer:

"We think, that endeavouring the converſion of the papiſts is very commendable; and as to preaching in the Iriſh tongue, we think it uſeful where it is practicable."

The lower houſe ſoon after ſent to the upper houſe a number of reſolutions, pointing out meaſures which they thought neceſſary for promoting the reformation, and which were approved of by their lordſhips.

The main objects of them were, "to print the holy bible, and the liturgy, in the Iriſh language, but in the Engliſh character.

"To prepare a ſhort expoſition of the church catechiſm, fitted for the inſtruction of popiſh recuſants, and that the ſame ſhould be printed in Engliſh and Iriſh. That clergymen well ſkilled in the Iriſh tongue ſhould be employed in inſtructing the people."

In the beginning of this century, ſeveral of the nobility ſent a memorial to James, duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, requeſting that he would adopt ſuch meaſures as would tend to promote the reformation. It begins thus:

“ Whereas nothing tends more effectually to promote the common welfare of Ireland, than the converſion of the popiſh natives to the proteſtant religion; whereby the Engliſh intereſt would be better ſecured, trade and induſtry encreaſed, and both the ſpiritual and temporal good of the Iriſh themſelves advanced in that kingdom; and whereas, in order to obtain thoſe happy ends, ſeveral laws have been lately made in Ireland, and one ſtatute in particular, to prevent the ſucceſſion of popiſh clergy, by virtue whereof the number of popiſh prieſts is already ſenſibly decreaſed in it; and it is probable, that in ſome counties, the whole ſucceſſion may be extinct.”

Soon after, many of the nobility and gentry petitioned queen Anne to promote ſuch meaſures, as would be moſt likely to propagate the proteſtant religion among the natives of Ireland; and at the head of the petitioners we find the lords Abercorn, Barrymore, Bellamont, Charlemont, Mountjoy, Digby, and Blaney; but nothing was done in conſequence of it.

About this time the archbiſhop of Armagh, and his clergy, joined in a ſubſcription for maintaining two miſſionaries, to preach to the natives in Iriſh, in that dioceſe; and the biſhop and his clergy did the like in the dioceſs of Derry.

In the year 1711, Charles O'Neil, eſquire, member of the houſe of commons, moved, that the converſion of the Iriſh ſhould be taken into conſideration. On which a committee was immediately appointed, to conſider of, and make a report on it, which they accordingly did; and the ſubſtance of their reſolutions was:

“ That a competent number of miniſters ſhould be appointed to preach to the natives in their own language, with a ſuitable maintenance.

“ That a ſufficient number of charity ſchools ſhould be erected, for the inſtruction of the popiſh children *gratis*.”

In the year 1711, the lower houſe of convocation entered into reſolutions, much of the ſame tenor; with this addition, that the children of popiſh parents ſhould be obliged, under a certain penalty, to ſend their children to ſome proteſtant ſchool, from the age of ſeven years, till they ſhall have attained the age of twelve years; and to prevent popiſh recuſants from evading that law, they were to be obliged, under a certain penalty, to give the birth and name of every child, ten days after its baptiſm, to the curate of the pariſh, to be regiſtered in the pariſh book.

Such were the opinions, and ſuch were the exertions of Uſher, Bedell, Boyle, and ſome of the wiſeſt and moſt pious men in the 16th and 17th centuries, in promoting the eſtabliſhed religion, as the only fountain of pure morality in a proteſtant ſtate; but modern politicians, having derived new light from the philoſophy of the Gallick ſchool, are deſirous of confounding all religious diſtinctions, by which they will ſow the ſeeds of Jacobinical principles, which in time will ſhake the pillars of the throne.

The preſent indifference about the eſtabliſhed religion in England and Ireland, reminds me of the ſtate of Greece about three centuries before the Chriſtian æra, when the people there, on adopting the Epicurean ſyſtem, which proſtrated all religious ſanctions, ſunk into the loweſt ſtate of debaſement; and Polybius, who was an eye-witneſs of it, tells us, "that in conſequence of it, they diſregarded every tie human and divine, and that it was a ſure preſage of their impending ruin."

It is much to be lamented, that the bleſſings of the reformation have not been more extenſively diffuſed in Ireland, notwithſtanding the efforts which have been adopted for that purpoſe; but it will be vain to attempt the converſion of ſuch of the natives as have arrived to maturity, as they oppoſe it *in limine*; for their prejudices are inveterate and deep-rooted in fanaticiſm, as they imbibe, at an early age, ſo ſtrong and uncharitable an averſion againſt every thing that concerns the eſtabliſhed religion, and their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, that they recoil at any attempt to convince them of their errors. I mentioned ſome inſtances of this in pages 204, 205 in this volume, and in many other parts of this work. It would be as abſurd to think of making an impreſſion on ſuch perſons by ratiocination, as to penetrate a thick ſuit of armour with a bodkin. It frequently happens, that when a Roman catholick ſucceeds a proteſtant in a houſe, he prevails on a prieſt to purify it by his benediction, and by ſome religious ceremonies, from the pollution which it had received by the reſidence of a heretick.

Human wiſdom could not deviſe a better plan for converting the lower claſs of the Iriſh, than the charter-ſchools, as the impreſſions made on the children bred up in them are not eaſily effaced.

"Train up a child in the way he ſhould go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Proverbs, chap. xxii. 6.

This very wiſe inſtitution was firſt eſtabliſhed in the year 1733, by charter, in conſequence of a petition to his majeſty George the ſecond, of the biſhops, the nobility, the judges, and ſome of the principal gentry of Ireland. Part of the preamble of the petition evinces at the ſame time, the policy of that eſtabliſhment, the wiſdom, the virtue, and loyalty of thoſe who addreſſed his majeſty to inſtitute it, and the ſupine and criminal neglect of the leading men of the preſent day, in not forwarding it with that degree of zeal which its importance requires:

"That the generality of the popiſh natives appear to have very little ſenſe or knowledge of religion but what they implicitly take from their clergy, to whoſe guidance, in ſuch matters, they wholly give themſelves up, and thereby are kept not only in groſs ignorance, but in great diſaffection to your ſacred majeſty and government, ſcarcely any of them having appeared to be willing to abjure the pretender to your majeſty's throne; ſo that if ſome effectual method be not made uſe of to inſtruct theſe great number of people in the principles of religion and loyalty, there ſeems to be very little proſpect, but that ſuperſtition, idolatry and diſaffection to your majeſty, and to your royal poſterity, will, from generation to generation, be propagated amongſt them." Such opinions would be ſeverely cenſured and condemned in this ſeaſon of liberality, or rather of folly and diſſimulation; but the late rebellion fully evinces the truth of them.

The object of the inſtitution is, to inſtruct the children of papiſts in the Engliſh tongue, the principles of the eſtabliſhed religion, and to train them up in the practice of induſtry and labour.

By donations and benefactions from individuals, and by parliamentary grants, the ſociety have been able to erect thirty-ſeven ſchools in different parts of the kingdom, which are capable of containing 1775 children, who are fed, clothed, and educated in them, till they are fit to be apprenticed out, and then they are bound to proteſtants, who receive a fee of five pounds with them; beſides theſe thirty-ſeven ſchools, there is one at Santry, and another at Clontarf, both near Dublin. They apprentice annually out of the former thirty-five children, and one hundred out of the latter.

The children muſt be of popiſh parents, and none can be admitted into the ſchools under the age of ten years.

The inſtitution is ſuperintended and regulated by a committee of fifteen, reſident in Dublin; and each ſchool is under the immediate direction of a committee in the country, conſiſting of the principal gentlemen and clergy contiguous to it; who examine into the inſtruction and employment of the children, their food and ſtate of health, the ſufficiency and diligence of the maſters and miſtreſſes, and all other particulars relative to the œconomy and management of the ſchools; and report the ſame to the committee of fifteen.

The children paſs their time between the learning neceſſary for their future life, and ſuch gentle work as is ſuited to their tender age, which ſtrengthens their conſtitution, and gives them early habits of induſtry. Eſpecial care is taken to guard them from having any intercourſe with popiſh prieſts, or the children of Romaniſts; and they are always ſent to ſchools remote from their popiſh relations, leſt they might tempt them to relapſe.

The ſociety appoint ſchool-maſters and ſchool-miſtreſſes, who are ſupported by the ſociety, and provided with all things neceſſary for the inſtruction of the poor children in the principles of the proteſtant religion, reading, writing, and arithmetick, and with proper books and materials for teaching them huſbandry, houſewifery, trades and manufactures, in order to bring them up to virtue, labour and induſtry.

Beſides the ſchools, there are four nurſeries; one for the province of Leinſter, one for Munſter, and one for Connaught, and the fourth is in Charlemont-ſtreet, in Dublin.

The children are received and maintained in theſe till the age of ſix years, when they are put into the ſchools.

A portion of five pounds is given to every perſon apprenticed out of the ſchool, who ſhall afterwards marry a proteſtant, with the approbation of the committee of fifteen, provided he or ſhe ſhall produce a proper certificate of having duly ſerved out ſuch apprenticeſhip, and provided ſuch claim is made within the term of ſeven years after the expiration of it, and within ſix months after the marriage.

The committee of fifteen annually publiſh their accounts, to convince the publick that the funds of the charity are properly and faithfully appropriated.

From what I have mentioned in this work, the reader muſt be convinced, that the ſtate of Ireland cannot admit of any material improvement in morals and induſtry, until the benefits of the Reformation are more generally experienced in it; and it will be impoſſible to effect this, but through the medium of the charter-ſchools. They are in fact orphan-houſes, and ſerve the moſt exalted purpoſes of charity, in reſcuing the children of the lower claſs of people from extreme poverty, from idleneſs, from vice, from ſuperſtition, from treaſon, and often from ſuffering an ignominious death, inflicted by the vengeance of the law.

The committee is enabled at preſent to apprentice out annually about 400 children; but if they could bind out twice that number, it would make a material change in the peace and moral order of ſociety, in the ſpace of ten or twelve years.

The neceſſity of this is encreaſed by the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary for the education of popiſh prieſts, whoſe ſpirit of proſelytiſm will in a great degree counteract the effects of this wiſe inſtitution. Nothing can more ſtrongly evince the advantages which are likely to ariſe from it, than the hatred with which it is regarded by the Romaniſts. One ſchool was entirely demoliſhed at Caſtlecarberry, in the county of Kildare; and Wilſon's hoſpital was plundered, becauſe it was eſtabliſhed to educate children in the proteſtant religion.

Thomas Burke, titular biſhop of Oſſory, laments, in his Hibernia Dominicana, that whole troops of the lower claſs of people are converted by the charter-ſchools.

Quo factum eſt, ut cum priores leges corruperint ſingulatim divites, iſta vel ipſos pauperes turmatim illaqueat.

The ſecret enemies of this inſtitution, in order to make it odious, have aſſerted in many parts of England, where it is believed, that the children who are put into the ſchools are taken from their parents by force, an aſſertion as falſe as it is iniquitous; for no children are ever admitted into them, but ſuch as are offered voluntarily by their parents; and from the numbers who ſolicit admiſſion into them, there is not a doubt, but that the ſchools would be conſtantly full, even if they were twice as large as they are at preſent: An unqueſtionable proof that the bleſſings of the Reformation might be extenſively and ſpeedily diffuſed through the kingdom of Ireland by this wiſe inſtitution!

Thoſe who are hoſtile to it alſo aſſert, that it is futile and inefficient, on the ground that moſt of the children educated in the ſchools relapſe into popery, and the honeſt and well-meaning, who never examine into, or beſtow any thought upon the inſtitution, imbibe their prejudices, and become hoſtile to it; but on a ſerious inveſtigation of this fact it will appear, that but very few of the children bred in them become converts to popery; and the probability of its ever happening might in a great meaſure be prevented by introducing a few improvements into that ſalutary ſyſtem.

I intended to have ſubmitted to the conſideration of parliament, ſome improvements in the regulation of this very excellent inſtitution, but I ſhall leave them to their ſuperior wiſdom, obſerving at the ſame time, that, while the frailty of human nature continues, it muſt be materially neglected, while it depends merely on the voluntary and gratuitous exertions of fifteen individuals, ſome of whom do not reſide conſtantly in Dublin.

I cannot omit this opportunity of ſaying, that the publick are very much indebted to the great zeal and unabated exertions of doctor Agar, archbiſhop of Caſhel, doctor Broderick, biſhop of Kilmore, and ſir Francis Hutchinſon, in ſuperintending it.

I humbly conceive, that it ſhould be conducted by a permanent board, with ſalaries and reſponſibility attached to the members who compoſe it.

I am convinced that the candid reader will agree with me, that every other meaſure of Imperial policy for the improvement of Ireland ſhould be ſubordinate to the advancement of this very wiſe and charitable inſtitution.

It is aſtoniſhing to me that the biſhops have not given more attention to it, and have not been more ſolicitous to extend the benefits of it; for it ſeems to me to be peculiarly the province of the paſtoral charge.

Though I take the liberty of recommending, with due deference, the eſtabliſhment of a permanent board, I am of opinion, that the power and the right to interfere in regulating it ſhould ſtill continue in the committee of fifteen, as their vigilance would check and control the members of the board.

It would be adviſeable to apprentice out the children bred in the charter-ſchools in proteſtant towns, the eſtabliſhment of which I ſhall recommend in the ſequel.

The foundling-hoſpital in Dublin ſhould ſeriouſly engage the conſideration of government, as it is an inſtitution which will conduce materially to promote the eſtabliſhed religion. Much to the honour of the preſent governors, it is very well regulated; and I cannot omit obſerving, that the publick are much indebted to the reverend Arthur M'Gwire, one of its governors, for his unremitting attention to this excellent eſtabliſhment.

It often occurred to me, that it would conduce much to the advancement of the eſtabliſhed church, to build towns and villages in thoſe parts of Ireland where popery predominates, and to eſtabliſh proteſtant manufacturers in them, which would not only encourage the reformed religion within their walls, but afford confidence and protection to all the proteſtants in the adjacent country. The policy and utility of this meaſure will appear from the following circumſtance: That in ſome pariſhes where proteſtants were thinly ſcattered, anonymous letters were ſent to them during the rebellion, deſiring them at their peril to go to maſs, and in ſome inſtances they were frightened into obedience.

This wiſe meaſure has been ſtrongly recommended by the beſt writers on Iriſh affairs in the 16th and 17th centuries, but particularly by Richard Laurence, eſquire, in a valuable treatiſe which he wrote in the year 1682, on the improvement of Ireland. He ſays, "that ſuch towns would be ready receptacles to the Engliſh families diſperſed in the adjacent country, which would fortify the Engliſh intereſt; and this may be eaſily effected, without much charge to the king or country, by propagating manufactures." Some of theſe proteſtant colonies are mentioned by Laurence; and in what a ſtate would Ireland be at this day but for their eſtabliſhment!

If Engliſh manufacturers had been planted in the town built for the Geneveſe emigrants in the county of Waterford, it would have been attended with the moſt important advantages.

The town of Rutland was built in the adminiſtration of lord Weſtmorland, on the coaſt of the county of Donegal, for the purpoſe of carrying on the herring fiſhery; but as the herrings have not viſited that coaſt ſince its foundation, it has been neglected. Why not eſtabliſh a colony of Proteſtant manufacturers in it, to whom the children bred in the charter-ſchools and foundling-hoſpital could be apprenticed?

It would be adviſeable to incorporate by charter the inhabitants of ſuch ſettlements, and to give certain municipal privileges to ſuch perſons of the eſtabliſhed church as ſhould reſide in them a certain time.

The Romans never could have ſecured their conqueſts over Italy, or have attached to them the people whom they ſubdued, if they had not adopted this wiſe policy, which they did from the earlieſt period of the Republick. Thus early in the fourth century, after the foundation of Rome, a colony was ſettled at Ardea;* and ſoon after, when the Romans conquered the Auſonians, they eſtabliſhed a colony of 2500 perſons at Cales, their principal town.† The ſame thing was done at Pontia and Sueſſa; and 4000 coloniſts were ſettled at Caſinum.‡ Two colonies were planted in the country of Falernum.|| In ſhort, the Romans adopted this wiſe procedure in every country which they ſubdued, and without it their conqueſts would not have been ſo rapid and ſecure as they afterwards proved to be. Italy would have readily yielded to the victorious army of Hannibal, but that the Roman coloniſts and their deſcendants, who were numerous, ſteadily adhered to the republick of Rome, for which Livy tells us, lib. 27. 10. "they received the thanks of the ſenate."§

They treated their colonies with tender and parental care, having always incorporated them and given them important municipal privileges; and they always puniſhed ſuch perſons as attempted to injure or moleſt them. Thus, when the natives roſe and maſſacred a great portion of a Roman colony at Sora, a town of the Volſcians, Livy, lib. ix. cap. 24, tells us, that they ſeverely puniſhed the inſurgents. "Omnes qui Romam deducti erant, virgis in foro cæſi, ac ſecuri percuſſi ſummo gaudio plebis; cujus maxime intererat, tutam ubique, quæ paſſim in colonias mitteretur, multitudinem eſſe."

For ſimilar cruelty and treachery the Lucernians and Samnites were puniſhed, and a new colony of 2500 perſons was ſettled amongſt them. Ibid. cap. 26. By intermarriages with the Romans, and by a gradual aſſimilation to their

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* Livy, lib. 4. 11.

† Ibid. 8. 16.

‡ Ibid. 9. 27.

|| Ibid. 10. 21.

§ Harum coloniarum ſubſidio tum imperium populi Romani ſtetit: iiſque gratiæ, et in ſenatu, et ad populum actæ. What is due then to the proteſtants of Ireland from the people of England!

their language and manners, the different nations of Italy became one and the ſame people.

In the year 1774, when murder excited ſtronger emotions of horror than it does at preſent, from its frequent perpetration, Mr. Ambroſe Power of Barret's-town, in the county of Tipperary, a moſt worthy gentleman, was murdered in his own houſe by a band of aſſaſſins, which occaſioned ſo general an alarm in Dublin, that many members of both houſes of parliament aſſembled in a committee-room of the houſe of commons, for the purpoſe of concerting meaſures for checking ſuch atrocities, and for civilizing the lower claſs of people; when a gentleman, noted in the Iriſh ſenate for eloquence and political wiſdom, ſtrongly recommended the eſtabliſhments of villages and towns in different parts of Ireland.

There are large tracts of land in different parts of it, thinly inhabited, or without any population whatſoever, which would anſwer well for this purpoſe. No part of the Britiſh dominions affords ſo many eligible places for ſuch eſtabliſhments as Ireland, as few parts of it are far from the ſea, as it abounds with fine harbours, with navigable rivers, and rivulets, which are highly neceſſary for ſuch machinery as is uſed in the mechanick arts; and it is alſo probable, that Ireland, from the advantages of her geographical ſituation, will riſe very high in commerce and manufactures.

The town of Bandon, in the county of Cork, affords a ſtriking proof of the advantages of ſuch an inſtitution.

That ſeedling of proteſtantiſm and loyalty was planted by the firſt earl of Cork, the founder of the illuſtrious houſe of Boyle in Ireland, ſo diſtinguiſhed for their loyalty, their virtues, and their talents, as to be highly panegyrized by lord Orford, in his lives of royal and noble authors.

In the year 1688, the agents of James the Second diſarmed all the proteſtants of Ireland, except in ſome northern counties, where their numbers and their high ſpirit would have rendered that meaſure difficult and dangerous.

This procedure was to pave the way for the ſubverſion of the reformed religion, and the foundation of that ſyſtem of tyranny which that infatuated bigot meditated.

The proteſtant inhabitants of Bandon, who were numerous, ſmarting from the oppreſſion and the exactions of a popiſh garriſon quartered on them, and dreading the fate of their fellow religioniſts, diſarmed and expelled their oppreſſors;

preſſors; but they were ſoon after attacked by 12,000 Iriſh, commanded by the earl of Clancarty, and his brother, major-general M'Carthy, and were reduced to the neceſſity of paying a pecuniary contribution, which was ſecured by the bonds of ſome of the principal inhabitants, to ſave the town from pillage and conflagration. Having been ſued for the principal and intereſt due on their bonds in the year 1695, they petitioned parliament to be exonerated from the payment thereof; and the houſe of commons having addreſſed the viceroy for that purpoſe, his excellency ordered the amount of the ſaid bonds to be paid out of the treaſury. The houſe of commons, in their addreſs to the viceroy, pray, "to have the town reſtored to its former ſtate, that it might be a refuge and protection to the Engliſh againſt the cruelty of the Iriſh." How like the ſtate of Ireland has been for ſome years paſt to that period!

Ever ſince, Bandon, which is a populous and manufacturing town, has continued to be inhabited excluſively by proteſtants; for the preſent inhabitants have been ſo ſenſible of the ſufferings of their anceſtors, from the perſecution which they experienced, that they would not permit Roman catholicks to reſide in the town.

The following incident proves, that that ſpirit of partiality blended with fanaticiſm, which appeared on the breaking-out of the rebellion, is conſtantly afloat in the minds of the lower claſs of the Roman catholicks. In the month of December, 1792, a mob having aſſembled in the town of Bandon, and complaining of the ſcarcity of proviſions, proceeded to deſtroy the mills and corn-ſtores of ſome millers and corn-factors in the neighbourhood, whom they regarded as monopoliſts and foreſtallers. In their progreſs, having been joined by great numbers of Roman catholicks, they materially injured the mills, and diſperſed or carried off the corn and flour of the following perſons: Mr. Stawell, of Kilbritton, and Mr. Biggs, of Bandon. On the ſecond day, viz. the 20th of December, they plundered Mr. Pratt's houſe at Shannon-vale, near Clonakilty. On the 21ſt of December, they plundered the houſe and ſtores of Mr. Treſilian at Ballinadee. They then reſolved to plunder the town of Bandon, and to take the wives and children of its principal inhabitants as hoſtages; but the following incident very fortunately prevented the execution of their raſh deſign: A propoſal having been made to plunder the ſtores of Mr. O'Brien, a corn-factor of conſiderable opulence, and of the popiſh perſuaſion, the Roman catholicks, who were the moſt numerous part of the mob, ſtrongly objected to it, on the ground that he was of their religion, though they warmly co-operated in plundering the houſes and ſtores of the former perſons, who were excluſively proteſtants. This opened the eyes of the proteſtant part of the mob, and ſhewed them the ſelfiſh and ſiniſter deſigns of their popiſh confederates; on which they ſeparated from them, repaired to the town, ordered the volunteer drum to beat to arms, alarmed the inhabitants, and ſhewed them the neceſſity of uniting and arming for their defence, which was quickly done; for all thoſe who poſſeſſed arms, and were capable of uſing them, came forward, embodied themſelves, called upon ſuch gentlemen as had been formerly officers in the volunteer corps, to head them, which they accordingly did, and having been joined by a party of dragoons, commanded by cornet Kelly, they remained under arms all night in defence of the town, which the popiſh mob would moſt certainly have attacked, but that they were informed of the ſpirited reſiſtance which would have been made to them.

This loyal corps memorialed the earl of Weſtmorland for permiſſion to embody themſelves, which they obtained; and they were the only corps of volunteers in the kingdom who continued to exiſt till the yeomanry were raiſed, except in the county of Longford, where a corps of proteſtants was raiſed with permiſſion of the earl of Weſtmorland, to check the outrages of the defenders.

The Iriſh directory hoped and intended to have made Bandon another Belfaſt, by engaging its inhabitants in their cauſe; but the loyalty of the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church rendered them impregnable againſt the arts of ſeduction.

A few towns like Bandon would materially tend to ſtrengthen the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, by encouraging the growth of proteſtantiſm.

Some of the Roman catholick nobility and gentry have made a practice of going to the viceroy, as the repreſentatives of their order, and of making promiſes and aſſurances, on their part, of their future loyalty and fidelity, in conſideration of certain favours to be conferred on them; but we may learn from experience that they have not the leaſt influence over the Romiſh prieſts and their flock, who are actuated by ſecret ſprings of action unknown to them, and whoſe intereſt and deſigns are quite ſeparate from theirs. The contemptuous inſolence with which the Romiſh nobility and gentry were treated in the year 1792,[*] in conſequence of which they were obliged to ſecede from their own body, ſhould teach them, that by making ſuch aſſurances, they will always run a riſk of deceiving the government; though I am convinced they are incapable of doing ſo intentionally. When they make ſuch promiſes and aſſurances, in behalf of perſons of their order, it is on a preſumption that they have ſuch an influence over them as would enable them to reſtrain their licentious turbulence. If this be the caſe, I would beg leave to aſk them, why did they not exert it for eight years paſt, in checking the progreſs of treaſon, and the perpetration of robbery and aſſaſſination? But if they have no influence over the prieſts and the popiſh multitude, their promiſes will only tend to delude and deceive the government. I would aſk theſe noble lords and gentlemen, whether they can ſafely pledge their faith for perſons who have in the moſt flagrant manner violated their oaths, for the purpoſe of varniſhing over their treaſonable deſigns? Let them beware, leſt unwarily they might be led

> To dreſs the ugly form
> Of baſe and bloody inſurrection,
> With their fair honours.

They cannot but know, that if the ambitious and extravagant deſigns of the Romiſh clergy were to prevail, they muſt creep and cringe to the meaneſt popiſh prieſt in Ireland; for their influence over the popiſh multitude is ſuch, that they would probably eſtabliſh a government ſomewhat ſimilar to the theocracy of the Jews. The conduct and the influence of that furious and intolerant bigot, Rinuncini in the 17th century, ſhould put them on their guard.[†]

I think it right to give the following admonition to the deſcendants of the proprietors, who hope to recover the eſtates which their anceſtors forfeited by the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the ſeparation of the two kingdoms, that, during the progreſs of the late conſpiracy, the popiſh multitude had divided them among themſelves; and that they had often fierce contentions and diſputes about the diviſion and appropriation of them, in their reſpective vicinities; and that on ſuch occaſions, they were often on the point of maſſacring each other. Their reſpective leaders meant alſo to have enjoyed them; but their pretenſions would have been as hopeleſs as thoſe of the proprietors; for both would have been ſwallowed up in the emulous and turbulent claims of the rabble, who in the conflict would have butchered each other, and have drenched the kingdom with blood.

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[*] See vol i. p. 93.

[‡] Ibid. p. 29.

I will ſeriouſly aſk the Roman catholick nobility and gentry, whether it would in the ſmalleſt degree tend to meliorate the morals of the popiſh multitude, to give them a full participation of the Engliſh conſtitution? I am perſuaded that thoſe whoſe minds are not clouded with prejudice, or perverted by bigotry, will anſwer in the negative; and that every rational perſon of their order will admit, that any attempt to improve the maſs of the people in their morals and induſtry will be fruitleſs, till they have experienced the advantages of the Reformation. As to ſuch proteſtant gentlemen who take upon them to give aſſurances of the loyal and peaceable demeanour of the people for electioneering purpoſes, they ſhould be ſcouted with indignation by the government; for the rebellion could not have been as deſtructive and terrifick as it was, but for the deluſive promiſes of ſuch men. In ſhort, it is not poſſible that they can have any influence over the main body of that order, or can know their ſecret deſigns.

I have not inſinuated, and I have not the moſt remote wiſh, that the Roman catholicks ſhould be deprived, in the ſmalleſt degree, of the rights and privileges which they have obtained. Some of them are loyal, charitable, and humane; and it would be unjuſt to puniſh them for the fatal errors of others; and as to the deluded multitude, my only deſire is, to convert the riſing generation of them by mild and evangelical means.

In the courſe of my inveſtigation I have diſcovered, that there was not an encampment or a garriſon in any part of the kingdom, for any length of time, that conſiderable diſaffection did not take place among the popiſh military; and if the French had landed a large body of troops, and had gained any deciſive advantage over ours, I am convinced that four-fifths of them would have joined the enemy.

This is a matter which ſhould be maturely conſidered by the Imperial cabinet.

The Iriſh ſoldiers, out of Ireland, and removed from the influence of their prieſts, make the beſt ſoldiers in the univerſe. Such of the popiſh militia as were of four or five years ſtanding, by conſtantly moving from one place to another, forgot the impreſſions made on them by their reſpective pariſh prieſts, and became loyal; but the yeomen, who were ſtationary, betrayed ſhocking inſtances of perfidy.

Every perſon who reflects that the Britiſh conſtitution, as it now ſtands, emanated from and is founded in the eſtabliſhed religion, muſt be ſeriouſly alarmed at the ſupine neglect of government for its advancement, particularly in Ireland, the growth of infidelity amongſt its members occaſioned by the want of proper attention to their early education, the great encouragement given to popery, and the monſtrous encreaſe of ſectariſm in every part of the empire.

Three proteſtant churches in the city of Dublin have been in ſuch a ruinous condition for ſome years paſt, that divine ſervice has not been celebrated in them; in conſequence of which, it is ſaid, that many of the lower claſs of proteſtants reſident in the pariſhes belonging to them have gone to maſs. The pariſh church of St. Nicholas without has been in ruins above twenty years, St. Michael's nineteen, and that of St. Andrew's, which was the chapel of the houſe of commons, and is in one of the moſt populous pariſhes in Dublin, has not had divine ſervice in it theſe eight years.

The proteſtant miniſters would have ſtarved in the years 1797, 1798, and 1799, from the ſubtraction of their dues, partly by ruffian force, and partly by fraud and the arts of chicanery, but that doctor Duigenan * brought in a bill to enable them to recover them in a ſummary manner.

Thinly ſcattered over the country, they have to combat the fanaticiſm of numerous hoſts of papiſts, the oppoſition of ſectariſts; and at the ſame time they have to deplore the lukewarmneſs and alienation of their own flock, and particularly the nobility and gentry, who frequently connive

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* The good ſenſe and the ſpirited conduct of this gentleman, on all occaſions, in defending the conſtitution in church and ſtate, deſerve the warmeſt gratitude of every loyal ſubject.

nive at, or ſecretly encourage the farmers and peaſants to plunder them, till their turbulence and diſregard of all legal reſtraint, alarms them for the ſafety of their perſons and property; which to my certain knowledge has often occurred in different parts of Ireland.

Their zealous endeavours to maintain and ſupport the eſtabliſhed government in all emergencies have been very conſpicuous; and particularly during the late diſaſtrous ſeaſon of inſurrection and rebellion; yet how very badly they have been requited will appear in the acts and votes of the Iriſh parliament from the year 1735 to 1800, reſpecting the tithe of agiſtment.

Through the defalcation of the dues of the parochial clergy of Ireland, by a gradual and ſyſtematick courſe of encroachment, on the part of the laity, from the time of the Reformation, until the preſent day, 2436 pariſhes, formerly with cure of ſouls, employing about 3000 clergy, are now dwindled to 1120 benefices, and 1001 churches; employing about 1300 clergy of all deſcriptions, rectors, vicars, and curates. How enviably different is the ſtate of the church of England! There, within the ſame period, the number of pariſhes has riſen from 3,181 to 10,567; containing at preſent 11,755 churches, employing about 18,000 clergy of all deſcriptions. Thus have the clergy of Ireland been reduced conſiderably more than one-half, from the inadequacy of their proviſion, which at the preſent day is eſtimated at not more than 195,000l. a year, or leſs than a twenty-fifth part of the computed rental of Ireland, five millions ſterling per annum; whereas in England, the officiating clergy have been augmented nearly four-fold, and the revenues of the church, according to the moſt accurate eſtimates, encreaſed from 43,537l. to 1,313,000l. affording a taxable income of 1,125,000l. or about a ſixteenth part of the computed rental of England, twenty millions per annum.

The whole proviſion for the miniſters of the kirk of Scotland, in the year 1755, was about 68,500l. per annum, which being divided between 944 miniſters, afforded to each on an average 72l. per annum, a pittance too ſmall to uphold the reſpectability of the Scottiſh church. In England the average income of pariſh prieſts is about 141l. each per annum; in Ireland the average is about 150l. per annum: but to make Ireland a proteſtant country, the number of her eſtabliſhed clergy ought to be trebled ; an event not to be looked for in the preſent age, and under the late interdict.

The proviſion of the Scottiſh clergy is ſo ſmall, that the perſons who, for their rank in life, their learning, and their probity, ſhould fill the prieſtly office, are now betaking themſelves to ſecular and more lucrative employments ; and it is to be feared, that their places will be ſupplied by an inferior claſs of perſons, who are unworthy of the paſtoral charge.

This would be very much to be lamented, as in no country in Europe the beneficient effects of religion are ſo ſtrongly experienced as in Scotland, in producing a purity of morals among the maſs of the people, which is to be imputed to the piety of the clergy, and their unremitted attention to their flocks.

No. XXIV.

A juſtification of having publiſhed this work, ſo ſoon after the late rebellion.

AS the Jacobins of England and Ireland have cenſured the Author of this Work, for having publiſhed it ſo ſoon after the late rebellion, under a pretence that it would revive thoſe feuds and animoſities from which it originated, I have written the following defence of myſelf for having done ſo. That venerable biographer Plutarch, in his life of Pericles obſerves, " That it is difficult to attain truth in hiſtory, ſince, if the writers live any length of time after the events which they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of them, and if they deſcribe the perſons and tranſactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or intereſt and friendſhip, to diſguiſe or pervert the truth." Conſcious that I have not been biaſſed by any ſuch ſiniſter motives, and deſirous of eſtabliſhing the authenticity of the occurrences which I have related, I reſolved to publiſh a narration of them, while the eye-witneſſes of them were ſtill living.

Hiſtory, which is a mirror of paſt times, is the beſt guide to the ſtateſman ; and Livy, in his preface tells us, that he wrote his, that the republick might learn leſſons of wiſdom and prudence from it, by avoiding ſuch meaſures as had proved fatal, and by embracing ſuch as had been found ſalutary for its intereſt.

It is much to be lamented that Ireland has been diſgraced, and that her improvement in morals and induſtry has been retarded, for near three centuries, by civil diſſenſions ; and as they have ariſen from the ſame cauſe, and have been uniformly directed to one end, a ſeparation from England, we may fairly conclude, that the prediſpoſing cauſes to them muſt be inveterate, and that the ſeeds of combuſtion muſt be deeply and extenſively laid.

As Ireland is completely annexed to the empire by the union, it is to be hoped that the Imperial government will apply more effectual remedies than have been hitherto adopted, to remove the cauſes of her rebellions, her crimes and diſgraces ; but it would be as imprudent to undertake that taſk, without having a perfect knowledge of them, as for a phyſician to adminiſter medicine to a patient, without having inveſtigated the ſymptoms and diagnoſticks of his diſeaſe.

It is a poſitive fact, that the maſs of the people of England are as ignorant of the real ſtate of Ireland, and of the cauſes of her diſturbances and inſurrections, as they are of the moſt remote regions in the torrid and frigid zones ; and it is no leſs ſingular than true, that many of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, in their ſpeeches on the union, which have been publiſhed, diſplayed a radical ignorance of it.

As it was to be ſuppoſed that the Imperial parliament would paſs ſome new laws, and that government would adopt ſome new meaſures for the internal regulation of Ireland, I conſidered it as an important, nay as a ſacred duty, to lay before them the real ſtate of Ireland, in a hiſtorical deduction of the moſt important tranſactions which have occurred in it for ſome years paſt, with ſome preliminary obſervations on the ſtate of it, from the arrival of the Engliſh till the breaking-out of the rebellion in 1798.

I ſhall now endeavour to point out the principal cauſes of the ignorance and miſconception of the people of England of the true and actual ſtate of Ireland.

An angry oppoſition in the parliaments of both kingdoms has conſtantly imputed the diſturbances to a wrong ſource, falſely aſcribing them to the tyranny and cruelty of government, and not to the rebellious machinations and ſeditious conduct of traitors ; and aſſerting, that if conciliation, inſtead of coercion and puniſhment, had been adopted towards the latter, it would have produced loyalty in them, and reſtored tranquillity in the kingdom.

To ſuch conduct, by inciting the diſaffected to violate the law, by attempting to varniſh over their crimes, and by calumniating and diſparaging the executive government, the late rebellion is to be in ſome meaſure imputed.

Members of the Iriſh parliament have made a conſtant practice of giving a groſs miſrepreſentation of the towns or counties which they repreſented to the viceroys of Ireland, for the purpoſe of pleaſing and flattering them; but principally for electioneering purpoſes, as it tended to ingratiate them with their conſtituents, by concealing their traitorous machinations; and from the ſpeeches recently made by ſome Iriſh members in the Imperial parliament, I have not a doubt but that the ſame inſidious and adulatory conduct will be purſued.

In conſequence of this, ſome of the viceroys of Ireland, by lending too ready an ear to artful and deſigning men, and by being deaf to the aſſertions of men dignified by wiſdom and virtue, have unfortunately continued in a ſtate of ignorance as to its real and actual ſtate, and have miſrepreſented it in England.

Why the viceroys have been too credulous to ſuch men is eaſily accounted for: They conſider that the ſuppoſed proſperity and peacefulneſs of Ireland, ſo ſubject to be convulſed by treaſon and ſedition, will be imputed to their wiſdom and good ſenſe; and that it will ingratiate them with their ſovereign, and exalt them in the eyes of the people of England.

This practice took place ſo much in the 16th and 17th centuries, that the ableſt writers of thoſe periods have complained, that the viceroys materially retarded the improvement of Ireland, by miſrepreſenting its real ſtate, and by adopting paltry and temporary expedients, inſtead of radical and efficient remedies, to eradicate the barbariſm, and the inveterate proneneſs of her inhabitants to treaſon and inſurrection; and by this they have concealed with aſhes the embers of rebellion, which have been conſtantly liable to be blown into a blaze by the breath of accident:

Et incedis per ignes
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo.

The conduct of the Engliſh cabinet towards Ireland, for ſome years paſt, evinces, in ſome degree, what I have advanced; for nothing but their ignorance of it could account for the extraordinary and impolitick meaſures adopted towards her. Many honeſt and loyal ſubjects have aſſigned the following reaſon for it: That they wiſhed to reduce her to ſuch an embarraſſed ſtate, that her people, to extricate themſelves, would gladly embrace a legiſlative union; but I am far from imputing ſuch ſiniſter deſigns to perſons ſo noted for wiſdom and integrity.

Some Engliſh gentlemen, who viſited Ireland for a few days or weeks, have taken upon them to write eſſays on its religious, moral and political ſtate, though they were totally ignorant of it; and a hoſt of Jacobin ſcribblers have, with intemperate zeal, and unceaſing ſedulity, endeavoured to give a groſs miſrepreſentation of Ireland ſince the rebellion, the cauſe and origin of which they have miſtated in a moſt flagrant manner. This has been done for the following purpoſes: That of feeding the flame of rebellion, of deceiving the Imperial government, and of miſguiding them in the adoption of any new laws or regulations for the government of Ireland.

Mr. Plowden, a Roman catholick gentleman and a conveyancer of the Middle Temple, in a book entitled, The Caſe Stated, ſays, page 19, "The lower claſs of the Iriſh, I underſtand, to be a race robuſt and hardy, and of a very irritable diſpoſition and nature; they are now indolent,* in extreme poverty, from being debarred the common reſources of induſtry; and are averſe from all laws, from having felt the conſtant preſſure of ſuch only as are galling and ſevere;" and he concludes, for this reaſon, "That the zealots for ſedition and anarchy have found them ready materials to work on." Can there be a ſtronger incitement to diſloyalty and inſurrection, than to tell the maſs of the people that they are under the conſtant preſſure of laws which are galling and ſevere, and by which they are debarred from the common reſources of induſtry? an aſſertion as groundleſs as it is dangerous! But I impute it to no ſiniſter deſign in this gentleman, and I aſcribe it to nothing but his ignorance of Ireland. He makes the following poſition, the purport of which he, in other parts of his work, endeavours to prove: "That the Roman catholick religion teaches no one point of doctrine, that does not greatly tend to render its followers loyal, dutiful and peaceable ſubjects."

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* If this gentleman had lived among the Iriſh he would have known, that they were *active citizens*, both by night and by day.

Any perſon who has examined the page of hiſtory muſt be ſenſible of the contrary; but to convince the reader of it, I ſhall refer him to "Prynne's hiſtory of the Pope's intolerable uſurpations on the liberties of the kings and ſubjects of England and Ireland," a work of great learning and ingenuity.

Mr. George Cooper, an Engliſh barriſter, having viſited Ireland in the autumn of 1799, wrote a book on it, which was publiſhed in the year 1800, for J. White, at Horace's head, Fleet-ſtreet. He tells us, that he can only take to himſelf the merit of having aſcended to the fountain-head of information; and having made his remarks on the ſpot, and from a perſonal obſervation of facts, he may be conſidered as more peculiarly ſpeaking ex tripode Phœbi, than other writers on the ſubject.

And yet this gentleman has betrayed palpable ignorance, and has given a groſs miſrepreſentation of Ireland.

The general diviſion which he makes of the people of Ireland is, that of proteſtant coloniſts and catholick natives; and aſſerts, that they have ever continued to be divided into theſe diſtinct bodies; and he adds, "For my own part, ſince I have been in Ireland, I have invariably aſcertained that almoſt every pitiable object in rags and miſery was a catholick; and that almoſt every man, who enjoyed the advantage of food and clothing, obtained it by his proteſtantiſm. They carry thoſe palpable badges of their religious differences about them."

Now this gentleman might have learnt, that the wealthy merchants, manufacturers and mechanicks of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Derry, Newry, Belfaſt, Liſburne and Galway, of the Roman catholick religion, are very numerous; and that popiſh farmers, in different parts of the kingdom, have made nabob fortunes, and have purchaſed large eſtates, within a few years.

He might have known, that ſo many of the popiſh nobility and gentry have embraced the eſtabliſhed religion, that there are but few of them remaining;* and that ſuch numbers of the middling and lower claſſes have done ſo, that the proteſtants of Ireland are at this time more than one to three to the Roman catholicks; the paupers of both religions who are admitted into the houſe of induſtry bear that proportion to each other. The Roman catholick labourer is as much protected by the law as the proteſtant, and the former

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[*] Moſt of thoſe who remain were originally Engliſh ſettlers.

former experiences as much humanity and kindneſs from his employer as the latter. Nay it is very well known, that the lower claſs of Roman catholicks would prefer proteſtant landlords and maſters, from their well-known mildneſs and beneficence. This gentleman makes the diſſenters infinitely more numerous than the members of the eſtabliſhed church, though it is well known that the former are much inferior in number to the latter.

As to the Roman catholicks, he ſays, page 89, "There can be no political ordeal, as the teſt of loyalty, to which they are unwilling to ſubmit. Every ſecurity for their loyalty and attachment to the government, which the ſafety of the ſtate ſhall require, or think neceſſary, they freely offer to give."

This is ſtrictly true; for they ſwore oaths of allegiance in the moſt ſolemn manner, in many places at the foot of their altars, previous to the rebellion; but it was recently proved, by fatal experience, that they paid no regard to them.

Again, he ſays, page 92, "Neither is it equitable to infer, that they are enemies to the eſtabliſhed religion, when that preſumption is not only rebutted by their own expreſs declarations, *but evinced by long and tried loyalty*, with a readineſs to undergo the ordeal of any political teſt, which it ſhall be thought neceſſary to impoſe on them."

After the ſhocking inſtances of treaſon, accompanied with perjury, which Ireland exhibited in the years 1797 and 1798, it is aſtoniſhing how any writer could have the audacity to make ſuch aſſertions. It would require almoſt as many pages as this gentleman has written to expoſe his ignorance of the ſtate of Ireland.

He ſays, page 108, "Nothing but paſture lands are to be ſeen. Grazing of cattle is their grand paſſion. The farmer feels it his intereſt to devote his lands to it, and to neglect tillage." And in page 118, he ſays, "That the greater part of the proviſions conſumed in the country are brought from England, and the poor not having the means to purchaſe them, are in want of common ſuſtenance, without either houſe or clothes to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather."

Now it is well known that Ireland, inſtead of importing proviſions, ſends to England, both for her internal conſumption, and for the uſe of the navy, immenſe quantities of corn, beef, butter, pork and bacon; and her agriculture is ſo much encreaſed in conſequence of her immenſe export of corn, and her paſture grounds are ſo much diminiſhed, that the greateſt complaint in many parts of Ireland is the ſcarcity of milk. He imputes the idleneſs and the poverty of the Iriſh to their being badly governed; and then he aſſerts, that "they would not be ſo if they were well governed." A groundleſs aſſertion, tending to inflame the people againſt the government!

He ſays, page 127, "I found, that even in Ireland the name of an Engliſhman carries with it that weight and reſpect which has long flattered our pride in foreign countries. In Ireland, too, every man is ſenſible how much the proſperity and deareſt intereſts of the two countries are linked together."

He ſhould have confined this remark to the proteſtants, who are ſincerely attached to England; but it is a poſitive fact, that the maſs of the Roman catholicks equally execrate both Engliſhmen and proteſtants, whom they brand with the common, and what they conſider, odious, appellation of Saſſona.* In ſhort, I take upon me to aſſert, that the proteſtant religion is the only bond of union between the two kingdoms.

He tells us, page 129, that "it was no war of religion, becauſe none of the catholicks of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Clare, Galway, or any part of the kingdom, except thoſe few counties in which the rebellion broke out, were at all implicated in it; that thoſe of Wicklow and Wexford were neceſſarily ſo, becauſe the peaſantry were of that religion."

He ſays, page 131, "The orange party was formed to perpetuate the abuſes and oppreſſions of the government, by diſcountenancing every innovation. They openly avowed themſelves determined to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood before any conceſſions ſhould be made to the catholick body."

From what I have already ſaid in vol. i. pages 82 to 89, it is obvious that the orangemen did not aſſociate till ſome

* Doctor M'Nevin, a Roman catholick, and one of the Iriſh directory, ſays, in his evidence upon oath before the houſe of lords, "the lower claſs of catholicks conſider proteſtant and Engliſhman, that is, Engliſh ſettler, as ſynonimous, and as their natural enemy; the ſame Iriſh word (Saſſona) ſignifies both."

ſome years after almoſt the whole of the penal laws were repealed; that they aſſembled without arms, and for no other purpoſe but to protect themſelves from being extirpated, and to prevent their country from being ſeparated from England. The number of perſons dignified by wiſdom and virtue, high birth and ſhining abilities, at the head of the Orange ſocieties, would alone have been ſufficient to baniſh any ſuſpicion that they had harboured any of the baſe deſigns which were imputed to them.

He ſays, page 135, "The catholicks felt themſelves attached to a conſtitution of King, Lords and Commons. They therefore renounced all coalition with the conſpirators, and preferred their humble claims to parliament."

The reader muſt be convinced, after having peruſed this work, that theſe aſſertions are totally groundleſs.

He ſays, page 141, "That it had been induſtriouſly circulated by the United Iriſhmen, that the Orange party was inſtituted in order to exterminate them. It was repreſented that the proteſtants had entered into a ſolemn league and covenant to deſtroy them, and that they had ſworn to wade up to their knees in catholick blood. The day when the maſſacre was to commence was even mentioned. I am ſorry to be obliged to confeſs, that there was too much appearance of reaſon to juſtify the catholicks in giving ear to this ſuggeſtion of a maſſacre. Orange lodges were ſpread over the counties in which the rebellion broke out, more numerouſly than through the other parts of the kingdom.* Oaths were adminiſtered to thoſe who enrolled themſelves of that party; the nature and purport of which the peaſantry were unacquainted with, but which they were led to believe were for the deſire of exterminating them. Neither is there a doubt, but that ſuch a wiſh has been profeſſed by many of the Orange party. I am ſure I have heard it declared, and ſo muſt every man who has at all mixed in ſociety in the country, that Ireland never would be at reſt till the catholicks were completely exterminated. Such a deſign has even been avowed in their publick deliberations. I have not indeed heard it myſelf, but I have not the leaſt doubt of the fact. The charge has been made by others, and has never yet been denied,"

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* The contrary is well known to be the caſe, for they were moſtly confined to the north, and were ſcarcely known in thoſe counties in the province of Leinſter, where ſuch dreadful barbarities were perpetrated during the rebellion.

When ſuch infamous and groundleſs charges have been publickly made againſt the proteſtants of Ireland, the only ſubjects in it who have been upon all occaſions ſincerely and ſteadily loyal, for the obvious purpoſe of deceiving the adminiſtration of England, in whoſe eyes they wiſh to degrade and ſtigmatize them, and when the ſanguinary and treaſonable deſigns which a ſet of traitors manifeſted in the late rebellion, for the ſubverſion of the conſtitution and diſſolving the connection between the two kingdoms, have been falſely imputed to them, it is incumbent on every faithful ſubject, who is intereſted in their preſervation, to ſtand forward and undeceive the government of England.

This gentleman, not contented with his own obſervations, quotes another writer who appears to be actuated by the ſame ſiniſter deſigns as himſelf, in ſupport of his calumnies.

He tells us, that "the author of a highly-reſpectable publication, Conſiderations on the State of Affairs in Ireland in the year 1799, has this remarkable paſſage:

"And though there may be men of ferocious minds, who would exterminate the natives; although I have heard a ferocious policy avowed in the publick councils, by which they were to be armed and let looſe upon each other; though I have heard the offer of union condemned, as a remedy inadequate to the evil, and the ſalvation of the few aſſerted to depend upon the extermination of the majority; that the catholicks muſt be extinguiſhed and put out; that not a ſingle Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity; though I have heard theſe ſanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a houſe of parliament, yet I am ſatisfied that they are confined to a few breaſts, not wickeder than they are weak."[*]

Mr. Cooper then adds, "What anſwer does the Orange party make to this charge, which ſtands upon record? They refuſe to plead to the indictment; they ſtand obſtinately mute; their guilt muſt therefore be taken pro confeſſo."

Mr. Cooper thus concludes, that in conſequence of ſuch reports relative to the deſigns of orangemen, "we muſt acquit the peaſantry of every crime."

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[*] I am convinced, that no member of the Iriſh parliament ever entertained ſo baſe and ſanguinary a deſign; and I am ſure, that if any member of that aſſembly ſhould have had the folly and wickedneſs to utter ſuch an opinion, he would have been ſeverely condemned and ſcouted out of it.

The reader after peruſing theſe pages muſt perceive, that Mr. Cooper muſt have been totally ignorant of the cauſes of the late rebellion in Ireland, or that he uttered theſe groundleſs aſſertions, in ſo barefaced a manner, with a deſign of deceiving his countrymen for the worſt of purpoſes.

I am perſuaded that there is not a ſincere proteſtant in Ireland, that does not profeſs, and would not maintain, at the riſk of his life, the principles of orangemen, the only object and import of which is, to defend the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to protect the life and property of every honeſt and loyal ſubject againſt the machinations of traitors, robbers, and aſſaſſins, who have ſo many years diſturbed and diſgraced their native country.

This gentleman acquits the murderers of Scullabogue, Vinegar-hill, Gorey and Wexford-bridge, becauſe, as he ſays, the perpetrators of them believed that orangemen had taken oaths to murder them; but the Orange inſtitution did not exiſt in the county of Wexford; and it is well known, that the baſe fiction of the infamous oaths taken by orangemen, and their atrocious deſigns againſt Roman catholicks, was uſed merely as a veil to conceal their ſanguinary views againſt proteſtants of every rank and denomination, and to ſtimulate the lower claſs of the former againſt the latter.

The author of Conſiderations upon the State of Public Affairs, quoted by Mr. Cooper, and decidedly a jacobin, ſays, "I confeſs, I fear, that there are among our ſettlers * in Ireland ſome unrelenting minds, who expect and prefer another concluſion of the conteſt, and very different; the horrible principle which has been diſcloſed even in England, induces me ſtrongly to apprehend, that there is no obſtacle in a part of the colony more hoſtile and formidable to the projected union, than the hope of being enabled, by the arms and treaſure of the mother country, to obtain ſuch decided and definitive ſucceſs in the civil war, as to enable their "Independent Parliament" to attaint and confiſcate the remaining part of the property of Ireland, not actually in the occupation of that colony." Such is the vile ſlander and calumny which he utters of the proteſtant nobility and gentry of Ireland; and leſt the hatred of the Roman catholicks towards them, manifeſted in ſo many rebellions, was not ſufficiently envenomed, he endeavours to ſublimate it by the following obſervation on them:

"Revenge,

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* Meaning the Proteſtants.

"Revenge, and the hope of prey, are his undiſguiſed motives;* and he is only far leſs abſurd or leſs guilty than the coloniſt I have deſcribed, as he believes himſelf to have a right, according to the doctrines of impreſcriptibility, to poſſeſs the lands which no time, no length of poſſeſſion, can alienate, no acquieſcence can transfer;† and as he relies for his hope of ſucceſs upon a government which, as it were from the very centre and focus of robbery, adopts and aſſiſts every attack upon every poſſeſſion, every innovation of right and principle, and law and property."

Such is the ſtigma which he caſts on the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, the moſt loyal, liberal and humane body of people in Ireland! And ſuch are the arguments which he adopts to varniſh over the diſaffection of the Roman catholicks, and to incite them to continue in their diſloyal and rebellious principles!

In anſwer to this, I ſhall only ſay, that the rebellions ſince the reformation aroſe from, or were fed by, religious bigotry; that they were put down by Engliſh armies; that the trials of traitors, under which they were convicted, were held under the ſuperintendence of Engliſh judges and commiſſioners, and the forfeited lands were granted by the crown to ſuch Engliſh ſubjects as had diſplayed their courage and their loyalty in conquering the rebels; among whom were to be found not only the native Iriſh, but great numbers of the Engliſh coloniſts, becauſe the diſaffection which kindled thoſe rebellions aroſe principally from religious rancour. The Iriſh parliament was but a mere cypher, and ſerved only the purpoſe of regiſtering the edicts of the Britiſh cabinet till the year 1782. The ſupreme power of the Engliſh parliament over Ireland was aſſerted in the year 1698, when Mr. Molyneux's book was condemned; and again by a law paſſed in the Britiſh parliament, the 6th of Geo. I. cap. 5. While the Iriſh parliament were in that ſtate of conſtraint and ſubordination, the houſe of lords twice addreſſed the crown in 1703, and again in 1707, to grant to Ireland the benefits of an incorporated union; but they were abſolutely refuſed. The odium of the penal laws then enacted againſt the Iriſh Roman catholicks is much more to be imputed to the Britiſh than the Iriſh parliament, as the latter had, during that period, no power to originate any law, even for the internal regulation of Ireland, unleſs it had been previouſly deliberated on, and ſanctioned by, the Britiſh cabinet.

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* Meaning the Roman catholicks.

† This is a direct invocation to the deſcendants of the traitors who forfeited eſtates to riſe in rebellion.

But as ſoon as the Iriſh parliament were emancipated, and obtained a full exerciſe of their functions, they repealed without a murmur, nay with the greateſt alacrity, the moſt odious and ſevere parts of the penal laws, and this in one ſeſſion. In ſhort, the Iriſh proteſtants, with a degree of liberality and generoſity which muſt ever reflect honour on them, and ſhould conciliate the eſteem and the warm regard of their Roman catholick fellow ſubjects, ſhewed an earneſt deſire of ſharing with them a portion of that liberty which they acquired the inſtant they had obtained it.

The author of a pamphlet, entitled the Caſe of Ireland reconſidered, ſays, "What difference is there between an Iriſhman and a Scotchman, that the religion of the one ſhould be treated with reſpect, and the other with contempt? But is the reaſon to be ſought in the religion itſelf? That of Ireland is not leſs antient, leſs noble, leſs extenſive; the greateſt men and the greateſt nations of Europe have never been aſhamed of profeſſing it; it is not leſs ſafe; it has long exiſted in monarchies and in republicks; the firſt duty it inculcates is obedience to the power of the ſtate."

In anſwer to this I ſhall obſerve, that England, one of the greateſt nations in Europe, was afraid and aſhamed to profeſs it, becauſe it had ſo often ſhaken the thrones and impoveriſhed the ſubjects of ſovereign princes, and therefore very ſtrong and wiſe laws were enacted againſt the ſupremacy of the pope, from the reign of Edward the Confeſſor till the reformation took place; and during that period, the people of England frequently ſhewed an earneſt deſire to renounce the ſuperſtition itſelf, and would have effected it in the reigns of Henry III. Richard II. and Henry IV. but that they were prevented and intimidated by the tyranny and perſecution of the eccleſiaſticks, who in the reign of the laſt introduced the practice of burning hereticks. It certainly enjoins obedience to thoſe governments whoſe members are Roman catholicks, but it inculcates treaſon and reſiſtance to a proteſtant ſtate, as a ſacred duty; and it frequently ſhook the thrones of popiſh ſovereigns, who did not ſubmit implicitly to the imperious dictates of his Holineſs.*

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* See vol. i. p. 11.

He alſo concludes, “ That proteſtants and Roman catholicks may co-exiſt in Ireland with an equal ſhare of political power, without any danger to the proteſtant ſtate, becauſe both theſe religioniſts live in ſome ſtates in Germany, with perfect ſafety to the government, and in harmony among themſelves, and even uſe the ſame place of devotion alternately.

I have ſhewn, in the Introductory Diſcourſe, that popery doctrinally teaches and ſanctions treaſon and reſiſtance to a proteſtant ſtate; and the late rebellion proves, that the maſs of the Iriſh people implicitly believe in, and think themſelves religiouſly bound to obey, thoſe abominable tenets, ſo long fatal to the peace and ſafety of Ireland; in conſequence of which, the lower claſs of the Iriſh are traitorous towards the ſtate, and fraudful, ferocious and ſanguinary towards ſuch of their fellow-ſubjects as differ from them in religion; and for this reaſon, the Scotch peaſant, or mechanick, differs as much from the Iriſh, as a houſe-dog does from a wolf or a fox.

As to theſe two religioniſts living together in the ſame ſtate in Germany, it is eaſily accounted for.

They are all originally of the ſame ſtock or lineage, and the religious liberty of each is guarantied by the treaty of Munſter; ſo that the intolerant or ambitious deſigns of either againſt the other is completely repreſſed; but in Ireland, the hope of recovering the forfeited eſtates, and of ſeparating her from England, conſtantly fomented by bigotry, keeps alive their hereditary hatred to the latter, and of courſe to the members of the eſtabliſhed church, from their noted loyalty and attachment to the ſiſter kingdom, and gives full play to the deleterious doctrines of popery, which the Iriſh prieſts never ceaſe to foment.

I before obſerved, that they conſider Engliſhmen and proteſtants as their natural enemy, whom they wiſh to expel; and, from the inſular ſtate of their native country, they are induced to hope that they ſhall one day, with the aſſiſtance of ſome foreign power, ſeparate it from England.

In ſhort, for theſe reaſons, no parallel can be drawn between the popery of Ireland and that of any other country in Europe.

From the intolerant ſpirit of popery, its ſectaries never would ſuffer any other members of the chriſtian church to be on a footing with them, in point of political power.

Sigiſmunda Auguſtus, king of Poland, paſſed a law at the diet of Vilna, on the 16th of June, 1563, that all perſons of the equeſtrian or noble orders ſhould enjoy equal rights, and privileges, of whatſoever chriſtian communion or confeſſion they ſhould be; but on the death of Sigiſmunda, the Roman catholicks, though inferior in number to the proteſtants and diſſidents, gained a ſuperiority over them, excluded them from the government, and perſecuted them with fanatical zeal. Catharine the ſecond of Ruſſia attempted to put them again on an equal footing; but the obſtinate reſiſtance of the Roman catholicks occaſioned thoſe diſſenſions which finally terminated in the ruin and diſmemberment of the kingdom of Poland.

It is true, as this writer aſſerts, that in Germany ſome eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments were poſſeſſed alternately by proteſtants and catholicks, and the ſame church ſerves frequently for their worſhip; but what conſtitutes the difference between theſe two religioniſts in thoſe countries and Ireland, is the illiberality and fanaticiſm of the Iriſh prieſts, who tell their beſotted ſectaries that they will be damned if they even enter a proteſtant church, which they univerſally do. A lady in the city of Dublin, of diſtinguiſhed benevolence, recently ſolicited a certain Roman catholick lady of rank to aſſiſt in collecting money at a charity ſermon in a proteſtant church; and her anſwer was, that ſhe would gladly do ſo, but that the rules of her church would not permit her to comply, or words to that purpoſe; at the ſame time, the proteſtant nobility and gentry frequently collect charity in popiſh chapels. Some time ſince lord Granard ordered the band of his regiment to play during divine ſervice in the church of Athy, where they were quartered; but the popiſh muſicians refuſed to obey, having ſaid, that a prieſt aſſured them they would be damned if they entered a proteſtant church. On enquiry it was diſcovered, that a prieſt, who was a member of the popiſh ſeminary at Carlow, gave them this charitable aſſurance; and on being queſtioned on it, the prieſt avowed, that it was conſonant to the eſtabliſhed doctrines of his church. In the ſame manner doctor Coppinger, titular biſhop of Cloyne, would not ſuffer ſuch of the band of the King's county regiment, as were papiſts, to play in the proteſtant church at Youghall; though, with the permiſſion of the colonel, both the proteſtant and popiſh muſicians had conſtantly played in the popiſh chapel.

The popiſh ſervants uſed conſtantly to attend the prayers read by their proteſtant maſters in their reſpective families till the year 1793; but when, at that period, the proteſtant ſtate, with ſingular benevolence and philanthropy, granted them a large portion of political power, in addition to an equality of civil liberty which they had previouſly obtained, their prieſts, fed with the hope of attaining an aſcendancy for their ſectaries, endeavoured to render the two orders immiſcible, and to draw for ever an interminable line between them; and from that time we find, that the popiſh clergy laid their deluded ſectaries under an abſolute interdict againſt entering a proteſtant church, or hearing the prayers of a proteſtant maſter. The marquis de Bonnet, who was many months on a viſit with the biſhop of Offory, (now biſhop of Meath) conſtantly aſſiſted at the prayers read every evening by his lordſhip to his family; but the marquis, though he was reputed a French philoſopher, and had been preſident of the national aſſembly of France, conſulted the pious doctor Huſſey on the propriety of aſſiſting at the biſhop's devotions, and he declared with great vehemence, that it was inadmiſſible; and the marquis yielded implicit obedience to the liberal inhibition of the reverend father. Such is the conduct of the popiſh clergy, in return for the liberal and benevolent conceſſions of the proteſtant ſtate towards their order!

Some weak men and ſhallow politicians have ſaid, that the publication of this work would tend to revive animoſities, which every perſon ſhould wiſh to compoſe. The folly and futility of this obſervation will be eaſily expoſed, by ſhewing that the malignant ſpirit which occaſioned the rebellion has never ceaſed; though the royal mercy has been extended to a moſt dangerous exceſs, with the hope and for the purpoſe of laying it, and conciliating the diſaffected. For two years after the rebellion was ſaid to be put down, the county of Limerick continued to be diſturbed and diſgraced by nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination; and ſuch was the ſtate of the county of Wicklow, where the moſt material and deſtructive outrages againſt the perſons and property of the loyaliſts were perpetrated after it was ſaid to be ſuppreſſed.

The reader will ſee in Appendix XV. of this work, ſome ſpecimens of the licentious and deſolating ſpirit which prevailed in the county of Kildare in the years 1799 and 1800;

and ſome alarming inſtances of barbarous cruelty and ferocity have appeared there within theſe few months.

The people of the county of Clare, ſuppoſed in the year 1798 to be perfectly free from diſaffection, broke out into open rebellion in the year 1799; and that barbarous practice, peculiar to the natives of Ireland, of houghing cattle, was carried to a dreadful and alarming exceſs in it, and in the county of Galway. In the years 1799 and 1800, traitorous combinations and conſpiracies, very alarming from their extent and malignity, were diſcovered in the counties of Cork, Waterford and Tipperary, and in the barony of Muſkerry; in the former, a plot formed by a committee of aſſaſſination, has been recently detected, for murdering all the proteſtant gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

In ſhort, a ſpirit of diſaffection, as ſtrong as ever, in the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter, has manifeſted itſelf in various deſperate outrages, and the loyal ſubjects in them, who were active againſt the rebels, have as much reaſon as ever to dread its fatal effects, and to fear for their perſonal ſafety. Traitorous combinations have been recently diſcovered in the metropolis; and perſons who owed their lives to nothing but the royal mercy, have been detected in the act of ſitting in committees, forming new plans of inſurrection; treaſonable ballads are frequently ſung in the publick ſtreets, and the maſs of the people in it, with indecent boldneſs, give unequivocal proofs of their diſloyalty, openly exulting in the ſucceſs of our enemies, lamenting the good fortune of our fleets and armies, and expreſſing their hopes, that the enemies of mankind will land in their unfortunate country, and aſſiſt them in their plans of robbery and aſſaſſination; but the loyal ſubjects have this one conſolation, that treaſon is at preſent confined to but one claſs of the people.

For ſome months before the peace, the popiſh multitude, in the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter, meditated an univerſal maſſacre of their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, had the French invaded Ireland; an event which they ardently wiſhed for, and conſtantly expected. Some popiſh farmers, who were much attached to me, and were ſick of the late rebellion, ſeeing that it muſt occaſion the deſtruction of thoſe who were engaged a ſecond time in it, aſſured me of this. They informed me that the maſs of the people were better organized than at any former period, notwithſtanding the deluſive appearance of tranquillity; and they recommended, that I and my friends ſhould join the army, or repair to ſome garriſon-town for ſafety, the inſtant a deſcent was announced. They alſo aſſured me, that the popiſh multitude never ceaſed to hope, and wiſh for, another rebellion, ſince the laſt was put down.

The following circumſtances verified their aſſertions: As ſoon as the peace was announced, the maſs of the people manifeſted the moſt ſtriking ſymptoms of diſcontent: They even declared, in ſome inſtances without reſerve, that they were ſure the French would not diſappoint them, after their repeated promiſes to come to their aſſiſtance; and particularly, as the Iriſh had been friendly and ſerviceable to them on all former occaſions. For two months after the peace was concluded, they would not believe that it had taken place: and they were heard to ſay, if it be true, Bonaparte muſt have become an orangeman.

It was mentioned in the report of the ſecret committee of the Engliſh houſe of commons, publiſhed the 5th of March, 1799, that the United Iriſhmen who went to England to propagate their baneful doctrines, were by far the moſt dangerous conſpirators diſcovered there.

In the reports of the ſecret committees of both houſes of the Britiſh parliament, publiſhed in the month of April, 1801, it is ſtated, that there is a conſtant correſpondence and co-operation between the traitors of both kingdoms, in their ſchemes for overturning the conſtitution, and for that purpoſe, of holding out hopes of invaſion; and "that many of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, who, either *by the lenity of the government of that country* or their own apprehenſions of its juſt ſeverity, had repaired to England, had, by all the means they had been uſed to practice, ſtimulated and inflamed the members to an higher pitch of extravagance."

And it is moſt certain, that many wretches of this deſcription have ſtationed themſelves in different parts of England, with no other deſign but to miſrepreſent the origin and cauſe of the late rebellion; falſely aſſerting, that it aroſe from the unjuſt and impolitick ſeverity of the government, and the cruelty and tyranny of the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church.

In the propagation of ſuch calumnies they have been aſſiſted by the Engliſh jacobins; and, to my certain knowledge, they have been but too ſucceſsful in their wicked endeavours; for how otherwiſe can we account for the palpable ignorance which ſome members of the Britiſh parliament recently diſplayed in their ſpeeches, of the real ſtate of Ireland?

From what I have now ſaid in defence of publiſhing this hiſtory, I flatter myſelf that the candid reader will acknowledge, that it was wiſe and politick to do ſo as ſoon as poſſible after the rebellion.

It is a poſitive fact, that a notorious leader of rebellion, who contributed materially to deſolate two counties in Ireland, and who eſcaped the vengeance of the law by the miſtaken lenity of government, has been well received in the houſe of a nobleman of conſiderable rank in England. Such men have been extremely active in miſrepreſenting the cauſe, the origin, and the conſequences of the rebellion, in that kingdom.

It is evident, that it cannot make the ſtate of Ireland worſe than it is at preſent, by reviving animoſities, as the cauſes of combuſtion exiſt in it as ſtrong as ever. On the contrary, it will tend to unite proteſtants of every deſcription in defence of the conſtitution, by ſhewing them that their own ruin will of courſe be involved in its deſtruction.

Both houſes of the Imperial parliament have thought proper, in their great wiſdom, to inſtitute ſecret committees, to inveſtigate the real ſtate of Ireland, and they have publiſhed their reports, which prove that the maſs of the people in many parts of that kingdom are in a ſtate of depravity unheard-of in the annals of hiſtory.

What opinion are we to entertain then of perſons who have made animadverſions on the Author of this Work, on the pretended ground that it would revive the animoſities which have diſtracted the country, when it is unqueſtionably proved by theſe reports, that the ſeeds of rebellion ſtill exiſt, and that outrages have never ceaſed to be committed, ever ſince the rebellion was ſaid to be put down; and yet ſome perſons have made ſuch animadverſions from weakneſs and timidity, ſome from a ſpirit of diſaffection, in hopes that their confederates may, by the acquieſcence of government, bring another rebellion to maturity; and others, from ſelf-intereſted motives which I ſhall not explain, were deſirous of varniſhing over, and concealing from the adminiſtration of England, the machinations and the crimes of the Iriſh traitors.

What can be more dangerous or more culpable? To conceal the treaſonable deſigns of an individual, is, by the laws of every nation in Europe, miſpriſion of treaſon. How great then muſt the guilt of thoſe be, who would conceal the treaſonable combinations of the multitude, formed for the deſtruction of the empire?

I lament that I have not authentick copies of thoſe reports, to inſert extracts of them in this work; but it is ſtated in them, that a ſyſtem of terror is ſtill maintained in various parts of the country, by the means of committees of aſſaſſination, who ſit conſtantly, and deliberately condemn, and procure to be murdered, ſuch perſons as are diſtinguiſhed for their loyalty. It appears alſo, that this dreadful ſyſtem is under the guidance of a directory ſitting in Dublin.

No. XXV. 1.

Obſervations on the reply of the right reverend doctor Caulfield, Roman catholick biſhop, and of the Roman catholick clergy, of Wexford, to the miſrepreſentations of ſir Richard Muſgrave, baronet.

AFTER the many inſtances of groſs perjury and diſſimulation, committed by the popiſh prieſts, and their flocks, in moſt parts of the county of Wexford, they muſt have an extraordinary opinion of the credulity of the Public, to ſuppoſe that they would give any credit to their aſſertions; and yet, a number of them, with doctor Caulfield their biſhop, have publiſhed a pamphlet, in which they not only make proteſtations of their innocence, and their unremitted attachment and loyalty to the State, but boldly and impudently aſſert the moſt notorious falſehoods. I ſhall reply to them, what Silius does in Tacitus, to that notorious proſtitute Meſſalina, "hardened audacity is the refuge of detected guilt," "flagitiis manifeſtis, ab audacia ſubſidium petendum." Annals, lib. xi. cap. 26. The popiſh multitude were as prone to commit perjury in former periods, as in the preſent; for Benedict XIV. on the 20th of Auguſt, 1748, iſſued a brief, to erect fraternities in Ireland againſt blaſphemies, perjuries, and unlawful oaths, "contra blaſphemias, perjuria, et illicita juramenta."* The laſt meant oaths of allegiance to a proteſtant ſtate, which are condemned as unlawful by the church of Rome.

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* Hibernia Dominicana, p. 177.

As reſiſtance to proteſtant ſtates, and the perſecution and extirpation of hereticks, have been uniformly preſcribed as a religious duty, by the general councils of the Romiſh church, the bulls and epiſtles of the popes,* it cannot be a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the Iriſh prieſts ſhould have taken an active part in the late conſpiracy and rebellion.

A few obſervations will be ſufficient to ſhew the reader, on what ſlight grounds their pretenſions to veracity and loyalty are founded. In page three, the doctor ſays, " I hereby, in the awful preſence of God, ſolemnly declare, that the firſt idea I had of that rebellion was, from the proceedings, the publications, and proclamations of government, and of parliament, not four years before, but that very year (1798), and that even then, I did not imagine, it would extend to the county of Wexford." He alſo tells us, in the ſame page, " that he was on his return from Dublin to Wexford, the day before the rebellion broke out; that he ſet about writing to the *Catholick paſtors of his dioceſe*, to exhort the people to peace, good order, and allegiance to his Majeſty and government; but the ſudden burſt of the rebellion put a ſtop to the circulation of his letters." Any perſon acquainted with the origin, the progreſs, and the effects of the rebellion in that county, cannot but ſmile at ſuch aſſertions; particularly when he conſiders, that the popiſh multitude are obliged, under the terrors of eternal damnation, to diſcloſe the ſecrets of their hearts to their prieſts, in their confeſſion-boxes. The magiſtrates were ſo much alarmed at the dangerous ſymptoms of rebellion in the autumn of 1797, that a conſiderable part of it was proclaimed on the 20th of November; and Mr. Hawtrey White, an active, intelligent magiſtrate, foretold, about that time, to government, among other particulars, which I have ſtated in vol. i. page 396, " that an attack on the metropolis was meditated; that the popiſh prieſts were deeply concerned in the intended rebellion; and that whenever it would break-out, religion would have the chief influence in it."

In page 10, the doctor tells us, that he did not ſee or hear of a black flag that day (meaning the day of the maſſacre) for that he kept moſtly in his own houſe, *and particularly that day*, except when he was ſent for by ſome proteſtant

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* See theſe doctrines, from page 11 to 35 of vol. i.

neighbour. The affidavit* annexed, in ſome degree, contradicts his having gone out that day; and the following incident fully proves how little inclined he was to go to the relief of any of the proteſtants:

Doctor Caulfield having reſided many years at New Roſs, as pariſh prieſt, there ſubſiſted a very warm friendſhip between him and Mr. Allen, a proteſtant inhabitant of that town. The latter having been, with other proteſtants, committed to the priſon-ſhip at Wexford, Mrs. Allen, dreading that he would be maſſacred, or ſtarved, implored the doctor to liberate her huſband, well-knowing the unbounded influence of the prieſts over the popiſh multitude; but he indignantly ſpurned at her requeſt, and ſaid, her huſband would not have been there, if he had not deſerved it. This happened at an early period, when the Wexford leaders imagined that the inſurrection had been ſimultaneous and general.

In page 18, the doctor tells us, that he was abſolutely ignorant of that maſſacre being intended or perpetrated, until ſome hours after it had ceaſed. Here the doctor is convicted of an untruth by the ſtrongeſt moral evidence. The town of Wexford is ſo narrow, that if a boxing-match, or a riot, happened in any part of the main ſtreet, every one of its inhabitants could not but hear the noiſe occaſioned by it. The populace began to ſhout at eleven o'clock, ſoon after the black flag was erected on the quay. The ſlaughter at the goal began at two o'clock, and continued on the bridge till late in the evening. At the immolation of every victim, the popiſh multitude rent the air with acclamations. Could doctor Caulfield and father Corrin alone remain deaf to their clamours? Why did they not enquire the cauſe of ſo much noiſe and uproar?

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* *The following affidavit was publiſhed in the Dublin Evening Poſt, the 20th of April,* 1799:

County of Wexford, to wit. } MATTHEW COMMINS came before me this day, and made a voluntary and ſolemn oath on the Holy Evangeliſts, that the reverend doctor Caulfield dined in his own houſe, in Wexford, on the 20th of June laſt, in company with the reverend Mr. Corrin, pariſh prieſt of ſaid town; and that he, the ſaid Commins (ſervant to the ſaid doctor Caulfield) ſerved them while at dinner. Deponent further ſaith, that, to the beſt of his knowledge, his ſaid maſter, doctor Caulfield, did not leave his houſe on that day.

MATTHEW COMMINS.

Sworn before me, this 10*th day of April,* 1799,
JOHN H. LYSTER.

Doctor Caulfield publiſhed the following letter as a teſtimony of his loyalty:

Dublin Caſtle, May 11*th*, 1800.

SIR,

IN anſwer to the honour of your letter of the 9th inſtant, which I have laid before my Lord Lieutenant, I am to aſſure you, that government will give doctor Caulfield that protection which, from his conduct and character as a loyal ſubject, he appears juſtly to merit.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

To the moſt reverend doctor Troy,
North King-ſtreet.

The doctor publiſhed another letter from lieutenant-colonel Littlehales, to the ſame purpoſe, dated June 30th, in which he ſays, that *his Excellency has no cauſe to alter the opinion he has imbibed of the loyalty and proper deportment of doctor Caulfield.*

Without meaning in the ſmalleſt degree to diſparage or reflect on the marquis Cornwallis or colonel Littlehales, I muſt ſay, that I conſider theſe letters to be no more a criterion of the doctor's loyalty and proper deportment, than the pope's bull of abſolution. It has been ſaid, that protections were too eaſily attainable during lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration. It ſhould be conſidered, that his Excellency had undertaken a moſt arduous taſk, that of carrying the union, while Ireland was diſtracted by civil and religious feuds, and while her wounds, inflicted by a dreadful rebellion, were ſtill rankling. The maſs of the Roman catholicks, inſtigated by their prieſts, were deeply concerned in it; and as their main object evidently was, after the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, the ſeparation of the two kingdoms; and as his Excellency was ſent to Ireland for the expreſs purpoſe of uniting them for ever, he very wiſely paid great court to the heads of the popiſh clergy; for which reaſon doctor Troy, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, at whoſe inſtance doctor Caulfield's protection was procured, enjoyed, in a very high degree, the friendſhip and confidence of the noble marquis; and I am perſuaded that he, and no other perſon but he, teſtified the loyalty and proper deportment of his ſuffragan biſhop; and what higher authority could his Excellency look for? but I am perſuaded that doctor Caulfield could not prevail upon any two loyal inhabitants of Wexford to ſign a teſtimonium to the ſame purpoſe. I would aſk, Why the doctor, if he felt conſcious rectitude, ſhould have recourſe to thoſe means of ſafety which every common rebel did, that of ſoliciting a protection, when no charge was made againſt him? for this work was not publiſhed till the month of March, 1801, and the firſt letter of colonel Littlehales bears date the 11th of May, 1800. As to his Excellency's condemnation of my hiſtory, not for being deficient in point of veracity, but *as tending ſtrongly to revive thoſe dreadful animoſities which have ſo long diſtracted this country*, that is eaſily accounted for. His Excellency had, with uncommon ſedulity, and I muſt ſay with ſome ſucceſs, endeavoured to conciliate the maſs of the Roman catholicks, for the purpoſe of carrying the union. It would then appear ungracious and inconſiſtent in him, to ſanction a work which expoſed the malignant ſpirit of popery; but another and a much ſtronger reaſon may be aſſigned for it: it has been ſince diſcovered that he, and the party to which he was attached in England, meant to put proteſtants and Roman catholicks exactly on the ſame footing; and this work tended to prove that it would not be wiſe or politick to do ſo. See page 548.

The following affidavit will throw ſome light on the conduct of doctor Caulfield and father Francis Kavenagh, ſo often mentioned in this work:

JOHN HIGGINBOTTOM ſweareth on the Holy Evangeliſts, That he was a priſoner with the rebels in Gorey the day of the battle of Arklow; that he was bailed out by Furlong, Darcy, and Roſſiter of Gorey, and thereby permitted to be a priſoner at large; that he went with Roſſiter into Darcy's, a publick houſe, and into a room where they ſat to drink, and ſhortly after Kavenagh and Synnot, prieſts, and two other rebels, came into them; that, after ſome time, Synnot ſaid, " Murphy had but ſeven men when he began the buſineſs, and now you ſee what it has come to." He then took out a letter, and ſhewed it to Redmond, ſaying, " You may read that, and ſee how long I have been concerned in this buſineſs; and though I ſtood againſt it as long as I could, you may ſee, in that letter, how I was compelled by the biſhop to it." Some time after, while the battle raged and could be heard, he ſaid, "there are ſome people now laſhed round hell with an iron flail."

JOHN HIGGINBOTTOM.

Sworn before me,
PETER BROWNE.

I certify that the above affidavit was made before me, and that I know Higginbottom well, and believe him to be well worthy of credit.

PETER BROWNE, *dean of Ferns.*

To palliate the horrors of the late unprovoked rebellion, doctor Caulfield ſays, in the ſecond page of his preface, "Let it be recollected that, in an extent of nearly fifty miles, from Bray to Wexford, almoſt every Roman catholick place of worſhip was laid in aſhes."

This is a notorious falſehood. A few, and but a very few, were burnt by the proteſtant yeomen, in pariſhes where their prieſts, at the head of their ſavage flock, began to ſpread carnage and conflagration in a wanton and unprovoked manner. But it is well known, that moſt of the chapels which have been conſumed, were burnt by the papiſts themſelves, to throw odium on the proteſtants, by imputing it to them, and in order to obtain compenſation from government; in which, having ſucceeded, they, in many pariſhes, have built ſtately chapels, in the place of their wretched thatched hovels.

Mr. Daniel, a revenue officer, ſolicited the protection of doctor Caulfield's houſe, when the rebels entered Wexford; but the doctor obdurately refuſed his requeſt. Mr. Daniel was impriſoned, and afterwards piked on the bridge.

The doctor boaſts, in page 23, of a letter (given in his Appendix) which he wrote to James Boyd, eſquire, collector of Wexford; but he does not acknowledge that he received an anſwer to it; an anſwer which, I believe, he would not wiſh to ſubmit to the peruſal of the publick.

FATHER CORRIN.

HE contradicts, partly by bare aſſertion, and partly by affidavit, ſome incidents in this work; but even if what he ſays were ſtrictly true, which I do not admit, it would not materially affect the authenticity of any one occurrence. It muſt ſtrike the reader, that this pamphlet of doctor Caulfield and his prieſts, is made up of the moſt diſguſting appeals to the Supreme Being, the frequent abuſe of which, for ſome years paſt among their order, has deſtroyed their ſanctity and importance; and where intereſt is at ſtake, makes the ſwearer little regard them.

> Dum aliquid cupiens animus prægeſtit apiſci,
> Nil metuunt jurare, nil promittere parcunt,
> Sed ſimul ac cupidæ mentis ſatiata libido eſt,
> Dicta nihil metuere, nihil perjuria curant.
>
> TIBULLUS.

Father Corrin has not anſwered the charge of his having refuſed to liberate Mr. Lett, a brewer of Enniſcorthy, from the goal of Wexford. See page 26 of vol. ii

In his defence of having withdrawn the popiſh children from the charitable ſchool, he alleges, that attempts were made to convert them by the ſchoolmiſtreſs; but he ſhould have preferred his complaint to the governors, before he had withdrawn them. It is well known, that the popiſh prieſts in general lay their ſectaries under this inhibition, which doctor Huſſey inculcates in his paſtoral letter, in vol. ii. p. 469. Twenty-five years ago, no perſon would have believed, that a popiſh prieſt would have the audacity to come forward, and to complain, that an attempt had been made to withdraw any perſons of the riſing generation from a ſuperſtition that makes them aliens to that State, which has, at monſtrous expenſe, eſtabliſhed a college for the education of their clergy.

Father Corrin is afraid, that any of the children of his beſotted ſectaries, would be bred up in an evangelical religion, which preſcribes fidelity to a proteſtant king, and chriſtian charity towards all men.

The following contradiction of father Corrin's charge has been publiſhed in the Dublin Journal ſince this work was put to the preſs:

County of Wexford. } HAVING ſeen in the *Dublin Evening Poſt* of Tueſday the 23d of February, "a ſtatement of the principal reaſons for withdrawing the Romiſh children from the *Female Poor School of Induſtry* in the town of Wexford," by the reverend John Corrin, pariſh prieſt of ſaid town, in which ſtatement, to my great ſurpriſe, mention is made of my name:——Now I, CHARLOTTE TURNER, do ſwear, that I never did ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the *Romiſh religion*, or *Romiſh clergy*, before ſaid children in ſaid ſchool; and that I never did, in any wiſe, *directly* or *indirectly*, interfere with the religious opinions of ſaid children, or *any of them*, but did to the utmoſt of my power endeavour to prevent all religious controverſy in the ſaid ſchool.

CHARLOTTE TURNER.

Sworn before me, at Wexford,
this 2d day of March, 1802,
GEORGE HARRISON READE.

FATHER FRANCIS KAVENAGH.

THIS reverend gentleman comes forward to make a ſolemn declaration of his innocence; and he tells us, that he never was in, or at, any rebel camp, nor ever ſaw any rebels encamped; and that ſo far from being a rebel leader, or rebel, he uniformly reprobated the proceedings of the United Iriſhmen. By referring to the word Kavenagh, in the Index, the reader will ſee how often this prieſt is charged with being actively concerned in the late rebellion.

In page 502 of vol. i. I mentioned that general Needham was on the point of trying him, when Redmond his curate was hanged. Kavenagh declared, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would pledge his life for Redmond's innocence; but he was convicted, on the cleareſt evidence, of being a notorious rebel, and a plunderer, and was hanged.

It ill becomes Kavenagh, and it indicates the baſeſt ingratitude in him, to invent the following egregious falſehood, for the purpoſe of accuſing the proteſtant gentlemen of a wanton and unprovoked maſſacre, as he owes his life, which ſhould have been forfeited to outraged juſtice, to their clemency: He ſays, page 54, " As a hiſtorian, he ought to have mentioned ſomething of the unprovoked maſſacre at Carnew, near the county of Wexford, of fifty-four unoffending, quiet, poor Roman catholicks; twenty-eight of whom were killed on the Friday preceding the rebellion in the county of Wexford, and the remainder on the following Monday, after their wretched cabbins, and ſome houſes of other Catholicks had been burnt, and many other exceſſes, in the intermediate Sunday.

The following event, which father Kavenagh has ſo groſsly miſrepreſented, occurred near Carnew: Father Michael Murphy, on the morning of Whitſunday, after having, at the head of a numerous gang of aſſaſſins, deſolated a large tract of country, ſeemed to approach that town, when the garriſon marched out, and repulſed them, in two actions, which I have deſcribed in page 428 of vol. i. and having in the courſe of the day taken ſix rebel priſoners, in arms, five of them, and another noted rebel, were ſhot on Monday morning at Carnew, by the order of the officer commanding the Antrim militia. After the ſtricteſt enquiry, I can take upon me to aſſert, that not a ſingle man was put to death at Carnew, or Gorey, or within many miles of them, until Whitſunday, when the popiſh rebels began, wantonly and without provocation, to commit carnage and plunder; except in the pariſh of Kilcormuck, where father John Murphy began the cruſade againſt hereticks on the Saturday evening preceding.

So much for the veracity of father Francis Kavenagh. Can we be ſurpriſed that theſe reverend gentlemen ſhould fabricate falſehood, when they have, on many occaſions, perſuaded their deluded ſectaries, in their laſt moments, to aggravate the crimes of treaſon and murder, by denying their guilt?

Mahony and Hughes, hanged at Wexford in the month of March, 1799, for different murders, and other crimes, confeſſed the juſtice of their ſentence in the goal to major Jones, who attended them to the place of execution; but after having had an interview with a prieſt, they declared their innocence. Major Jones having ſeverely reprimanded the prieſt, and having called on the culprits to repeat what they had ſaid to him in priſon, they acknowledged their guilt a ſecond time.

In the midſt of the dreadful perſecution of proteſtants, which took place at Gorey, it has never been diſcovered, that father Kavenagh, in any one inſtance, endeavoured to alleviate their ſufferings.

FATHER EDWARD REDMOND.

The reverend Edward Redmond, pariſh prieſt of Ferns, tells us, that, on an inveſtigation of his conduct during the rebellion by a court-martial, he was honourably acquitted of every charge exhibited againſt him; but the reader will perceive, that though the ſentence of the court-martial ſaved him from the vengeance of the law, it operated no more towards his exculpation in the eyes of God and man, than the pope's abſolution would, as he was acquitted for want of proſecution. It is moſt certain, that he marched, at the head of his rebellious pariſhioners, to the battle of Newtown-barry, where they were well peppered. In his progreſs thither, he ſtopped at Clobemon, the ſeat of the Derinzy family, where he got ſome refreſhment, and left a woman, whom he called his niece; but who was ſuppoſed to be his concubine. It is a common practice with Iriſh prieſts to keep in their houſes a female companion, who paſſes for their niece; and, in the ſame manner, the pope's baſtards have been commonly denominated, and have paſſed for their nephews. For the truth of what I aſſert, I ſhall appeal to ſuch of the Derinzy family as were at Clobemon, particularly to Mrs. Turner, and her three grand children, who were priſoners there at that time. It is remarkable, that this ſacerdotal hero was attended on his march by Lewis Bulger (as his aid-de-camp) butler of the reverend Mr. Heyden, who robbed his maſter's houſe at Ferns, and after the murder of that gentleman, inſulted Mrs. Heyden, at Enniſcorthy;* for which he has been tranſported. Redmond at his return, after his defeat, carried his concubine behind him on horſeback.

The rebels, on their march from Ferns to Newtown-barry, burnt ſome proteſtant houſes; and their pious leader, having found a poor labourer at his work, on the lands of Ballycarney, compelled him with a horſewhip to join the cruſade, and he was unfortunately killed.

FATHER

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* See vol. i. p. 530, 531.

FATHER SHALLOE.

IT is certain, that, at the inſtance of miſs Lett of Kilgibbon, he obtained the diſcharge of her brother from the barn of Scullabogue, which was within leſs than a mile of it; and he refuſed to have Patrick Dobbin and his three ſons releaſed, though ſolicited by his wife to do ſo.* Theſe facts remain uncontradicted, except by the bare aſſertion of father Shalloe.

From the following circumſtances we may form a proper opinion of Shalloe's veracity: In his defence, he ſays, in a letter which he wrote to a gentleman who gave it to me, that he knew nothing of the conſpiracy till the firſt of April, 1798, though the ſymptoms of it were ſo obvious, and alarming, in the months of September, October, and November preceding, that a great portion of the county of Wexford was proclaimed on the 20th day of November, 1797. It appears, alſo, that the plot was more deeply laid, and better contrived, for the attainment of its main object, the maſſacre of proteſtants, in the vicinity of Scullabogue, where Shalloe's pariſh lay, than in any other part of the county, which was unequivocally proved, by the promptneſs of its execution; as the proteſtants, for ſome miles round, who could not effect their eſcape, were men, women, and children, arreſted by numerous bodies of aſſaſſins, who led and committed them to the barn; and theſe aſſaſſins had been previouſly officered, and divided into companies, and particular diſtricts had been allotted to them, in which they were to carry on the cruſade againſt hereticks.

Could any prieſt remain ignorant of this plot ſo long, and ſo ſyſtematically planned, when the popiſh multitude are enjoined by the ſtrongeſt ſanctions of their religion, and under the pain of eternal damnation, to reveal to him, in his confeſſion-box, the inmoſt ſecrets of their hearts? The idea is too abſurd.

A female proteſtant informed a magiſtrate of the county of Wexford, and me, on the ſecond of February, 1802, that ſhe and her huſband were taken priſoners near Scullabogue, by a party of pikemen, who committed them to Mr. King's houſe; that on Friday the 1ſt day of June, ſhe ſent a perſon to father Shalloe, to requeſt he would have them diſcharged. The next day he went to the room where they were confined,

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* See her affidavit, vol. ii. p. 346.

fined, thence to the camp, and returned the ſame day to Scullabogue, with ſome rebel captains, and obtained the releaſe of her and ſome more female priſoners; on which the guard of rebel pikemen murmured, and complained of the impropriety of diſcharging Orange-women; that her huſband remained behind, and was burnt in the barn, with many other proteſtants. Father Shalloe tells us, "that he went to the houſe at Scullabogue, in fear and trembling, at the earneſt requeſt and repeated ſolicitations of ſome of the proteſtants in confinement;" he tells us alſo, "that he never had influence ſufficient to liberate any perſon during the late rebellion." Without recurring to the many proofs which I have already adduced, of the implicit obedience which the popiſh multitude were under to their clergy, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the pikemen, who guarded the priſoners at Scullabogue, reſiſted the repeated commands of their lay generals to maſſacre the proteſtants confined there; but the inſtant they received the order of a prieſt for that purpoſe, they proceeded to do ſo with the utmoſt zeal. Who that prieſt was, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but as father Shalloe lived within three quarters of a mile of Scullabogue, was often ſeen there, and even acknowledges in doctor Caulfield's reply, that he was often there during the captivity of the proteſtants, it is incumbent on him to diſcover, and declare, the name of the prieſt who gave theſe orders, to acquit himſelf of any degree of ſuſpicion that he was in any wiſe concerned in it. It is very evident, that the bloody buſineſs would not have been begun, had it not been enforced by the over-ruling authority of a prieſt. We may then fairly infer, that it might have been prevented by the influence which effected its accompliſhment.

I do admit, that the reverend Mr. Sutton, a proteſtant miniſter of Longraige, ſpoke favourably to me of father Shalloe; but for the following very obvious reaſon, I did not give much credit to what he ſaid: He informed me, that the maſſacre at Scullabogue was the capricious act of ſome boys; that it was not preconcerted, or an affair of malice prepenſe; and that the farmers in the vicinity of Scullabogue meant to publiſh a circumſtantial account of it, in their vindication; and yet it ſince appears, that many farmers within two miles of the barn, and ſome of them at Foulkes's mill cloſe to Longraige, in very good circumſtances, were deeply concerned in it; for which a conſiderable number of them have been hanged, and others ſentenced to tranſportation.

Mr. Sutton ſtates in doctor Caulfield's reply, that Mr. Shalloe exhorted his congregation, both publickly and privately, to the utmoſt of his influence and ability, not to be concerned in any ſectitious or diſloyal practices.

The exhortation of popiſh prieſts to their flock cannot be conſidered as a certain criterion of the purity of their principles; becauſe numbers of the Romiſh clergy, not only in the county of Wexford, but in the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, Mayo, and Sligo, and in parts of the province of Munſter, who followed that practice, and even took oaths of allegiance, with their reſpective congregations, at the altar, proved afterwards to be notorious traitors and incendiaries; and ſome of them were hanged for being leaders in the rebellion. For various inſtances of this, ſee title *prieſt* in the Index.

FATHER EDWARD MURPHY.

AS doctor Caulfield, in his reply, has denied what I have ſaid of father Edward Murphy in vol. i. p 522, and is become his apologiſt, I think right to obſerve, that the very reſpectable proteſtants who were eye-witneſſes of the facts which I have related of that reverend gentleman, have aſſured me, that they are willing to verify them by affidavit, ſhould it be thought neceſſary; and in addition to them, a gentleman has informed me of the following circumſtances: He attempted to fly to Duncannon fort from a part of the country near Foulkes's mill, at a time that gangs of popiſh aſſaſſins were ſearching it for proteſtants; but finding the ſcarpaſs over the Bannow guarded by a large body of pikemen, he repaired to the houſe of a proteſtant friend at Barrietſtown, where he was protected; but, after a few days, a party of theſe ruffians ſurrounded the houſe, and inſiſted that he and his friend ſhould appear before father Edward Murphy. On the firſt appearance of the pikemen, they declared that they were in queſt of the out-liers, meaning the few proteſtants who, ſcattered over the country, had not been able to effect their eſcape. On appearing before Murphy, at Carrig, he told them that they muſt repair to the camp, where they would probably have been immolated, with the numerous victims who were daily maſſacred there; but they ſuſpended the execution of his ſevere orders, for one day, by their piteous ſupplications; and, very fortunately for them, the arrival of the king's troops next day at Foulkes's mill, having occaſioned a general alarm, all the pikemen in the adjacent country

9th of June, 1798.

Effective return of the forces under the command of the honourable major-general Needham at Arklow:

REGIMENTS, &c.		Colonels.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Quarter-maſter.	Serjeants.	Drummers, or Trumpeters.	Rank and File.
Colonel Sir W. W. Wynne's diviſion.	4th (or Royal Iriſh drag. guards)			2	2			3		21
	5th (or Royal Iriſh dragoons)				1					18
	Ancient Britiſh fencible light dragoons - -	1	2	1	5	2	4	7	4	81
	Cavalry	1	2	3	8	2	4	10	4	120
Lieut. colonel Cope's diviſion.	Armagh militia - -		1		7			3	3	107
	Tyrone militia (light company)			1	1			3	1	42
	North Cork militia -				1			1	1	28
	Suffolk fenc. (light company)			1	1			2	3	31
	Cavan militia - -	1	1	4	9	4		24	7	312
Colonel Maxwell Barry's diviſion.	Antrim militia - -		1	1	6	2		9		201
	Londonderry militia (grenadier company) - -			1	1			4	2	66
Colonel Skerrett's diviſion.	Durham fencible infantry -	1	2	4	15	4		27	15	245
	Dunbarton infantry -			1	6	1		10	5	105
	Infantry	2	5	13	47	11		83	37	1137

YEOMANRY CORPS.		Mounted.					Diſmounted.			
		Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Trumpeters.	Rank & File.	Subalterus.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.
North Arklow,	captain, lord Wicklow -	2	2	3	1	40		1		25
South Arklow,	captain Atkins - -	1	2	4	1	43	1	1		15
Camolin,	captain, earl of Mountnorris -	1	2	2		57	1			24
Coolgreney,	captain Beauman -	1	2	4	1	43				
Caſtleton,	captain Knox - -	1	2	4		41				9
		6	10	17	3	224	2	2		73

[To face page 541, vol. i.]

country were ordered to join the rebel army, deſtined to engage ours, commanded by general Moore. The ſucceſsful iſſue of that action, and, next day, the defeat of the rebels on Vinegar-hill, ſtruck terror into the diſaffected, and ſaved the proteſtants at Carrig, and Barrietſtown, from being aſſaſſinated; for they afterwards received unqueſtionable proofs, that their total exciſion was reſolved on, and would have taken place, but for theſe events. While this gentleman was at Barrietſtown, he, and the few proteſtants who remained there, were obliged to go to the chapel of Carrig, where father Murphy ſaid maſs three times every day to the pikemen. After the functions of the day were over, he collected the proteſtants round the altar, on their knees, and inſtructed them in his catechiſm, by making them repeat a great deal of ſuperſtitious nonſenſe, which he read from his breviary.

Some of the proteſtants related to me the following circumſtances, which they ſaw from the gallery of the chapel, during the performance of their religious ceremonies: Some wretches, both men and women, ſtripped their knees quite bare, at the chapel door, walked all-fours to the altar; moved in that manner from one ſide of it to the other, kiſſed the ground, croſſed themſelves, and made ſome genuflexions before a niche in the wall, which had relicks in it, or was ſuppoſed to be endued with ſome myſterious ſupernatural power.

Father Kane, called the bleſſed prieſt of Bannow, appeared often in the chapel, with a large budget of ſcapulars, which he diſtributed among the pikemen, in great abundance; and he was attended by a boy, who, with a whiſk, ſprinkled thoſe heroes of the cruſade with holy water, and often purified the hereticks in the gallery with it. Some of the pikemen, who had received this holy emblem returned, and ſaid, "Reverend Sir, this ſcapular has not had any holy water;" on which the boy, by his orders, ſprinkled it moſt copiouſly.

As the rebel ſoldiers univerſally believed, that the benediction of Kane would completely protect them againſt the poſſibility of being wounded, a numerous body of them arrived in the night at Carrig, from a great diſtance, for the purpoſe of obtaining it.

FATHER

FATHER JOHN SUTTON.

AT a ſhort diſtance from Lett's houſe in Enniſcorthy, Mr. and Mrs. Heyden met father Sutton, and implored his protection; but he ſaid, that he could not do any thing for them: and ſoon after Mr. Heyden, while his wife leant on his arm, was murdered by the barbarous popiſh rabble in the preſence of, and quite cloſe to, the reverend John Sutton, who made no other oppoſition to them, than by ſaying, "Fie! Fie!"* James Beaghan, one of the ſuppoſed murderers of Mr. Heyden, was taken up and tried, at the inſtance of Mr. Sutton, who proſecuted him to conviction; but not for eleven or twelve months after its perpetration. It is very extraordinary that this reverend gentlemen ſhould conceal, ſo long, the guilt of the aſſaſſin; and that a ſenſe of his duty towards God and his country, did not prompt him ſooner to bring the delinquent to condign puniſhment.

From the following fact we may fairly infer, that he was actuated rather by a ſenſe of fear than juſtice:

Counſellor William Turner, who proſecuted on behalf of the Crown for crimes committed in the county of Wexford, during the rebellion, declared openly, in the town of Enniſcorthy, ſome time in the month of May, 1799, that he believed he ſhould be under the neceſſity of proſecuting Mr. Sutton, for being privy to the murder of Mr. Heyden, as he muſt have known, but never diſcloſed, the perpetration of that horrid crime. In a few days after, Mr. Sutton gave information againſt Beaghan, and proſecuted him to conviction. Mrs. Heyden, who was well acquainted with Beaghan, poſitively declares, that ſhe did not ſee him among the perſons who murdered her huſband; and that if he had been there, ſhe muſt have known him. It is ſuppoſed then, that Beaghan, who was old, profligate, and had committed many other crimes, was made a victim on this occaſion, to ſilence the ſuſpicion which prevailed againſt this reverend gentleman. Mrs. Heyden declares, that Sutton never put his arm round her huſband, though he poſitively aſſerts that he did ſo.—It is well known, that many aſſaſſins were concerned in that murder, and yet Beaghan was the only one whom Sutton ſelected for proſecution.—This prieſt, and many others, frequently viſited Vinegar-hill, where murders were daily committed; and it is very ſingular, that Beaghan was the only perſon againſt whom any of the ſacerdotal order gave information.

FATHER

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* See her affidavit, vol. ii p. 346.

FATHER WILLIAM SYNNOTT.

WILLIAM SYNNOTT, pariſh prieſt of Enniſcorthy, having a warm friendſhip for the reverend Mr. Nunn, vicar of that pariſh, ſaved his life from the blood-thirſty rebels; and he might have ſaved many other proteſtants in the ſame manner. Mr. Nunn ſaid to me in converſation, if there is a loyal prieſt in Ireland, it is William Synnott. On which I aſked him, Whether Mr. Synnott did not frequently reſort to Vinegar-hill, while it was in poſſeſſion of the rebels? and on his anſwering in the affirmative, I aſked him, Whether he did not think that Mr. Synnott could have ſaved any of the proteſtants, while the rebels were daily maſſacring them? and he poſitively ſaid, that he believed he could.

No. XXVI. 1.

The Sufferings of the reverend Mr. Francis.

I SHALL give a ſhort account of the ſufferings of the reverend Mr. Francis, rector of Killegny, in the county of Wexford, a gentleman venerable for his age, his piety, and learning. He, his ſon, and four daughters, unable to make their eſcape on the eruption of the rebellion, experienced many inſtances of ſavage treatment.

He was plundered of his horſes, bridles, ſaddles, proviſions, wearing-apparel, arms and ammunition. He was repeatedly threatened with death, unleſs he would admit a prieſt, and change his religion. One day, a ruffian of the name of Gormachan, with a drawn ſword at his breaſt, aſked him, Whether he was a chriſtian, and whether he could bleſs himſelf? and many more queſtions indicative of fanatical zeal. This reverend gentleman was ſo ſhocked and overcome, that, in attempting to ſpeak, he burſt a blood veſſel, and threw up immenſe quantities of blood; and yet his piteous ſituation made ſo little impreſſion on them, that they unanimouſly reſolved to compel him and his family to go to maſs. He heſitated, and ſaid he would hear the arguments of a prieſt; on which one of the miſſionaries, a ferocious ſavage, by name Drohan, drew out a horſe-piſtol, and ſaid, What do we wait for? He and his family, in very heavy rain, uncovered, and ſurrounded by about fifty pikemen, were compelled to go to maſs, to a chapel, about a quarter of a mile diſtant.

He received domiciliary viſits, daily, from the ſavage pikemen, who frequently aſked him, Whether he had the protection of a prieſt?

The 4th and 5th of June, he remained unmoleſted, as the rebels were making preparations on the firſt, for the battle of Roſs; and the ſecond, on which it was fought, all the popiſh farmers and peaſants, for many miles round that town, were compelled by their reſpective prieſts to attend the rebel army.

On the 10th of June, they carried his ſon, a boy of fourteen years, to the camp at Carrickbyrne, on an accuſation of having been heard to ſing "Croppies, lie down!" previous to the eruption of the rebellion; but a rebel captain, more humane than the reſt, promiſed that he ſhould be reſtored next day; and he fulfilled his promiſe.

His ſervants, both male and female, left him, becauſe, as they ſaid, they would not be allowed to remain in a heretick houſe; and his daughters were obliged to collect fuel from the adjacent hedges, and to draw water on their heads, from a ſpring, at a conſiderable diſtance. Some of his neighbours ſupplied him with oatmeal and potatoes, and ſometimes with a little butter. They were confined to that food only, and often were ſo ſcantily furniſhed with it, that they were reduced to one meal. Mr. Francis imputed the ſafety of himſelf and his family to the following incident: He was often aſked, Whether he had the protection of a prieſt? which they ſaid was neceſſary for his ſafety. At laſt, one Bryan, a rebel captain, and a man of ſome humanity, feeling pity for his ſufferings, went to the rebel camp, and procured from general Roche, the prieſt, over whom he had great influence, a protection for him, which I give the reader.

A Protection for the reverend Mr. Francis.

IT is ordered, that no perſon or perſons ſhall dare inſult, abuſe, injure, or hurt the reverend Mr. Francis, his family, domeſticks, manſion-houſe, &c. All who diſobey theſe orders, ſhall be taken by a guard, brought into camp, to be tried by court-martial, and puniſhed according to their ſentence.

ROCHE,
Commander in chief of the united republican army of the county of Wexford.

DOCTOR CAULFIELD ſays in page 7, "the allegation of unbounded influence is, I think, fairly done away; but as to the invariable effects of protections granted by the prieſts, I repeat and inſiſt there were none, nor could any prieſt, except a blockhead, attempt to grant ſuch."

This protection ſecured him from any further inſults.

This venerable gentleman, and his family, went to Dublin, in the winter of the year 1798, where I became acquainted with him, and obtained a copy of his journal during the rebellion, from which I have extracted theſe particulars.

He was in a rapid decline, from a ſpitting of blood, occaſioned by rude and brutal treatment from the rebels; and he died in the beginning of the year 1799, leaving his family in the utmoſt diſtreſs. This gentleman ſhewed me his tythe-books; and it appeared from them, that, inſtead of the tenth, he did not receive the thirtieth part of his legal dues.

The reverend Mr. Gordon, his ſucceſſor, knowing the ſet of ſavages he had to deal with, has, with more regard to policy than accuracy, written a hiſtory of the rebellion, for the obvious purpoſe of conciliating the prieſts and the popiſh multitude, to ſecure the punctual payment of his tythes; and for that purpoſe, he abuſes the magiſtrates, the military, and the yeomen; and he imputes many of the atrocities committed during the rebellion to local provocation, though, in other parts of his work, he admits that the rebellion aroſe from fanaticiſm, and that the popiſh multitude had no other idea of a revolution, than the excluſive eſtabliſhment of their own religion. He imputes to me, among others, the following error: I call father Philip Roche, the commander in chief, an inhuman ſavage, becauſe he not only inculcated the extirpation of hereticks, but was preſent, and preſided, at many maſſacres on Vinegar-hill; and yet Mr. Gordon becomes his panegyriſt, and ſays, "for a charge of cruelty againſt him, I can find no foundation. On the contrary, I have heard many inſtances of his active humanity." Good God! that a proteſtant clergyman ſhould become the encomiaſt of a monſter who was the inſtrument of ſo much human miſery, and who was hanged on the bridge of Wexford, for various crimes![*]

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[*] See vol. i. pages 451, 464—vol. ii. page 410.

I am authorized to ſay, that the biſhop of Ferns very much cenſures Mr. Gordon's hiſtory, and that the magiſtrates and clergy of the county of Wexford, and many of the moſt reſpectable officers, who campaigned there in the year 1798, unanimouſly declare, that it contains many groſs miſtatements, and that its tendency in general is, to palliate the horrors of the late rebellion.

A letter, now in my poſſeſſion, from major-general Needham, dated March 1ſt, 1802, ſtates, "that he had never read Gordon's book till I ſent it to him a day or two before;" and he authorizes me to contradict his ſtatement of the battle of Arklow, by aſſerting, "That no propoſal to retreat was made by him, during that battle, to colonel Skerrett, or any other officer whatever under his command," as is falſely inſinuated by Mr. Gordon in his hiſtory, page 131; which can be teſtified by all the ſtaff-officers, and officers commanding corps who have teſtified it.

The reaſon that lieutenant-general Lake ordered general Needham to repair to Solſborough, from Oulart, contrary to the general orders given to the different columns deſtined to attack Vinegar-hill, was this: General Lake was very near that mountain, on which there was an immenſe body of rebels; and apprehending an attack, in which the rebels by the great ſuperiority of their numbers, aided by the darkneſs of the night, in a very incloſed country, might have baffled diſcipline, he, deſirous of ſtrengthening his main body, ſuddenly changed his orders to major-general Needham, which made it impoſſible for the latter to be at his poſt of attack in due time. This contradicts the miſtatement of Mr. Gordon in page 193. I give this from the *very firſt authority on that command.*

The relation which I have given of the affair at Whiteheaps, in page 56 of this volume, was obtained from the ſtaff-officers of the king's troops, and ſome reſpectable officers of the militia and yeomen, and is therefore to be relied on. It differs materially from that of Mr. Gordon, who has miſrepreſented it, ſeemingly for the purpoſe of reflecting on the conduct of the general officers concerned in it.

His ſtatement could not have been obtained from any perſon engaged in it.

Five officers of the Cavan regiment have declared, and are ready to do ſo upon oath, that they ſaw the body of father Michael Murphy thrown into a houſe in flames, where it was conſumed; and yet Mr. Gordon tells us, that the Ancient Britons extracted the greaſe from it, to greaſe their boots.—They alſo declare, that no officer or ſoldier of the Ancient Britons was within a mile of the ſpot, when the body was committed to the flames.

Copy of a letter from major Williams, to major-general Needham.

Naas, March the 1ſt, 1802.

"SIR,

"WE, the underſigned officers of the Durham Regiment who were preſent at the battle of Arklow, feel it a juſtice due to you, under whom we ſerved, to declare, that Mr. Gordon was not authorized by any of us to make uſe of thoſe inſinuations which appear in his hiſtory, tending to reflect on your conduct on that day; and we are convinced, no propoſal to retreat was made by you to colonel Skerrett, or any other officer.

"We lament colonel Skerrett being at Newfoundland, who could have given the beſt teſtimony. We have the honour to be,

SIR,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervants,

G. HANBURY WILLIAMS, Major,
Commanding the Loyal Durham Fencibles.

JOHN HOLMES,
L. V. MORGAN,
J. WALLINGTON,
J. BEEVER,
Captains.

W. GIBBONS,
WILLIAM GIBBS,
J. DUTTON,
OWEN FAWCETT,
THOMAS HASSEL,
Lieutenants."
ſurgeon,
JOHN WALTON,
aſſiſt. ſurgeon.

Copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Bainbridge, (who is now dead) to ſir Richard Muſgrave.

Naas, April 29th, 1801.

"SIR,

"IN anſwer to yours of the 25th inſt. reſpecting the action of the Whiteheaps:—I was in general Needham's brigade that day, and your account of it is perfectly correct, excepting the number killed. I paſſed over the ground in the purſuit, and I am convinced there were not above thirty rebels killed. The 9th dragoons, the 89th, and Leitrim Militia loſt ſome men. What I have read of your hiſtory of the county of Wexford, where our regiment was engaged, is extremely correct; and if there are any particulars you would wiſh to be furniſhed with, I ſhall be happy to inform you of them, as far as my obſervation went. I am,

SIR,

Your obedient ſervant,

J. BAINBRIDGE."

2.

Reſolutions of the Governors of the Female Charity School at Wexford.

AT a general quarterly meeting of the Governors of the Wexford Female School of Induſtry, held on the firſt day of February, 1802, it was unanimouſly reſolved,

"That the conduct of the Romiſh clergy of this town, in compelling the parents of ſuch children of their religion, as were pupils at ſaid ſchool, to withdraw their children under pain of excommunication, excites our ſurpriſe.

"That the reaſon aſſigned by the reverend John Corrin, pariſh prieſt of Wexford, for their being ſo withdrawn, viz. 'that attempts had been made to ſeduce them from their religion,' appears to us to have no other foundation than a too eaſy belief of the miſrepreſentation of prejudice, and the fictions of calumny; and we call on Mr. Corrin to ſubſtantiate the charge, by naming the perſons who attempted ſuch ſeduction, and producing the children on whom it was practiſed.

"That had ſuch attempts been made, they would not juſtify the mode of conduct which has been adopted, as it does not appear that complaint was ever made to any governor or governeſs, or at any general quarterly meeting; nor does it appear, that the intereſts of their religion could poſſibly have been injured by deferring this violent meaſure one week longer, when the general quarterly meeting of this day would have afforded an opportunity of complaint and of redreſs.

"That the female ſchool of induſtry was eſtabliſhed at a time of univerſal ſcarcity and diſtreſs; that children of the Romiſh religion were admitted into ſaid ſchool, and therein educated, and in fact clothed and fed, not, as is falſely aſſerted, to induce them to barter their religion for the ſupply of their wants (of ſuch baſeneſs the governors and governeſſes of that ſchool are incapable) but to prevent thoſe wretched children falling the immediate victims of poverty and vice; to enable them to earn their daily bread by honeſt induſtry, and to teach them virtue.

"That when the ſubject, if cauſe of complaint did actually exiſt, could have been ſo eaſily adjuſted by a temperate conduct, and a proper repreſentation on the part of the Romiſh clergy, of any grievance or defect which occurred to them in the arrangements or conduct of this infant inſtitution, we lament the precipitancy which compels us to order, that theſe reſolutions be three times inſerted in the Dublin Journal, and that two hundred copies of them be printed for circulation here.

JOHN MONTGOMERY, *ſecretary.*

Wexford, February 1ſt, 1802.

A true copy of the printed bill, February 20,

JOHN MOORE.

3.

THOMAS TOWNSHEND, eſquire.

THIS gentleman, in a pamphlet entitled "Part of a letter to a noble earl, containing a very ſhort comment on the doctrines and facts of ſir Richard Muſgrave's quarto, and vindicatory of the Yeomanry and Catholicks of the city of Cork," accuſes me of a want of veracity as a hiſtorian; for having ſaid in Appendix XI. of the former edition, that

" there was great diſaffection among the popiſh yeomen, particularly the Cork legion. Sweeny and Donovan, two leaders in the conſpiracy, and Drinane, continued members of it till they were arreſted." I am ready to admit, that there were many loyal and honourable men in that corps; but it happened in that, as in every other corps in the kingdom, where the majority were Roman catholicks, that there was conſiderable diſaffection among them. I am free to acknowledge, that I made the following trifling miſtake as to Sweeny, which I have corrected in this edition. He was arreſted a few days after he had been expelled from the corps; but he was ſo ſanguinary a traitor, and had been guilty of ſo many, and ſuch notorious acts of delinquency, that his expulſion ſhould have taken place much ſooner.

Simon Donovan, and Andrew Drinane, a lieutenant of the Cork legion, were arreſted while members of it. The trial of the former laſted fifteen days, and though very ably defended, and though he acknowledged, that he had received very great indulgence from the court-martial that tried him, he was ſentenced to tranſportation for life; but by the interference of a perſon of great influence, he obtained his pardon, on condition that he and two ſureties ſhould ſeverally enter into large recogniſances, for his future good behaviour; and yet, Mr. Townſhend has the confidence to declare, in the face of the citizens of Cork, that " he is enabled to ſtate, that he was arreſted inſtead of another perſon of the ſame name, whoſe proſecution would have been juſtifiable, upon the hearſay teſtimony of an approver, to whom his perſon was unknown; and that the general diſcountenanced the arreſt, and denied his concurrence to a trial, not juſtified even by plauſible imputation;" and alluding to the loyal magiſtrates of Cork he ſays, " that it would not be impoſſible for him to ſhew, that ſomething more than the guilt they were pleaſed to impute to this man, had animated his perſecutors." Mr. Drinane was arreſted, while a member of this corps, by order of the Judge of Aſſize, as I am well informed, on a charge grounded on an information ſworn before a magiſtrate; and after an impriſonment of ſome months, he was diſcharged. Mr. Townſhend then ſays, " this arreſt affords a third inſtance of the miſtakes of the hiſtorian of all the rebellions."

As Mr. Townſhend makes light of the conſpiracy which exiſted in the city of Cork in the years 1797 and 1798, I ſhall refer the reader to the report of ſome reſpectable perſons on it, in Appendix XI. page 270. I ſhall now leave the world to judge of Mr. Townſhend's pretenſions to veracity, from this ſpecimen of his contemptible pamphlet, which has been ſcouted and condemned by all the loyal citizens of Cork.

No. XXVII.

The following communication has been made to the Roman catholick nobility and gentry in Ireland:

Mr. PITT to Lord CORNWALLIS.

" THE leading part of his Majeſty's miniſters finding innumerable obſtacles to the bringing forward meaſures of conceſſion to the Catholick body, while in office, have felt it impoſſible to continue in adminiſtration under their inability to propoſe it, with circumſtances neceſſary to carry the meaſure with all its advantages; and they have retired from his Majeſty's ſervice, conſidering this line of conduct as moſt likely to contribute to its ultimate ſucceſs.

" The Catholick body will therefore ſee how much their future hope muſt depend upon their ſtrengthening their cauſe by good conduct in the mean time. They will prudently conſider their proſpects as ariſing from the perſons who now eſpouſe their intereſts, and compare them with thoſe which they could look to from any other quarter.—They may with confidence rely on the zealous ſupport of all thoſe who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a proſpect of ſucceſs. They may be aſſured, that Mr. Pitt will do his utmoſt to eſtabliſh their cauſe in the publick favour, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects—and the Catholicks will feel, that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeleſs attempt to force it now, he muſt at all times repreſs, with the ſame deciſion as if he held an adverſe opinion, any unconſtitutional conduct of the Catholick body.

" Under theſe circumſtances it cannot be doubted that the Catholicks will take the moſt legal, dutiful, and diſcreet line of conduct; that they will not ſuffer themſelves to be led into meaſures which can, by any conſtruction, give a handle to the oppoſers of their wiſhes, either to miſrepreſent their principles, or to raiſe an argument for reſiſting their claims."

Sentiments of a ſincere friend to the Catholick claims.

Lord CORNWALLIS.

" IF the Catholicks ſhould now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulſive meaſures, by forming aſſociations with men of Jacobinical principles, they muſt of courſe loſe the aid and ſupport of thoſe who have ſacrificed their own ſituations in their cauſe ; but who would, at the ſame time, feel it to be their indiſpenſable duty to oppoſe every thing tending to confuſion.

" On the other hand, ſhould the Catholicks be ſenſible of the benefit they poſſeſs, by having ſo many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the ſervice of government, except on the terms of the Catholick privileges being obtained, it is to be hoped that, on balancing the advantages and diſadvantages of their ſituation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanour to any line of conduct of an oppoſite deſcription."

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